GRAVES FOR THIRD TERM BEE BUZZES AROUND CAPITOL

Projected Fight On Dixon' Five Amendments Seen Opening Wedge

ORGANIZATION BASED ON KLAN LINES RUMORED

Birmingham News

Recess Committees Ready To Begin Work On Number Of Measures

April 9, 1939

BY FRED TAYLOR
Birmingham News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Political circles were stirred here over the week-end by reports that efforts were being made to form a secret organization in Alabama with the primary purpose of fighting the five Dixon - sponsored constitutional amendments to be voted on July 11 and at the same time to crystallize sentiment for a Graves third term as governor.

Persons close to the former governor, who has fully recovered from an appendectomy, were quick to discount the reports, asserting no fight on the amendments was contemplated. They said, however, they hoped and expected Graves to run for a third term as governor.

Reports from reliable sources stated the proposed secret organization also would seek to raise money at a $10-a-head clip, with interest to be built up through some catchy slogan like "America for Americans," or "America First." The reports stated further that those behind the movement, in the large, were Graves men and that is was planned to establish headquarters in a downtown Montgomery hotel soon.

While certain Graves men were terming the reports "all wet," other sources intimated the organization would be fashioned after the old Ku Klux Klan and that it would not be political, but strictly a money-making scheme, with initiation fees going to membership solicitors and organization heads.

One Graves lieutenant, who scoffed at the report the organization was planned as a Graves society, asserted that one of the prime movers in the plan was a Dixon supporter.

Meanwhile, legislative recess committees composed of approximately one-half of the membership of the Legislature, were preparing to begin work, with two—education-highways and code—scheduled to meet at the Capitol at noon Monday. The other committees, each of which is composed of nine representatives and five senators, are agriculture, finance and taxation and judiciary.

* * *

PATRONAGE—The first of the job changes in a reshuffling of state personnel that is expected to affect 10 to 15 per cent of the more than 5,000 employes likely will occur this week.

Gov. Dixon has not said when the ax will fall or when the hiring will begin, other than to say it will be a gradual process that "probably will take until Christmas." He has made it plain, however, that jobs will be reshuffled preliminary to establishing a county quota system to insure each county, particularly rural counties, gets a "fair share" of positions.

The quota system is being established preliminary to installation of the merit system, which will be placed in operation in about one year.

Employes are anxious for the changes to be made and over with, as an uneasy feeling exists in all departments where a number of those on the payroll feel they will be cut off. Dixon's first order lopped off 530 persons, and reports are that at least that many more will feel the ax. There are more than 500 non-voters on the payroll and the governor has said he can "see no reason why they should be employed." He based his theory on the theory that a person holding a public job should be interested enough in his government to vote.

* * *

JEFFERSON PATRONAGE—Jefferson County's legislative delegation, which made it plain immediately after election it would not ask the governor for any patronage privileges, has made it doubly plain in a recent statement it will not do so now, even though Gov. Dixon has invited written recommendations from its members in the form of mimeographed forms passed out to them and other legislators over the state.

Delegation members got together last week-end and agreed not to fill out these forms, each of which has space for 12 names. The legislators in Jefferson also are shying off from Dixon's invitation to participate in lopping state employes from that county off the payroll in the governor's job reshuffling plan.

Not only are Jefferson legislators balking at the plan for recommending over their signatures the names of jobseekers, but solons from other sections of the state are doing likewise. They expressed a preference to take the patronage matters up with the governor personally—and orally.

The Jefferson legislators stated in a resolution adopted by them, in which they agreed not to submit any lists to Dixon, that "the delegation knows the governor is conscientiously trying to pick the highest possible class of personnel and desires information on applicants. Any such information with regard to applicants . . . should be filed with his or her application."

Incidentally, delegation members emphasized they did not blame the press for any "misunderstanding" of the state patronage plan, explaining they merely had alluded to statements carried in the press.

* * *

FEE PROBE—So that the legislative recess judiciary committee can proceed promptly with its investigation of payment of legal fees and commissions to special attorneys and agents during the last administration, State Comptroller B. P. Singleton's office has been requested to compile all available data on the payments for submission to Chairman Verdo Elmore and other members of the committee when it meets the last week in April.

Singleton, at the committee's direction, has assigned an assistant examiner to check all fee and commisson payments, estimated by Gov. Dixon to have totaled approximately $400,000 the last four years, and furnish the group with amounts and dates of payments, persons receiving payments and record of services performed.

Authority for the investigation was contained in a resolution introduced by Representative Hugh Kaul, Jefferson, vice chairman of the committee. Both Senator Elmore and Kaul have emphasized that the probe will not be a "smelling expedition," but a thorough investigation to determine how the state's legal service can be performed efficiently and at a saving to taxpayers.

* * *

PRISON REPORT — Alabama's prison system is expected to receive both praise and criticism in a report to James P. Davis, federal prison expert, whose survey findings have been submitted to Gov. Dixon.

The report, soon to be released is said to be a voluminous one, going thoroughly into every phase of the state convict system. It reportedly will criticize prison officials for failure in past years to segregate prisoners so that first offenders could be separated from hardened criminals.

The report also is expected to present a strong argument for the modern "non-political" parole and pardon board proposed in the Dixon-sponsored constitutional amendment to be submitted to the voters along with four other administration - backed amendments July 11.

Davis and his aids, who work out of Washington, came into Alabama on the invitation of the governor to study prison conditions and make recommendations for improving them.

Davis first made a survey of Jefferson County prison conditions, resulting in his recommending that the county's convicts be turned back to the state. This has been done by the County Commission, thus adding another problem to those faced by Col. William E. Persons, Convict Department head.

Jefferson, incidentally, was the last county in the state to work its own convicts, others long ago having turned prisoners back to the state.

* * *

REDEMPTION — Angered were citizens of the vicinity between Oneonta and Rosa, in Blount County, early in March when a large fill on a highway over a creek caved in, causing water to rise into a farm house and barn, drowning a mule and forcing the family to flee. The cave-in was caused by the collapse of a large cast culvert, said to have cost $13,500.

What roiled the folks and caused some of them to cry "scandal" was the report that installation of the metal culvert was an "experiment" and that actually a concrete fill could have been built at much less cost when it was put in last year.

State Highway Director Chris Sherlock investigated the culvert's collapse, with the result that the concern which sold it to the state is replacing it without cost to the taxpayers, Sherlock said.

* * *

COAST CALLING—Members of at least three of the five legislative recess committees who will be working in Montgomery and elsewhere over the state the next couple of months are planning to include the Gulf Coast on their work itineraries.

They feel, and logically so, that a few days' fishing and outing around Mobile and Foley will do them a lot of good and help prepare them for the legislative grind that will be resumed July 18.

Committees that will visit the coast during their recess work are the judiciary, agriculture and education and highways groups. Chances are the code and finance and taxation committees also will arrange week-end trips, at least, to the coast during their labors.

* * *

NEW WRINKLE—Malcolm H. Harper, former director of the Alabama Unemployment Compensation Commission, has established in Montgomery the Alabama Business Service Bureau, which he terms "strictly a business service for business purposes, with the thought always of lessening the burdens imposed upon the taxpayer."

In emphasizing that, it has no connection directly or indirectly with the political aspirations of anyone Harper explained the bureau will work in harmony with both state and federal authorities to "simplify and eliminate many forms and reports now required in social security, unemployment compensation and other tax matters."

Also, he said, it will endeavor to compile information from other states and the Social Security Board so as to submit to the Alabama Legislature "suitable amendments" to the unemployment compensation act, which, he added, administration experience has shown are needed. One goal of the bureau will be to seek for members the privilege of filing wage reports annually instead of quarterly with the state.

Harper says plans call for the bureau to maintain a contact service with state departments for members and operate the service so as to work "in a spirit of mutual and helpful cooperation with state and federal authorities for efficient and economical administration of various tax laws and legislation affecting business. . . ."

Folmar Denies His Society Is To Fight Dixon

Says Governor Will Be Asked To Join As Soon As He Can Be Seen

By GROVER C. HALL, JR.

Bibb Folmar, of Troy, came to town yesterday seeking an audience with Gov. Dixon to assure him that the embryonic "Alabama Council of Accepted Americans" was not:

1. An affiliate of the Ku Klux Klan.

Advertisement

2. An organization backed by former Gov. Graves or an organization set on undermining the Dixon Ad-

ninistration. 4-13-39

An Advertiser representative encountered Mr. Folmar in a Capitol corridor late yesterday afternoon. Mr. Folmar said that, far from planning any sabotaging of Gov. Dixon, the organization hoped that the chief executive would join. The reporter, too.

Mr. Folmar said he had made two unsuccessful attempts to see Gov. Dixon during the day, but planned to have another try, in order to reassure him that news dispatches had misrepresented his and the organization's purposes.

Born To Fight "Isms"

Mr. Folmar said the organization was conceived by him to fight "isms." Mr. Folmar agreed to amplify his statement when the reporter returned from Gov. Dixon's press conference, then due.

While Mr. Folmar waited in an ante room, a reported broached the subject of Mr. Folmar and his organization and mentioned incidentally that he was presently an employe of the Department of Revenue in the luxury tax division, stationed at Selma.

Gov. Dixon manifested surprise. He looked through an employe list and verified the reporter's information. He phoned Revenue Commissioner John C. Curry. Mr. Curry told Gov. Dixon that Mr. Folmar was among 50 of the department's employes whose pink slips were in the mail.

The Advertiser representative left the Governor's office and resumed his conversation with Mr. Folmar. Mr. Folmar authorized this statement:

"I wouldn't be part and parcel of any organization to make a fight on Gov. Dixon. Any such statements are false The organization is not political in its nature. It's especially so that I wouldn't have anything to do with it if it were anti-Dixon because I am a part of this Administration.

"I'm working for it now."

"Purely and simply, this organization would tend to make our State government what Gov. Dixon would have it be . . . I've been with him heart and soul."

As for any connection with Graves forces, Mr. Folmar remarked "that Bibb Graves has not opened his mouth to me."

What One Paper Thinks

Mr. Folmar was accompanied by O. P. Lee, of Opelika, Federal referee in bankruptcy. While waiting in the ante room, they read this paragraph from The Birmingham Age-Herald:

"It is reported that an organization to be known as 'The Alabama Council of Accepted Americans' is being planned with an initiation fee of $10 a head, and a scheme to use the paraphernalia or patriotism and the regimentals of secret societies for purposes of racial hate and opposition to foreigners. The very suggestion in this name that any small group of men, on receipt of a certain sum of money, is entitled to 'accept' some of us as Americans and deny others of us—is as un-American a thing as can be imagined.'"

Mr. Lee and Mr. Folmar, as did Charles Leyton, who is also interested in the organization, ridiculed such constructions. Mr. Folmar pointed out that Jews and Catholics alike would be acceptable to the "Accepted Americans" and that there were presently only "five or six members—something like that," and that the $10 fee headlined in the Birmingham papers was something somebody thought of out of their head.

One member of the founding trio privately reminded an editor-friend that he should know that he would have no truck with any organization calculated to foster racial oppression, that he would himself be antagonistic to any such force. As a matter of fact, he said, he was now writing a book blasting away at anti-Semitism.

All three deplored what they regarded as "premature publicity" because they felt it had led to misrepresentation.

The Birmingham News first ran a story last week saying inner political circles were talking of the new organization. The Advertiser this week carried a story quoting from some of the fledgling's literature. It was loaded with such slogans as, "God and Government," "Law and Liberty," "Peace and Prosperity," "America for Americans."

Those in the know on Goat Hill are disposed to regard the whole thing as much ado about nothing.

'NO FEDERAL JOB TO HEFLIN' SAYS N.A.A.C.P.

Leader 7-1-39

Denounces Move To Place Alabama Race Hater In Dept. Of Justice

Chicago Ill.

NEW YORK, June 30 — Characterizing the reported proposal to appoint Thomas J. Heflin, notorious Race-baiter and onetime senator from Alabama, to a Justice department post as an assurance to American bigots that "dealing in racial hatred will be rewarded," the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wired a vigorous protest Wednesday, June 21, at U. S. Attorney General Frank Murphy.

The protest was based upon the following items in a report outlined by the association:

That in the state of Alabama he was reported to be the leading Klansman for many years: that when the pardon applications in behalf of the Scottsboro boys were submitted to the board of pardons of the state of Alabama on October 11, 1938, the only person appearing in opposition to this application was former Senator Heflin who stated that he would stump the state from one end to the other to oppose the application, distorted the facts in the case and attacked many persons including the Scottsboro Defense committee as a unit for pushing the pardon petition.

That, in December, 1938 Heflin appeared before former Governor Graves, of Alabama, when the latter interviewed the Scottsboro defendants in the absence of any representative in behalf of the boys and repated the same statements made before the board of pardons.

Protest Proposed Naming Of Heflin To Federal Job

Courier Herald 6-22-39 Waycross, Ga.

Strong Letter Sent Murphy By NAACP

NEW YORK— (SNS)— Characterizing the reported proposal to appoint Thomas J. Heflin notorious Negro-batter and onetime Senator from Alabama, to a Justice Department post as an assurance to American bigots that "dealing in racial hatred will be rewarded," the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wired a vigorous protest Wednesday, June 21, to U. S. Attorney General Frank Murphy

The text of the telegram which was signed by Walter White, executive secretary of the association, follows:

"Note in public press report of plan to give federal job, perhaps in Department of Justice, to ex-Senator J. Thomas Heflin of Alabama. If any such recommendation contemplated may we respectfully request it be held up until we can file with you formal protest against such appointment based on Mr. Heflin's attitude in Scottsboro cases, defense of lynching, reputed membership in ku klux klan and his general attitude of intolerance and bigotry, particularly so far as Negroes are concerned. We greatly fear that an appointment given Mr. Helfin would be considered by bigots as justification of bigotry and assurance that dealing in racial hatred will be rewarded."

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That, in December, 1938 Helfin appeared before former Governor Graves, of Alabama, when the latter interviewed the Scottsboro defendants in the absence of any representative in behalf of the boys and repeated the same statements made before the Board of pardons

ciation for the Advancement of Colored People urged the Chief Executive to abandon any plan for the appointment of Graves to any federal post.

In a letter to the President, dated November 28, the association gave three reasons for opposing any consideration of Graves: his attitude toward the Race would be calculated to increase discrimination against this group of citizens in the country's armed forces and in agriculture.

Oppose Bibb Graves For FDR Cabinet

Leader 11-9-39

NEW YORK, Dec. 8—Expressing concern over reports that President Roosevelt might appoint Alabama's former Governor Bibb Graves to a cabinet post, possibly as Secretary of War, or Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, the National Asso-

A Constitution Framer Demands Respect For It

If there is any respect in Alabama for the wisdom that comes with years, if there is any regard for the sagacity of experience, if there is veneration for mature judgment, if there is any accepted value to the dignity of time, then the state must give earnest consideration to this demand voiced at the reunion of the delegates to the 1901 Constitutional Convention for reapportionment in line with that document's provisions.

As voiced by W. C. Fitts, one of the 29 surviving framers of that 1901 constitution the demand is that the state shall measure up to that level of democracy sought by those who wrote the constitution and provided that citizens of the state should have representation in the Legislature according to their numbers.

"The essence of representative democracy," said Mr. Fitts, "is that the people shall participate in the legislative branch of the government in direct proportion to their numbers. The Legislature . . . flagrantly violated the constitution. . . . This is the negation of democracy."

The words come from one who acted 38 years ago according to the ideals of a young manhood reared in the principles of Jeffersonian democracy. They are spoken now out of ripened judgment, out of a conviction born in experience that what the convention did 38 years ago was wise and just. Age has confirmed the ideals of youth.

Members of the Legislature cannot lightly turn aside from the words of Mr. Fitts and his emphatic assertion that democracy cannot live where just representation is denied.

PROTEST BIBB GR

Courier 12-9-39 Pittsburg

POSSIBLE WAR SEC

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In a letter to the President, dated November 28, the Association gave three reasons for opposing any consideration of Graves: his attitude toward Negroes would be calculated to increase discrimination against this group of citizens in the country's armed forces and in agriculture; his complete repudiation of "unequivocal promises" to free the remaining Scottsboro Boys, while he was Governor of Alabama; and "the undenied charge" that the former governor "was a member of the Ku Klux Klan."

POLITICAL - 1939
ELECTIONS

Carpetbag Label Placed On New Wilcox Senator

Henderson Assails Speight And Gets Wrathy Reply

Guy Talks Out

Confronts Member With Ancestor's Status In 70's

By HARTWELL HATTON

There were strange scenes on the floor of the Senate yesterday as the upper house of the Alabama Legislature organized for the 1939 session.

First, there was the spectacle of the membership of the Senate anticipating the wishes of the Lieutenant Governor-elect by naming the standing committees. Then there was the more amazing spectacle of a senator, said by a fellow member to be of carpetbag ancestry, questioning the character of a subordinate officer of the Senate, followed by a severe castigation of the senator and a full and complete vindication of the man he attacked.

Adoption of the Senate rules with a revision of Rule 31 which paved the way for the Senate to name its own committees instead of permitting the incoming Lieutenant Governor to perform that office, occurred in a casual manner. The Senate was equally unusual some time later when it approved a full set of committees. This was not unexpected, coming as a sequel to the differences of views that has arisen between Albert A. Carmichael, lieutenant governor-elect, and Gov.-elect Frank M. Dixon.

Senator Bruce Henderson, of Wilcox County, likewise followed a course that was predicted when, in the midst of the business of electing a Senate secretary, he arose and delivered an abusive attack on J. Earl Speight, the veteran Senate official and the only candidate for the office.

Bonner Close By

Some of the Wilcox Senator's hearers got the impression that he was reciting a memorized piece and detected several phrases that were favorites of his predecessor from Wilcox County, J. Miller Bonner. Mr. Bonner was closely associated with Senator Henderson in pressing the candidacy of J. T. Carlton for the post of Senate secretary. Mr. Bonner occupied one of the benches at the front of the Senate chamber.

At one point in Senator Henderson's remarks when he became directly abusive, Secretary Speight got to his feet and Senator J. N. Poole, who had been elected president pro tempore and was presiding, admonished the Senator to alter his manner of speaking.

When Senator Henderson sat down, Senator Renza Guy, of Lowndes County, leaped to his feet and as soon as he was recognized, shouted:

"I've never witnessed a more disgraceful occurrence in this Capitol—a carpetbagger reflecting on the honesty of an Alabama gentleman! Why, he's just one generation removed from a carpetbagger....His grandaddy came into this State after the war and enriched himself at the expense of an impoverished and helpless people...."

President Poole's gavel fell at this point and when he requested it, Senator Guy resumed his seat.

Vindication

Thereupon Senator Emmett Hildreth, of Greene, who had nominated Mr. Speight, was recognized and, speaking more quietly than had Senator Guy, reminded the Senate that its veteran secretary needed no defense. "His record," said Senator Hildreth, "stands for itself and is above reproach....I know him to be a man of high character and of clean life....He is efficient, sincere and honest and thoroughly competent to carry out the exacting duties of the secretary of the Senate."

The roll call followed on Mr. Speight's nomination and he was elected 33 to 1. Every senator present voted and only Senator Baker, of DeKalb, was absent, being detained at home by illness.

Just before the Senate adjourned for the day, Senator Henderson again got the floor and said that he had intended nothing personal in his remarks.

Dixon Forces in Power

Forces of Gov.-elect Dixon, striking swiftly and without a bobble, organized the 1939 quadrennial legislature and took away from the lieutenant-governor the privilege of naming Senate committees.

Action of the Senate in not only taking away from its presiding officer the power to name committees, elected a list of 30 from the floor, and thus definitely obliterated any chance of compromising sharp differences between the incoming governor and lieutenant-governor.

Senator Joe Poole, Butler County plantation operator and Dixon choice was unanimously elected president pro tem and will preside until Carmichael takes office Monday.

Both Houses voted to meet again today.

Moving swiftly after Poole's election Senator John A. Lusk, of Gadsden, offered a set of new rules, which deleted one reading:

"The president of the Senate shall appoint the chairman and members of the standing committees, and he shall appoint all other committees of the Senate, both special and joint.

It substituted one providing that all committees, other than standing committees, should be elected by resolutions originating within the rules committee.

No mention was made otherwise of standing committees, which must pass on all legislation before it reaches a vote, but Oliver E. Youn, Vernon lawyer and a Dixon floor leader, offered a complete list of committees from the floor.

They were elected without a dissenting vote, although Preston C. Clayton, of Barbour County, voted against the new rules.

Writing Dixon a second time he wished his "reaction" to a list of committeemen anounced yesterday, Carmichael called at Dixon's headquarters later, seeking "the boss around here." The governor-elect had answered by letter, the matter was "entirely out of my hands."

Aides said their conference brought them no closer together and a short while later the Senate cleared the breach even wider.

Standing committees were reduced from 31 to 30, that on revision of laws being dropped and its duties transferred to the judiciary committee, expanded from 15 to 17 members—the exact number of lawyer-senators.

Committee Chairmen

Poole, as President pro tem, was made chairman of the rules committee, the Senate's most powerful. Hayse Tucker, of Tuscaloosa, was placed at the head of the finance and taxation committee, which handles all appropriation and revenue bills.

Hildreth, of Greene County, was placed in charge of the committee on constitution and constitutional revision and amendments, which likely will assume added importance under plans of Dixon for wide-spread "modernization" through a series of changes in the state's basic law. J. A. Simpson, of Birmingham, heads the judiciary, as he did in 1935 and subsequently.

The temperance committee, which by precedent receives all bills on liquor and its control, was expanded from eight to nine members and W. W. Malone, of Athens, made its chairman.

Committees elected varied widely from the list Carmichael announced he would recommend if called upon by the Senate "for suggestions." Chairmen particularly were shifted about.

Dixon forces, still working smoothly as the Senate neared adjournment at 4:15 p.m., sent to the rules committee a series of recess appointments delivered for confirmation by Gov. Graves, whose policies the new Chief Executive has criticized.

Among the appointments were those of E. Roy Albright, of Mobile, to chairmanship of the State Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, and Brig. Gen. John C. Persons, of Birmingham, to commanding officer of the 62nd Infantry Brigade of Alabama-Florida National Guards.

Simpson moved reference of the Persons appointed to the rules committee, and Poole later announced such-and-such having had a first reading was sent to the rules committee for consideration.

Under usual procedure recess appointments are taken up as delivered and acted upon.

Tolley L. Austin, of Wetumpka, was renamed assistant clerk, and Mrs. Reese Julian Screws, of Shorter, was elected enrolling and engrossing clerk succeeding Mrs. N. L. Thompson, of Montgomery.

They were unopposed, as was J. G. Watkins, of Barbour County, for door-keeper. Mrs. Screws is a daughter of Frank N. Julian, incumbent commissioner of insurance.

R. D. Malone, a brother of Senator Malone, was elected assistant door-keeper over D. H. Wells, nominated by Senator T. S. Faulk, of Geneva.

Six pages and messengers were elected at one voting:

Leroy Devine, son of Senator P. F. Devine of Choctaw; George Howard Young, grandson of Senator Young; Clyde Norton, Lamar Register, Thomas Jefferson West, and Emmett Davis.

Poole "thanked" his colleagues on becoming president pro-tem "for recognizing the poor, down-trodden agriculturists of this State," referring, of course, to his plantation ownership.

"I expect to be your servant," he said. "We will have differences, of course, but I hope they may be differences on methods and we will be able to work together toward making an outstanding young Democrat, Frank Dixon, one of Alabama's greatest governors.

The Committees

Committee on the Judiciary—Simpson, chairman; Lusk, vice-chairman; Calhoun, Clayton, Conway, Crumpton, Elmore, Harris, Harrison, Hildreth, Johnston, Malone, Rowe, St. John, Shaver, Stakely, and Young.

Constitution and Constitution Revision and Amendments—Hildreth, chairman; Simpson, vice-chairman; Crumpton, Elmore, Harrison, Henderson, Holmes, Howard, Lusk, Malone, St. John, Shaver, and Young.

Finance and Taxation — Tucker, chairman; Young, vice-chairman; Booth, Carlton, Harris, Henderson, Hildbreth, Lusk, McCall, Malone, Poole, Shaver, Simpson, Stakely, and Weatherford.

Banking—Harris, chairman; Booth, Faulk, Hildreth, Johnston, Poole, Thomas, Tucker, and Weatherford.

Insurance — Shaver, chairman; Cooper, Faulk, Hildreth, Howard, St. John, Tucker.

Public Welfare and Correctional Institutions—Howard, chairman; Weatherford, vice-chairman; Cooper, Devane, Elmore, Harris, Lusk, Shaver, Young.

Corporations — Rowe, chairman; Boyd, Clayton, Dozier, Faulk, Howard.

Local Legislation—Carlton, chairman; Calhoun, Crumpton, Dozier, Faulk, Malone, Stakely.

Education—Young, chairman; A. R John, vice-chairman; Booth, Boyd Clayton, Devane, Dozier, Elmore, Guy Harrison, Henderson, Johnston, McCall, Rowe, Shaver, Simpson, Stakely Thomas, Tucker.

Commerce and Common Carriers—Thomas, chairman; Elmore, Harris, Howard, Poole, Rowe, Tucker.

Mining and Manufacturing—Johnston, chairman; Booth, Cooper, Crumpton, Devane, Lusk, Simpson, Street, Young.

Agriculture — Cooper, chairman; Booth, Boyd, Carlton, Conway, Dozier, Holmes, Johnston, Poole, vice-chairman, Rowe, St. John.

Municipalities—Weatherford, chairman; Boyd, Elmore, Howard, Malone, Rowe, St. John, Shaver, Young.

Counties and County Boundaries—Clayton, chairman; Crumpton, Dozier, Guy, Holmes.

Immigration and Industrial Resources — Clayton, chairman; Boyd, Conway, Cooper, Harrison.

Public Building and Grounds — Henderson, chairman; Carlton, Lusk.

Privileges and Elections—Dozier, chairman; Calhoun, vice-chairman; Carlton, Conway, Faulk, Henderson, Malone, St. John, Simpson, Stakely,

Weatherford.

Printing—Booth, chairman; Boyd, Calhoun, Harrison, Howard.

Health—Street, chairman; Henderson, McCall, Thomas, Weatherford.

Military—Elmore, chairman; Conway, Devane, Holmes, Lusk St. John, Tucker.

Temperance — Malone, chairman; Calhoun, Carlton, Guy, Henderson, McCall, St. John, Simpson, Stakely.

Engrossed Bills—Conway, chairman; Carlton, Clayton.

Enrolled Bills—Harrison, chairman; Calhoun, Guy.

Revision of the Journal—St. John, chairman; Hildreth, Street, Weatherford.

Public Roads and Highways—McCall, chairman; Booth, vice-chairman; Boyd, Carlton, Clayton, Cooper, Devane, Guy, Harrison, Henderson, Holmes, Poole, Rowe, Street, Thomas.

Fish and Game—Holmes, chairman; McCall, vice-chairman; Boyd, Conway, Faulk, Harris, Johnston, Malone, Street, Tucker.

Forestry and Conservation—Devane, chairman; Harrison, vice-chairman; Booth, Boyd, Calhoun, Elmore, Guy, Harris, Thomas, Weatherford.

Rules—Poole, chairman; Lusk, vice-chairman; Hildreth, Shaver, Simpson, Tucker, Young.

Seaports—Faulk, chairman; Carlton, Devane, Holmes, Howard, McCall, Rowe.

Aviation and Traffic — Stakely chairman; Conway, Cooper, Devane Dozier, Harris, Hildreth.

Wetumpka, Ala. Herald
January 19, 1939

BIBB GRAVES: POLITICIAN, BUILDER AND HUMANITARIAN

(Montgomery Advertiser)

The Advertiser, which opposed the nomination of Colonel Graves as vigorously as it knew how, nevertheless heartily congratulates him and assures him of its good will, of its purpose to aid and support his administration as far as may be consistent with its convictions as to what constitutes good government.

The Advertiser will cooperate with Governor Graves as far as possible and it will not nag him and stick tacks in his tires. We have a State to serve, and the people of Alabama have said that they want Bibb Graves for Governor!—From The Advertiser, June 15, 1934.

The Advertiser has observed this voluntary pledge to the best of its ability, sometimes to its embarrassment because of the honest pressure of old and loyal friends to put on the heat and fry Bibb Graves again. What a temptation it sometimes was to voice the passion of the crowd by excoriating Graves in a manner that long since came to be recognized by some as expert!

In his last race for the governorship The Advertiser fought Graves toe to toe and hit him with everything but the kitchen stove.

It could not stop him. After the battle The Advertiser said that he had been re-elected by a sweeping majority by a people that knew all about him by virtue of past experience. The Advertiser knew what he would do, the people knew what he would do, but knowing it, deliberately engaged his services again nevertheless.

It was then that The Advertiser stepped aside and said to the people: "You wanted him. You have him. Now you handle him. We intend to back him when he is right and laugh at the people that elected him when he is wrong and provoking."

The Advertiser is glad that it avoided participation in the subsequent vendetta against Bibb Graves. It is glad to report that upon the whole it has been able to work with him and strengthen his hand, for in many respects he has given a fine performance.

The Advertiser is glad to say of a politician whom it twice unsuccessfully opposed as a candidate for governor, that he has been a brilliant, energetic, competent and forceful ruler. No man before him has had a more ready grasp of executive problems, no man before him has shown a greater zest in attacking these problems. Bibb Graves knows his job as Governor as well as any man before him knew it. There is no department or interest of the state government today that he does not thoroughly understand.

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If Bibb Graves has raised taxes by means of tokens he has lowered them on homesteads. He has pressed his State Tax Commission to go out among the people and gather in the sheaves of money, and the commission has responded quite efficiently. Because his services come high Graves' demands upon the popular purse have been insistent, but productive. He has spent money lavishly — he would be the last to deny it — but he has also collected money on the grand scale, and as he goes out he is able to Point with Pride to the position that the State now holds in the money markets of the world and to the cash on hand as his successor comes in.

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Now for a closing personal note. Upon two previous occasions when Graves was elected governor, The Advertiser printed editorials entitled, "The Bibbs Return to Power." The Colonel and Miss Dixie are relatives of the first two governors of Alabama, William Wyatt Bibb and Thomas Bibb, brothers. After more than 100 years they together have cast a blazing new light upon the great name of their family. Graves has served Alabama as governor for eight years, a longer period than any other governor before him, and his gifted wife has represented her native Alabama — and creditably— in the senate of the United States— all of which in itself makes a romantic tale.

And if the Colonel's kidney stones will but take leave of him he may again become a problem child in Alabama politics. Apparently he does not mind the annoyance and inconvenience of moving from South McDonough to South Perry, and back again.

Congratulations, Colonel, upon a brilliant and magnificent career as a politician, a builder and a humanitarian! Those that once laughed at you must now lift their hats and bow low.

POLITICAL- 1939
ELECTIONS

ALABAMA

A LEADER SPEAKS!

Alabama's new boy has got something on the ball! His speed, control and curves make a bewildering spectacle, but the people like it. Advertiser

Governor Dixon's inaugural address and the first message to the legislature will take rank among the great state papers of Alabama. They are better than his stump speeches. In them are the mellowness of wisdom, the spirit of do-or-dare, the pledge of honest devotion to the interests of the highest possible number of our people, accompanied by a politely scornful thrust at private and selfish interests of whatever kind. 1-18-39

The first executive order of the new ruler requires the heads of all departments to discharge immediately all persons that have been appointed to jobs since May 3, 1933. However tragic may be the effect of this order upon the worthy and honorable individuals concerned — and it is tragic in some instances—none will say that the order is not strictly in the interest of the public service — which as matters stand is Governor Dixon's only interest. Ala.

The State government, whatever else it may be, is not an employment agency, or so we conclude from what the new governor says and does. 1-18-39

We quote from Governor Dixon's great inaugural address: "The morale of the public service is at an extremely low ebb, and in my opinion it always will be so long as the spoils system prevails . . . I recommend that it be destroyed root and branch."

A finer plea by a new governor would be difficult to imagine, for the spoils system has come to be the curse alike of governors and of the people of the state.

Let us get Alabamians who care for politics interested in ideas and personalities instead of jobs — if we can. And why not? Wisconsin did it. New York did it. Many other States have done it.

Yesterday Governor Dixon urged the new legislature to cooperate with him in co-ordinating departmental facilities as far as possible to the end of achieving greater efficiency and economy in the operation of the departments. He was forthright and bold in his recommendations in this regard and because of the close relations that he has maintained with the legislature in recent months, we may regard it as of special significance. The prospect is that his program will be accepted and enforced.

Governor Dixon meets the troublesome issue of legislative reapportionment by suggesting that a constitutional plan of "automatic" reapportionment be adopted. Why not? Other governors have been pledged to the principle of reapportionment, in accordance with the spirit if not the letter of the constitution, but nothing has been done. Why not at last do something about it? Why not do something that will be acceptable alike to the more reasonable "white" counties and the more reasonable "black" counties? Reapportionment cannot forever be avoided.

Governor Dixon faces the polltax question with equal candor. He recommends submission of a constitutional amendment that if adopted will radically modify the cumulative polltax system under which thousands of Alabamians have been systematically disfranchised. He suggests 2 years as the limit beyond which the state may not go in disfranchising its citizens, especially in view of the fact that a number of Southern states, situated as Alabama is, have already abolished the polltax entirely—as for example, Florida and Louisiana.

It is plain that Alabama must soon take steps to broaden the base of democracy, since this republic must rise or fall by the fortunes of democratic provisions in our constitution and laws. The Advertiser is not yet convinced that 2 years is a long enough period to wait upon a leisurely citizen to qualify himself, but The Advertiser does believe, as it has said many times before, that the cumulative polltax requirement must be modified.

Upon the whole Governor Dixon's inaugural address and his first message to the legislature constitute an appeal to the enlightened patriotism of Alabamians. They give promise of a fresh type of leadership. They are as lightning striking brilliantly on a sultry day. They clear the atmosphere.

Let us disagree with the governor as to detail, if we must, but let us understand that he lashes out in the grand manner and that his first utterances and acts give promise of great leadership.

BIBB GRAVES: POLITICIAN, BUILDER AND HUMANITARIAN

The Advertiser, which opposed the nomination of Colonel Graves as vigorously as it knew how, nevertheless heartily congratulates him and assures him of its good will, of its purpose to aid and support his administration as far as may be consistent with its convictions as to what constitutes good government.

The Advertiser will cooperate with Governor Graves as far as possible and it will not nag him and stick tacks in his tires. We have a State to serve, and the people of Alabama have said that they want Bibb Graves for Governor!—From The Advertiser, June 15, 1934.

The Advertiser has observed this voluntary pledge to the best of its ability, sometimes to its embarrassment because of the honest pressure of old and loyal friends to put on the heat and fry Bibb Graves again. Advertiser What a temptation it sometimes was to voice the passion of the hour by excoriating Graves in a manner that long since came to be recognized by some as expert! 1-14-39

In his last race for the governorship The Advertiser fought Graves toe to toe and hit him with everything but the kitchen stove. Ala.

It could not stop him. After the battle The Advertiser said that he had been reelected by a sweeping majority by a people that knew all about him by virtue of past experience. The Advertiser knew what he would do, the people knew what he would do, but knowing it, deliberately engaged his services again nevertheless.

It was then that The Advertiser stepped aside and said to the people: "You wanted him. You have him. Now you handle him We intend to back him when he is right and laugh at the people that elected him when he is wrong and provoking."

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LOS ANGELES EDITOR TO RUN FOR PLACE IN CITY COUNCIL

Los Angeles, March 9 (ANP)—Although the colored group here has long been a factor in local politics, and its vote considered the balance of power in municipal elections, none of the heavily populated Negro districts have ever elected or been represented by a councilman of their race. In only a few instances over a period of many years have any candidates filed. This year Leon H. Washington, editor of the Los Angeles Sentinel, is a candidate in the seventh councilmanic district on the April 4 primaries.

His opponents, all white, will be eight in number including Howard H. Davis, incumbent for three terms, but students of local politics give the intrepid newspaperman who became famous for battles against discrimination a more than equal chance to win. Negro citizens complain that although hundreds of protests have been made to Davis during his three terms concerning needed improvements and conditions in the district, they have invariably been ignored. Whites in the district outnumber colored two to one, but many have expressed determination to support Washington.

FIGHT MOVE TO DISQUALIFY NEGRO VICTOR

Nomination of W. Coast Editor Hit

LOS ANGELES, Apr. 27. (CNA)—Rumors of the disqualification of Councilmanic Candidate Leon Washngton, Jr., following his surprising top vote in the Seventh District, were denounced this week by Loren Miller, noted attorney and writer and Washington's campaign manager.

When Washington, prominent Central Avenue Negro publisher and liberal, polled the top vote in the district to overwhelm the incumbent, Howard Davis, white, by over 3,000 ballots, rumors circulated throughout the city hall and political circles that he would be disqualified because of false residence registration.

Seek to Discredit Victory

"The entire business is a figment of the imagination" charged Miller. "It is a simple trick by which the Davis gang, who were so badly defeated, hope to discredit the overwhelming victory of Washington's candidacy. The fact is that Washington has been a resident of the Seventh District for seven years and has qualified in every way to represent his district."

It was whispered by Davis diehards that Washington had voted from his residence in the last general election. In reality, he has been voting from the address of his office, which is also his residence.

"Over 21 per cent of Washington's vote came from precincts out of the Negro area," declared Miller. "That means also that many others would like to see a Negro representative in the city council."

Washington will be opposed by the Rev. Carl Rasmussen, white, in the finals on May 2.

See Move To Prevent Negro Candidate From Running For Council

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Former Iowa Woman on Lo Angeles School Board

Big Journal 6-1-39

TO HONOR NEW SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER

Los Angeles, June 1 (ANP)—Miss Fay E. Allen, recently elected member to the Los Angeles board of education and the first Negro to be elected to a citywide public office, will be honored by the Eastside Citizens committee of 100 at a presentation ball to be given at the Vogue ballroom. Supervisor John Anson Ford will present Miss Allen with a bronzo plaque for her outstanding achievement. Mrs. Rosalie Randolph is chairman of the affair. Tentative date for the ball is June 11.

Miss Allen, a native of Iowa, is the only new member on the board. She is well qualified for the post since she is a teacher and has been prominent in local civic affairs for a number of years.

When a few days ago the Associated Press hearalded over the nation the fact that Mrs. Allen, had been elected to the board of education at Los Angeles few Iowa Negroes recognized the name as being that of a former Ottumwa, Iowa girl. Miss Fay E. Weeks, daughter of Mrs. Eliza Wise.

James Ford Honored at Dinner

Seated at the speakers' table at the banquet given in honor of James W. Ford, Communist candidate for the vice-presidency during the past two elections and author of the recently published book, "The Negro and the Democratic Front," are (left to right) Mrs. Earl Browder, Mr. Browder Mr. Ford, James Baker, Miss Gwendolyn Bennett and Robert Miner.

Spotlight on Harlem

By James W. Ford

Daily Worker

The Comunist Party has nominated Israel Amter as its candidate for the City Council of New York City in the November elections. We shall make an energetic campaign for his election to that office. 11-39

The office of councilman in the City of New York with its more than 7,000,000 inhabitants, is an important one. Our city is the greatest cosmopolitan center of the world, where men and women of all national groups have participated in the building of a huge modern and progressive metropolis. The strength of New York City lies in the unity of its various national groups which, despite their scattered origins, have created one gigantic block for progress. Our community stands four square behind the New Deal in City, State and National politics, and for recovery.

New York

The Communist Party is proud to put forward its candidate for the law making body of this great city. The role of our Party in the present political situation is to unite the progressive forces in their struggle against reaction.

The Communist Party fights for an immediate and far-reaching program of civic betterment —jobs, adequate housing, adequate relief, crime prevention, eradication of the last vestige of graft and corruption in city administration, against racial discrimination, improved educational and health facilities, in short, a progressive program for municipal government, for a national program for Socialism.

The Communist Party through Israel Amter will make its stand against anti-Semitism.

New York City cannot be called a truly representative democracy until the thousands of Negro citizens see a progressive member of their group elected to the law-making body of the city. Under the system of proportional representation this will necessitate the support of all the progressive voters in each borough. The Communist Party calls upon the citizens of New York City to elect a progressive Negro to the Council.

POLITICAL- 1939
ELECTIONS

CONNECTICUT

Colored Man Runs For Selectman In Bridgeport, Conn.

Journal and Guide 11-4-39

Norfolk Va.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—For the first time in the history of Bridgeport, a colored man has been placed on the tickets to run for the office of Selectman. The candidate who will run in the race is John W. Lancaster, a native son.

Mr. Lancaster received his preparatory education in the Bridgeport schools and graduated from Lincoln University, Pa., and the Fordham Law School. He is a fraternity member, president of the local NAACP, member of the AME Zion Church and an ardent religious and civic worker.

POLITICAL- 1939
ELECTIONS

A Worthy Appointment

The President's appointment of Felix Frankfurter to the supreme court has been confirmed by the senate. The Harvard law professor is a worthy addition to the country's highest tribunal.

He is a man of great legal training and therefore is welcomed by his associate justices. He is a member of a minority race, so his appointment is hailed by all minority groups as an indication of what is possible in a democratic country.

He is a liberal thinker and, like his predecessor, the late Associate Justice Cardozo, will join those who believe that every citizen, regardless of race, color or creed, has the right to enjoy equally every opportunity offered in the land.

Mobile, Ala. Press
January 13, 1939

Frankfurter on Civil Liberty

Prof. Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard law school, in his appearance before the Senate judiciary subcommittee examining his qualifications for the supreme court post to which President Roosevelt has nominated him, put his detractors to shame.

Mr. Frankfurter showed that he was no "dangerous radical" as one of his critics, Miss Elizabeth Dilling, author of a book called the "Red Network," had testified the day before, but actually a liberal in the true sense of the word.

Professor Frankfurter emphasized a real concept of tolerance and of civil liberties when he admitted he had supported the rights of Ku Klux Klan members and Nazi sympathizers to enjoy constitutional rights of freedom of speech and assembly. This by no means indicates that Professor Frankfurter has any sympathy with the viewpoints of members of the Ku Klux Klan, Nazis, or other un-American groups, but simply that he recognizes the fact that under our Constitution they are free to preach their doctrines and give voice to their opinions.

"Civil liberties mean liberties for those we like and those we don't like or even detest," the Harvard professor explained. And this is the very essence of a democratic doctrine that a good many Americans do not seem to understand. As long as they agree with an individual, a political party or organization in its views, freedom of speech and assembly is a fine thing, but let someone utter a view in violent conflict with their beliefs, or contrary to generally accepted American principles and suppression of the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution will seem to them in proper order. This is precisely what happened in Jersey City, where Mayor Frank Hague banished the C. I. O. and Socialists, denying them the right of freedom of assembly and speech. Unfortunately, the very fact that Mr. Hague was able to do this, with the support of a great many of his constituents who did not agree with the labor beliefs of the C. I. O. or the Socialism of Norman Thomas, indicates the lack of appreciation on the part of many of constitutional privileges that make America the land of the free.

The moment we begin to draw distinctions as to whom the privilege of free utterance belongs, we give sanction to the principle that enabled Hitler to establish himself as dictator, and suppress all civil liberties for his people. The courts rebuked Mayor Hague for the dictator attitude he took, and held his acts excluding freedom of speech and peaceful assembly from Jersey City, except to those he wished to grant it, was unconstitutional.

Professor Frankfurter in supporting civil rights for those we frequently regard as guilty of activities not in keeping with the American tradition was simply interpreting the Constitution as it has always been interpreted by the courts. If this is "radicalism" then justices who have occupied the supreme court bench since the foundation of the republic have been radicals.

Incidentally Senator Borah's objection to testimony offered by Allen Zoll of New York opposing confirmation of the Frankfurter nomination on grounds it would "fan a wave of anti-Semitism" is easily understandable. Mr. Zoll was saturated with the intolerant spirit, which caused Senator Borah to remark that he was raising a question that had "drenched Europe with blood." There need be no fear that the appointment of a Jew to the supreme court will cause the beating of the drums of intolerance in our land. In fact, it will serve as an example of America's freedom from racial and religious hatreds that stalk through benighted countries across the Atlantic.

The Senate subcommittee made no mistake in immediately approving Mr. Frankfurter's nomination, for his ability is unquestioned, and his integrity unmarred by the petty attacks to which it was subjected. The Senate judiciary committee will no doubt speedily follow similar action and place the nomination on the floor where no barrier appears to confirmation.

Urge President To Name Negro Judge to Court

9-30-39

Washington, D.C.

The Washington Branch of the NAACP urged President Roosevelt this week to appoint a colored judge to the United States Court for the District to the vacancy caused by the death recently of Justice Cox in a communication mailed to the White House.

Signed by Dr. C. Herbert Marshall, Jr., president of the District branch, the letter states:

"Honorable Sir:

"Another opportunity presents itself to you to appoint a Negro to the bench of the United States Court for the District of Columbia. Not a few, but a respectable number of local lawyers are ideally equipped to serve as District court judges.

"The Negroes deserve such honor and should have it. No single act could do more to prove to the world that America is a democracy in fact than this recognition, at the seat of our government, of black Americans.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People urges this appointment."

Colored Attorneys Indorse Hayes for District Bench

Press

The Washington Bar Association of colored attorneys, has indorsed George E. C. Hayes for the bench of the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia.

In a resolution, the association says that "Mr. Hayes is eminently qualified by education, temperament, and experience" for the position, having been a teacher of law at Howard University for 15 years, and active in the trial and appellate courts.

10-22-39

The resolution added: "In view of the systematic exclusion of Negroes from Federal judgeships, the appointment of Mr. Hayes will go a long way toward re-establishing in the minds of a large sector of our population faith and confidence in the impartial administration of justice, especially in this Federal-controlled District."

KU KLUX KLAN CANDIDATE BOYCOTTED

Courier

MIAMI, May 18 (ANP)—A highlight of last week's city election as a prelude to which the Ku Klux Klan marched ineffectively to intimidate Negro voters, was the important and strategic part played by high school students in defeating Commissioner Candidate Christiansen.

5-20-39

In a last-minute appeal for support of the white voters, Candidate Christiansen, an ice cream manufacturer, radioed his refusal to accept Negro votes, if any were cast for him. The news spread like wildfire through the colored section, and next day the students painted a big sign, strung it across the school cafeteria, proclaiming in broad letters: "Christiansen does not want our votes—We don't want his ice cream!" Result of this and other appeals to Negro voters was that the colored vote on election day was the largest in history of the city, and showed conclusively that the Klan had lost its power to spread fear among the Negro citizenry.

A Note Of Bravery

Plain dealer

The old Ku Klux Klan organization took a terrific defeat the other day down in Florida when the new Negro of today demonstrated that intimidation and terrorism no longer frightens them. The Klan tried to keep the Negroes from exercising their citizenship rights at the polls, but the Negroes marched to the polls and cast their votes, the largest in the history of Miami.

Hooded gorillas gathered around the polls, paraded the streets, staged dummy lynchings and cut all kinds of foolish and silly pranks to scare the Negro, but they got a big laugh and a big vote in return.

5-19-39

We commend those citizens of Miami for standing up and being men and women. We hope that the Negro population throughout the United States will profit from that demonstration of bravery, courage, self control and organized action. There are many cities in the south where our people cannot vote, all because of some foolish scare as was tried in Miami. Even in some of our northern cities, our people fail to exercise their civic rights because of fear. In many cases they must obey the political bosses who throw scares into them on the patronage score, the job score and that a minority group must follow the dictates of a political machine. The citizens of Miami demonstrated considerable more guts and courage than we do in some of our northern cities. The only difference is that in the south, the Klan use white sheets over their faces to scare the Negroes and keep them from voting, while in the north the political bosses use the patronage to make the Negroes vote the way they want them. If the Negro in the south dances to the music of the klans and not vote, what is the difference in the results, when they dance to the music of the northern political bosses and vote the way they want them?

Miami, Fla. Herald
May 20, 1939

WHITE PRIMARY BILL IS SIGNED

Cone Approves Measure For Miami Despite Protest From Two Groups

HERALD BUREAU

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., May 19.—Disregarding protests, Governor Cone signed into law Thursday a legislative bill barring negroes from voting in Miami's city primaries.

Both the Negro Citizens Service League and the American League For Peace and Democracy urged the governor to veto the measure which was passed by the senate last Wednesday after similar action by the house.

The league sent a petition to the governor signed by 300 negro voters and asking him to veto the bill because it was aimed at a minority which "pays one-third of the total taxes of the city," the petition also said it would bring unfavorable publicity to Miami.

"Railroaded Through"

The American League For Peace and Democracy called the bill "a threat to democratic rights," and asserted it was "railroaded through the legislature."

The bill was introduced by the Dade county delegation about the time that a band of men garbed in Ku Klux Klan regalia attempted to intimidate Miami negroes from participating in Miami's city primary May 2. It does not prohibit negroes from voting in the city's general election a week after the primary.

Another provision of the act requires candidates for Miami's city commission to qualify by depositing a $100 fee with the city clerk instead of filing petitions signed by voters.

Tampa, Fla. Tribune
October 22, 1939

1330 Negroes Are Registered for Nov. 7 Election

A total of 1330 Tampa negroes registered for the general election Nov. 7 since books were opened three weeks ago, the city election board reported yesterday as plans were made to close them tomorrow. Only 86 white persons registered.

The biggest rush of the period came yesterday morning and 112 negroes were put on the rolls before doors were closed at noon.

The heavy negro registration is not expected to affect results of the election inasmuch as the only contest is in district No. 12, in which there are few negroes.

Negro registration was protested in a resolution by the white municipal party, which alleged the campaign was sponsored by unscrupulous politicians. Negro leaders denied this, and said the campaign was sponsored by the Negro Voters' league, the negro chamber of commerce and the Tampa branch of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

Many of those who registered are property owners and will have a right to vote in the freeholders election, to be held the same day, on a site for a United States public health building in Marjorie park.

A SLAP IN THE FACE

NEGRO VOTERS throughout the country, regardless of party affiliation, are shocked at the disclosure made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that President Roosevelt and his Congressional leaders have jammed through the confirmation of Elmer D. Davies, admitted ex-member of the Ku Klux Klan, as federal judge in the middle Tennessee district.

Age 7-29-39

The N. A. A. C. P., in a letter to President Roosevelt, reviewing the whole case from the time Davies was mentioned for the post up to the time the President made him a judge for life, declares that it hopes that the error of the Republican Party up to 1932 when it assumed that it could not drive the Negro vote out of its ranks is not being repeated by the Democratic party. It brands the entire handling of the Davies nomination and confirmation as guided by trickery and speed.

Newyork

In its review of the case, the N. A. A. C. P. cited the fact that both President Roosevelt and Attorney General Murphy had been warned as early as April 11 and 13, respectively, that Mr. Davies was reputed to have been a member of the K. K. K. Affidavits attesting to this membership were forwarded to the White House and to the Department of Justice three months before Davies' name came up in the Senate.

Asserting that after the White House and the Attorney General and the Senate subcommittee on the judiciary apparently had ignored all protests on Davies, as well as the latter's own admission that he had been a member of the Klan, sixty-two members of the Senate were written to directly, the N. A. A. C. P.'s letter states:

"When the N. A. A. C. P. learned on July 7 that despite protests against the nomination of Mr Davies, the President had sent Mr. Davies' name to the Senate, the N. A. A. C. P. wired its protest against confirmation to Senator Harry F. Ashhurst, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and wrote sixty-two Senators quoting the text of the protest and urging that they oppose confirmation of Mr. Davies.

"When Mr. Davies stated that he had attended only one Klan meeting, the N. A. A. C. P. telegraphed sixteen members of the Senate Judiciary Committee urging that Mr. Davies be recalled before the committee and queried as to how active he had been in the Ku Klux Klan. Despite these protests the nomination was reported favorably to the Senate."

Recounting the unusual haste of the Senate and the "trickery" surrounding the nomination of Davies, the NAACP said:

"Early in the afternoon of July 12 Senator McKellar interrupted the legislative session of the Senate to bring the nomination up for consideration out of its regular order. Few Senators were present on the floor of the Senate. So far as we have been able to learn, no advance notice was given by Mr. McKellar nor by the Senate leadership that this nomination would be called up out of turn. The nomination was confirmed without debate or a record vote. Moreover, the usual procedure of allowing a confirmed nomination to lie on the desk of the Executive Clerk of the Senate for two legislative days before transmittal to the President was waived and the item was sent to the President at once.

"Later that same afternoon, on the initiative of Senator Barbour, the Senate voted to recall the nomination from the White House for further consideration. Yet at noon the next day, when the request to return the nomination reached the White House the commission of Mr. Davies had been prepared, signed by the President and speeded to the appointee. In brief, a process which in its normal course would not be completed within three or four days was rushed to completion within less than twenty-four hours.

"The record in this case is all the more inexplicable to thoughtful Americans in view of the commendable campaign of the President and the Attorney General to clean up the federal judiciary and to remove unworthy judges from the courts. The conclusion is inescapable that those who engineered this speedy maneuver acted with full knowledge that Mr. Davies was being opposed vigorously and that the regular and orderly consideration of his nomination might result in its defeat."

The N. A. A. C. P. concludes its letter to the President with the warning that this whole case "can cause the Negro to use his vote in protest against actions of this administration as effectively as the actions of the Republican administration caused him to cast his vote against that party in 1932 and 1936."

It looks like the President has cut a hog in this case by slapping in the face those who have been most loyal to him—the Negro voter.

PREDICT NEGRO FEDERAL JUDGE IN U.S. IN '40

Says Gotham Will Get Appointment

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17.— The appointment of a Negro federal judge in continental United States in 1940 is predicted freely in certain circles in Washington.

Desirous of holding the great Negro vote which helped pile up such terrific majorities for him in 1932 and 1936, President Roosevelt is being counselled by members of his inner circle of politicians to make such an appointment early next year.

The appointment would naturally be made in New York where the concurrence of Senators Meade and Wagner could be obtained without necessitating or precipitating a confirmation fight in the senate.

Would Srtngthen Relations

This move naturally would not be much cause for jubilation south of the Mason-Dixon line and would also do much to cement relations in New York between an unfriendly New Deal and Tammany — which has experienced some very lean years here recently. And also, by virtue of such an appointment, when and if it is made, strengthen the Negro vote for Tammany in the Metropolis.

Which naturally brings about much chatter as to who will be the eligible man. And what part Herbert Bruce, leader of the 21st district will play in the naming of the fortunate individual. There are many who will answer the last question with an emphatic "none," but Bruce may be asked out of courtesy.

Another rumor gaining credence in these parts is to the effect that Rep. James A. Gavagan now representing the congressional district embracing most of Harlem, will be asked to head the New York County Democratic party as the Tammany hall leader—a position formerly freighted with prestige now empty honor and a headache—resigning his position as Congressman, leaving the way open for the naming of a Negro to congress from New York.

Congress Move Defeated

Years ago, New York started such a move to send a Negro to congress with the move gaining momentum through the work of George Harris, former politico-newsman. But opposition to Harris was so strong the nomination he himself sought was peddled through the city with first one strong candidate and then another turning the offer down.

At last, it went to former Ald E. A. Johnson, a brilliant lawyer and writer, but whose advancing years made him an almost impossible candidate. Johnson, however, spent some money and made a very creditable showing, even in defeat.

The following election instructions were sent New York to designate another Negro for the district, but, according to insiders, Johnson was to be eliminated and a weaker opponent selected. Hubert H. Delaney an unknown, except for the fact that he was a lawyer and had married Emmett Scott's daughter was the selection. Political observers believe Delaney is now being rewarded for the terrific beating he took in that election.

However, New York will welcome the appointment if Mr. Roosevelt goes through with his advisors' plans, for New York is hungry and is jealous of Chicago which has received more New Deal political plums than has its big brother on the Hudson.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
August 9, 1939

'A Fine Sense Of Justice'

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS finds that it is with "a fine sense of justice" that The Louisville Courier-Journal advocates the election of at least one negro alderman to the Louisville Board of Aldermen, so that the negroes will have proper representation in the city government.

What constitutes "a fine sense of justice" in one such "Southern" city as Louisville would also doubtless constitute "a fine sense of justice" in another such "Southern" city as Birmingham. Thus, we are anxiously awaiting an open avowal by The Birmingham News of that which it has already so plainly shown that it favors; namely, the election of a negro to the City Commission.

Two-fifths of the people of Birmingham are negroes, and to advocate that the city place at least one negro on the commission is the very least that The Birmingham News can do; that is, in view of the fact that it finds a similar proposal in Louisville so praiseworthy.

By the same token, it is a shame that Birmingham cannot divide its congressman, like Gaul, into three parts—so that the negroes can have their share. Doubtless The Birmingham News has pondered that problem and found it an impossible, but far from impossible is a proper representation of our Jefferson County negroes in the State Legislature. Either two or three negroes on the delegation of seven would be the proper proportion—and it is none too early for The Birmingham News, with its fine sense of justice, to start such a campaign for 1942.

In the meantime, we anxiously await word from The Birmingham News on our suggestion that it take the lead in doing away with the "white supremacy" slogan which the Democratic Party has used for years in Alabama. The Birmingham News is the largest Democratic journal in Alabama and surely this newspaper, with such a fine sense of justice, finds the present situation intolerable. Praising as it does the fine sense of justice which its Louisville compatriot displays in advocating the election of a negro to the city's aldermanic board, The Birmingham News must be both pained and grieved by the thought that it lives in such a benighted state as Alabama; a state so benighted that its chief political party uses the words "white supremacy" on every ballot which it permits to be cast.

What Birmingham does, of course, is no great concern of ours—but what The Birmingham News does is of great concern. We do not for a moment underestimate the enormous political influence which The Birmingham News, as the state's largest newspaper, wields in Alabama. We know that its influence by no means stops at the borders of Jefferson County—and for that reason we breathlessly await the next step which The Birmingham News will take in its quiet campaign to set this state free from the domination of the whites. For instance, will The Birmingham News be as kind to the whites as to the negroes? Will it permit Greene County—with six negroes to one white—to have a white probate judge once in every seven terms, or to send a white legislator to Montgomery once in every seven sessions? Greene County, and many other counties like Greene, are anxiously waiting to hear what this newspaper, with its fine sense of justice, has to say. These are momentous issues, worthy of an open discussion. If the "white supremacy" watchword of the Democratic Party is not a disgrace at the top of our ballots, it should be no disgrace to discuss it in the columns of our newspapers.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE ELECTION

THE 1939 ELECTIONS are about over and the most gratifying result was the return to a more conservative attitude on the part of voters in the Midwest and Far West as shown in the defeat of the "$30 Every Thursday" Amendment in California and the pension bill of Ohio. In several sections of the country, notably in Philadelphia and throughout Pennsylvania, the Republicans made notable gains.

In New York, however, the election was marked by a comeback victory on the part of Tammany Hall, which succeeded in electing its entire slate of judges to the Court of General Session and Parts 1 and 2 of the Supreme Court. Present indications are that Tammany has also increased its lead in the City Council and will have a clear majority when the count has been completed.

This result was obtained, in our opinion by the superior organization the Democratic machine has in New York City to the Republicans and American Labor Party. They not only sent out more literature but also were able to make personal contact with more voters. Except in the case of Councilman Baldwin, the Republicans made no organized effort to gain support for their individual candidates. This was especially apparent in the Negro neighborhoods of the city where the district organizations conducted an apathetic campaign.

If 1940 is to be a banner year for the Republican party, campaign plans should be perfected at once and workers employed to increase the registration of Negroes eligible to vote and at the same time acquaint them with the fact that the program of the Republican party offers the best opportunity for the improving the economic conditions of the country as a whole and the masses in particular.

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ELECTIONS

GEORGIA

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
April 19, 1939

Thomas Cater Appointed Marshal by City Council

Macon Employe Transferred to Position Made Vacant By Pool's Death

City council last night elected Thomas J. Cater city marshal, transferring him from his present office of tax assessor to the position left vacant by death of John T. Pool.

Mayor Charles L. Bowden already had appointed Mr. Cater temporarily to the marshal's office.

Describing the transfer "an economy move," H. D. Chapman, chairman of the license and tax committee, nominated Mr. Cater and declared it his committee's intention not to name a succeeding tax assessor until the new fiscal year. The city's fiscal year begins on Nov. 1.

Mr. Chapman estimated an $800 saving by keeping vacant Mr. Cater's former office until work on tax returns necessitates its being refilled. The marshal's position pays $1,640 a year.

Sympathy Expressed

The tax committee, under which the late Mr. Pool worked, and council expressed sympathy to family and friends of the marshal, who suffered a fatal heart attack in a local motion picture house last week.

In a lengthy report adopted by council, the police committee last night denied a petition of the Colored Citizens Committee of Macon requesting the dismissal of Police Officer A. J. Millirons on a charge of "conduct unbecoming an officer."

The petitioners had alleged that Mr. Millirons used "excessive force" in arresting Sarah Scott, 16-year-old Negress ,after ordering her and other Negro children to stop skating on Main street, East Macon, on Feb. 8.

The Scott girl was tried in recorder's court on March 14 and convicted with suspended sentence on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

Declaring the "conflicting versions" of the incident cannot be reconciled and "rehashing the evidence already heard would serve to rekindle passions that have become somewhat quieted," the committee's report recommended the petition's denial for the "best good and interest of the city as a whole rather than that of any individual, group or race."

THOMAS J. CATER

Co-Operation Sought

"It is our further hope," the report continued, "that the general public will continue to respect and co-operate with a police officer in the conduct of his duties."

Extending zoning laws begun at last week's session with restriction of building along parts of Vineville avenue, council last night ordered similar zoning along portions of Mulberry street and Georgia avenue.

The ordinance limits to churches, residences and apartment houses all future construction within 200 feet of either side of Mulberry street between Spring and New streets and Georgia avenue between Spring and Monroe streets.

In another ordinance passed last night, council assessed property owners of Ash street, between College street and the railroad tracks, $1,279.78 for recently-completed paving.

The Business Men's Evangelistic club requested council's permission to hang a streamer across Cherry street at Third street annoucing the county-wide revival meeting to be sponsored by that organization beginning Sunday.

Invitation Accepted

Council adopted a resolution by H. W. Pittman accepting the club's invitation to the city body to attend the interdenominational meeting at Third and Walnut streets.

New street lights approved by council last night will be placed at Ocmulgee and Hill streets, Date and Courtland avenues and on Richard street.

Council granted a petition of the Homosophian club, local Negro civic organization, for permission to sponsor a Negro woman parachute jumper at Herbert Smart airport Sunday afternoon.

The petition stated that a percentage of the net proceeds will be given Ballard Normal school and Georgia Baptist College, Negro educational institutions.

Tag day for Unionville Negro Baptist church on April 29 also was approved by the city body.

Mayor Bowden welcomed members of the Y-Civic club, business women's organization of the YWCA, who visited council last night.

Like Father Like Son

Journal

Speaking to an audience in the court house at Sumter last summer, the then governor of the state, Olin D. Johnston yelled forth after having all Negro hearers chased out: "I don't run after N———rs. I run them from me." He was "run" out of the election by Ed Smith, now chawing tobacco and worrying about being "in the dog house" in Washington.

Savannah, Ga.

The News and Courier, local Negro hating paper, would have Negroes "run" out of the South and settled north, east and west.

The two, Johnston and the News and Courier, are father and son to "running off Negroes." Just who is father and who is son, we don't know. We do know both belong in the same family.

Carrollton, Ga., Times
July 6, 1939

Mayor T. R. Luck Enters Race For Congress

Governor Rivers Calls Election For August 1st; Five Qualify For Race

Governor E. D. Rivers issued a proclamation Saturday calling a special election in the Fourth Congressional District for August 1st, to choose a successor to the late Congressman Emmett Owen. The Chief Executive said he was informed that all the candidates who expected to qualify had already done so. The law requires that candidates qualify with the secretary of state at least thirty days before the election, making Saturday the last day for qualification.

Five men have qualified with the Secretary of State to enter this race: A. Sidney Camp, of Newnan; assistant United States Attorney, who ran second last year; Ed Blalock of Jonesboro, who served Mr. Owen as clerk throughout his term of six and one half years; O. M. Duke, of Flovilla, Butts County; Louis C. Clark, of Greenville, and T. R. Luck of Carrollton.

Last Saturday Mayor Thomas R. Luck, of Carrollton, announced his candidacy for Congressman from the Fourth Congressional District to succeed the late Emmett Owen.

Mayor Luck is now serving his fifth term as Mayor of Carrollton. He served a term as president of the Georgia Municipal Association and is well-known throughout this section of the state, especially in this district.

Mr. Luck has been a member of the District Executive Committee for the past eight or ten years.

When asked to give a statement regarding his candidacy, Mayor Luck said:

"I have had this matter under consideration for sometime and decidied to make the race as the result of numerous offers of support having been received from all over the District."

There are fifteen counties in the district: Troup, population, 36,753; Carroll, 35,272; Coweta, 25,127; Spalding, 23,495; Meriwether, 22,437; Upson, 19,509; Newton, 17,290; Henry, 15,924; Pike, 10,838; Clayton, 10,260; Heard, 9,802; Lamar, 9,745; Butts, 9,345; Fayette, 8,665; and Talbot, 8,458.

While Carroll ranks only second in population, she can when interested cast a much larger vote than any other county in the district. The negro population in Troup, reduces her voting population.

Though a very important election it is not likely that there will be anything like a full vote in any of the counties, coming as it does at the close of a busy season for farmers.

Nevertheless it is the duty of every voter to vote in all elections; self interest dictates that he should do so, patriotic duty demands that he should do so and both demand that he should always vote for the best qualified and most dependable man available. All other considerations are purely secondary. The same rule should govern as with a good business man selecting an employe, indeed that is precisely what we are doing when we elect an officer.

POLITICAL- 1939
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ILLINOIS

URGE MAYOR TO NAME NEGROES TO VACANCIES

'Super Committee' Under Fire

4-30-39

Negro organizations are up in arms over the failure of Mayor Kelly's advisory committee on school affairs to include a member of the race in its list of prospective board members which it is understood will be submitted to the mayor very soon. The terms of two board members expire this month. They are Harry W. Solomon and Karl V. Janovsky-Johns.

The list as published in a daily newspaper recently included representatives of labor, of the Jewish race and of the Catholic faith but the Negro was completely ignored although it is known that the names of several outstanding Negro citizens have been presented to the committee by the Chicago Council of Negro organizations, the Chicago District Association of Colored Women, the Urban League, NAACP and the United Alumni Associations.

The following persons were named: Attorney Charles N. Schwartz, Curtis W. Reese of Abraham Lincoln Center, Samuel Levin, official of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Gerhardt Meyne, building contractor; Edwin E. Embree of the Rosenwald Fund; Henry P. Chandler, president of the Chicago Bar Association; Edgar L. Ryerson, steel executive, and Dr. John A. Lapp, former professor of sociology at Marquette university.

SENTIMENT AGAINST FEINBERG GROWS; NAACP

5-14-39

Following the leadership of the Chicago branch of the N. A. A. C. P., the fight to defeat Judge Feinberg is gaining strength and support throughout the city. Over 10,000 citizens have signed pledges agreeing not to vote for Feinberg, who by his attitude on the bench has shown that he yields to the pressure of the prejudice.

At a special meeting of the executive committee of the N. A. A. C. P. last week, it was determined that all of the groups throughout the city which are opposed to Feinberg would unite in a city-wide committee which would work to defeat him. The judge, himself has sought to get some persons from the Negro race and from other groups to present a plea for him.

Voters are asked to examine the record of those persons and ask of them if they are being paid to do this or forced to do it because of past "favors" from the judge in cases where real issue was involved.

Committeeman Edward Sneed of the Third ward has stated to NAACP officials that he is opposed to Feinberg and that his organization will not work for him. Atty. C. C. Wimbish, another Democratic leader and organization head in the Second ward states that he will instruct all of his captains to "kill Feinberg."

Joseph Tittinger, white Democratic leader in the Second ward has failed to answer the letters of the NAACP which asked him to declare himself in respect to Feinberg. Ira W. Williams, president of the Chicago branch, NAACP, in an interview stated that the issue involved transcends all party lines and the only way to make it clear to all parties and all judicial candidates that the Negro resents bad treatment in the courts of justice is to defeat Feinberg. He stated that if the campaign is successful in causing 200,000 votes to go against Feinberg that it will be clear to all concerned that the Negro is not to be trifled with in respect to "justice before the courts."

Klansmen distributed placards warning Negroes away from the polls, and displayed nooses to intimidate possible voters. The letter also referred to reports that a Negro was hung in effigy.

"Although Negroes of Miami refused to be intimidated," the letter said, "and did actually vote at a ratio greater than ever before, there has been open and flagrant violation of the federal laws.

"Some of the Miami Klansmen were masked," the letter said, "but some were not, and a few posed for newspaper photographers."

COLORED LAWYERS FIND JEW WITH RACE PREJUDICE AND OPPOSE HIM FOR JUDGE; MINISTERS ALSO JOIN

5-2-39

But Two Liberal Jews of Chicago are Endorsed for Judiciary by Same Group Fighting Michael Feinberg

Chicago, May 25—(ANP)—Opposition of this city's colored voters to the candidacy of Michael Feinberg for re-election as Judge of the Circuit Court was given added strength on Friday, when the Cook County Bar Association turned thumbs down on Feinberg, for reportedly saying in open court that he couldn't understand why Negroes insisted on living in districts "where they were not wanted."

The Bar Association members held a primary on candidates for Judges of the Circuit and Superior courts, and candidates were investigated by a judiciary committee composed of Attorneys A. M. Borroughs, chairman, C. F. Stratford, Richard E. Westbrooks, Joseph McLendon, R. Esdras Turner, Irving C. Mollison and Loring Moore.

Prior to the primary the judiciary committee sent to all candidates a questionaire, in which the following question was asked: "Do you believe in covenants restricting the occupancy of real estate to members of the Caucasion race?" The question was pertinent because of the deplorable shortage of houses in the colored Southside district?"

Judge Feinberg's reply: "One's personal opinion should not influence or govern his judicial acts." The lawyers decided this answer was inconsistent with the remark made by him several months ago, when he issued a mandatory injunction ordering Carl A. Hansberry to vacate the home he had purchased in a "white" district, because of the restrictive covenant in all property deeds in that section. On that occasion he reportedly criticized Negroes for insisting on living "where they were not wanted."

In contrast to the Feinberg attitude, the lawyers pointed to the answers received from Judges Harry Fisher, Benjamin Epstein, who, like Feinberg, are of the Jewish race. Judge Fisher: "Socially, spiritually and morally I loathe covenants restricting occupancy of real estate to members of the Caucasion race, and hold beneath contempt those who enter into such covenants. As a judge, should any controversy arise over such a covenant, I would of course, be obliged to follow the law as I would find it. That, however, would not change my personal feeling in the matter.

Judge Epstein: "I do not believe in covenants restricting the occupancy of real estate to members of the Caucaasion race. While it is true that under the law our courts have upheld restrictive covenants against all minority groups, yet I believe also in the doctrine announced by the Supreme Court of our state, that restrictions should be looked upon with disfavor and whenever possible overruled." The Bar Association endorsed Judges Fisher and Epstein for re-election, on June 5th.

Two Negro Democrats Elected Aldermen To Chicago City Council

Republicans Show Splendid Gains, but Democrats Sweep Chicago Colored Districts

By ALBERT G. BARNETT For ANP

CHICAGO—Last Tuesday for the first time in Chicago's history, two colored Democrats were elected aldermen to the city council—Earl B. Dickerson to represent the Second Ward, Benjamin A. Grant, the Third.

Dickerson, an assistant state attorney general, won over GOP Candidate Wm. E. King, a former state senator and Republican committeeman of the potent Second Ward. King's defeat at the Primary of GOP Alderman William Dawson fanned anew the blazing feud between the two, result being that at the election Tuesday Republican Dawson threw his support to Democrat Dickerson, a handicap too great for King to overcome.

In the Third Ward, Benjamin A. Grant, deputy coroner and a newcomer in local politics, pulled the cup of victory from GOP Veteran Oscar DePriest, hero of many a political battle and a former representative from the First District in U. S. Congress. The Second Ward-Dawson-to-Dickerson maneuver was duplicated in the Third, when GOP Alderman Robert R. Jackson, defeated at the primary by DePriest, threw his support to Democrat Grant, a handicap too great for DePriest to overcome. With a record of 22 years' service as Republican alderman, Jackson's switch to Democratic ranks was called "unforgiveable" by old-time GOP leaders who apparently discountenance the theory that "all" fai rin love, war and politics."

Outstanding feature of the city-wide election was the remarkable showing made by GOP Candidate for Mayor Dwight H. Green who was defeated by Mayor Edward J. Kelly by 183,000 votes—the figures showing: Kelly, 820,517, Green, 637. 107, out of a total of 1,478,637 ballots cast. The size of the Green vote was "manna from Heaven" to the GOP forces, many leaders declaring its prophetic of a Republican year in 1940 for Illinois and the Nation. At Green's Hotel LaSalle headquarters, leaders said the big vote. largest in history for a GOP mayoralty candidate—shows the New Deal machine has definitely hit the taboggan.

COLORED VOTERS

Political observers and students of the situation on Chicago's famed Southside, former banner GOP district of the country and always counted in the Republican totals even before the votes were cast—are pointing to the fact that last Tuesday's Democratic sweep shows what effective organization and machine rule can achieve among colored voters.

In the old, GOP halcyon days of Edward H. Wright, astute political leader, chiefly responsible—with former Mayor Wm. Hale Thompson—for development of the Second and Third Ward powerful GOP organizations, a smooth-functioning machine had been built through patronage awards 'to the faithful,' voter education and oratorical appeals for support of American principles and constitutional liberty. So potent and air-tight were the Negro GOP districts of that era that Democrats paid little attention to the colored voters, regarded a Negro Democrat as the eight wonder of the world.

At the height of his career Ed Wright was Ward Committeeman, a county commissioner, member of the GOP County Central Committee, finally a $100-a-day real estate appraiser for the city and the only Negro state commerce commissioner. With his death, factionalism developed within GOP ranks, the breach widening because no fearless, diplomatic colored political leader was available to follow in Wright's footsteps.

With advent of the New Deal, following on the heels of Depression, which brought Chicago's colored citizen to their lowest economic level in history, a new picture unfolded on the local political screen. Controlling city, county and State, the Democrats gave patronage in wholesale lots to Negro adherents. As the opened sluicegates continued to pour Negro Democratic votes in succeeding elections, the Southside district was reportedly thrown wide open. Bookies, numbers and policy games, brothels and shady taverns were reported as thriving unmolested. Then, in recent months, States Attorney Courtney (defeated in the Primary by Mayor Kelly for the Democratic nomination) began to stage sensational city-wide raids on booking places and other gambling establishments, making several trips to the Southside district.

It remains undisputed that Mayor Kelly has espoused many causes dear to Negro hearts, outstanding among them being appointments to important city positions, his demand that they get their proportionate share of relief and his active support of the South Parkway WPA low-cost housing project for Negroes. Result last Tuesday was that while Republicans made significant gains in the rest of the city, in the colored district, Mayor Kelly's colored Democratic candidates emerged victorious.

oe Hughes, 29 Years Old, Defeats Robert Miller As Bronzeville Mayor

Piling up 94,265 votes seph Hughes, well known ung business man of Woodwn was swept into office as icago's new Mayor of onzeville when the annual elec was held at the new Grand race cafe Monday night.

ughes defeated the incumbent ert H. Miller, and two other didates, "Doc" B. H. Huggins Dr. I. H. Holloway. Miller was ly beaten. He polled only 33,442 s while Huggins was third with) and Holloway 506 votes.

ughes' victory came as a come surprise for he had not been n a chance against the veteran Miller, who had served two s as Mayor and was well on the to a third. In the primary con which ended on August 12, hes finished far behind Miller. e outgoing Mayor was the first ake the floor and offer conulations to Hughes. Said Miller. vish you the best of luck and all Bronzeville citizens give 100 percent cooperation."

orld's heavyweight boxing npion Joe Louis, who camned for Hughes during the tion was another to felicitate

ughes was especially jubilant r his victory for Monday night marked the second anniversary of his marriage to his wife, Velma Morris Hughes.

Only 29 years of age, Hughes is perhaps one of the most popular young business men in the city. He operates Joe's DeLuxe tavern, 6323 South Parkway and the West Lake Inn, 2724 West Lake street.

The new Mayor was born in White Castle, La., and has been in Chicago since 1919. He graduated from Emmerson elementary school and Crane Tech. He lives with his parents. Alex and Mrs. Edmonia Hughes.

Hughes announced that after a week's rest he will meet with a representative group of citizens and appoint his cabinet and make plans for an inaugural ball.

The Bronzeville contest is sponsored by the Chicago Defender Former mayors include James Kngiht, W. T. Brown Jr., Dr. I. H Holloway and Robert H. Miller.

National Interest Aroused Over Race Of Oscar DePriest

Globe
Nashville, Tenn.
5-17-39

Colored Citizens Throughout United States Want Former Congressman Elected Alderman In Chicago

Chicago, Ill.—(Special)—The race for alderman in the Third Ward of this city has definitely become a national issue and a matter of national concern to members of the colored race, owing to the presence in the race of the Hon. Oscar DePriest, former U. S. Congressman and the most colorful leader colored Republicans have produced since the Civil War.

From word of mouth and from colored men and women visiting Chicago as well as from letters received from many parts of the United States by colored Chicagoans, it is plain that the popularity of Oscar DePriest is as great among the masses of his people in the nation as it was when he was on the floor of Congress, battling incessantly for the rights of his people. It is plain that the retirement from Congress of Mr. DePriest was considered a major casualty by his people and there is no mistaking their desire to see him back in harness in a key position where he can wield his influence for the betterment of his people as well

OSCAR DePRIEST, Chicago, Ill.

Cast Your Vote

NEXT TUESDAY Chicagoans will marcl to the polls to exercise their rights o suffrage in the nomination and elec.ion o candidates for Mayor, City Clerk, City Treasurer and Alde.men.

The contests among the respective candidates are real honest-to-goodness fights. They are figh's where men and issues anc principles are involved. The situation will call for the solemn exercise of sound discretion by each and every voter in the effort to elec officeholders who will fill their respecuve offices with credtable dignity. The voters and the judge and jury.

It is most important that every colored person eligible to vote exercise his right of suff.age. It is important because there are wrongs and abuses suffered by colored people that only an intelligent electorate can remedy. It is important because there are candidates who are seeking only meal tickets without expectation of accepting or assuming the responsibilities of looking out for the benefit of their constituents. It is important because as a mino.ity group in a democracy where the power of the ballot carries such great significance we should show our full political strength.

Many voters will want to remain home Tuesday because they consider all the candidates unworthy of their votes. In such cases as those the voter should go to elect what he cons'ders the lesser of the two evils. If a voter fails to go to the pol's he certainly can have no excuse for inefficient government of his city.

The right to vote is an important one in our democracy. It has a special significance to colored people in Chicago because we understand that the majority of Negroes in many other parts of the country are deprived of their rights to vote. Many have spent fortunes appealing heir cases to the state supreme courts and the United States Supreme court in an attempt to exercise their right of suffrage.

So, since we are in a part of the country where no restraint is placed upon the right of a citizen to cast his vote by reason of race or previous condition of servitude we we should exercise that right wisely, judiciously and intelligently; but exercise it, we must, at any cost.

Aids Race

PAUL H. DOUGLAS, who assisted in the organization of the Red Caps union and helped A. Philip Randolph in his fight to organize the Pullman Porters' union, stands with Walter White in N. A. A. C. P. work.

PAUL DOUGLAS PRAISED BY NEWS CRITIC

Called "Famous" Economist

Bee
3-26-39

When Sterling North of the Chicago Daily News, speaks his min as he does in the following arti cle, can you as a civil-minde 5th Ward citizen afford to sen anyone but Paul H. Douglas t the City Council.

If the voters of the 5th War should choose to send Prof. Pa H. Douglas to the Chicago Cit Council, as their alderman, o Feb. 28, the city fathers would b faced with the almost unique situation of having a nationally famous economist in their midst.

What would be the net result of Douglas' sojourn to the city's sanctum sanctorum cannot be pro-nosticated this far in advance.

However, after reading the revised edition of his book, 'Social Security in the United States," it can be safely prophesied that a mind so independent would be the City Council?

A veteran of many first-rate battles against waste and graft in all forms of government, Dr. Douglas presents a concise and enlightening survey of the background of the Social Security Act, in his book. His material embraces thoroughly the legislative, constitutional and economic problems involved. The present edition carries the history of these developments through the first half of 1938. His analysis and appraisal of the federal Social Security Act is skillful and nontechnical in its expository treatment.

The author makes several recommendations for changes in the law. He advances the notion of lowering the maximum contribution rates of employers and employees for old age benefits, with government participating in financing and extending the coverage of the system. This would reduce the maximum size of the old age reserve fund. However, this noted economist from the University of Chicago points out that the critcism directed at the administration for using social security funds to meet current relief and other needs is unjustified. * * * *

He Is Worthy

THE BEE is not a rabid partisan political organ in the sense that most people understand the meaning of the term, but we do stand for men and measures—men and measures that will vouchsafe to our people and to our community locally, and to our people and to our whole nation nationally the ideals, the principles and the realities that make for a better life as the priceless possession of all the people without discriminations, circumventions, or other retarding impediments. For this reason we make bold to announce our unequivocal endorsement and whole-hearted support of Prof. Paul H. Douglas, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Chicago, who is a candidate for alderman of the Fifth Ward in the coming April 4th Primary. He is worthy.

Professor Douglas is gifted with that rare quality of character that enables him to see justice as belonging to all people, irrespective of race, creed, color, or economic condition. He has always been fair and just in his dealings with those of our group, making no distinction whatever as to the color of a man's

. E y have the voters of this city n priv leged to cast their ballots for a ndidat more deserving of their support than is Prof. Douglas, and the Negro voters, especially, should not let this rare opportunity slip by them.

His election to the important post of alderman of the Fifth Ward, a ward in which a arge number of our group live, will insure the championing of the full development of those projects particularly beneficial to our group here in this city, among the more ortan of which are the completion of Sou Park Gardens Housing project, the placing of more beds for colored patients in Oak Forest, Municipal Tuberculosis sani ums, and the Cook county hospital, better schools on the Southside with more teachers to care for the instructing of our children—al of which he has pledged himself to fight unceasingly and earnestly for.

Every Negro voter who understands the crying need of our community and its people, with respect to the above, should use his intelligence in casting his vote in the forthcoming primary election, and install into the important office of alderman the candidate whose record for integrity, fairness, justice and love of humanity as a whole, stands out in bold conspicuousness. Such a one is Prof. Paul H. Douglas, and we commend him to your suffrage because HE IS WORTHY!

Judge Feinberg Makes Bid For Colored Vote

Extending the "right hand of fellowship" to representatives of Chicago's colored citizens in an informal meeting in his private chambers in the Circuit Court Wednesday afternoon, Judge Michael Feinberg, judicial court nominee in a dramatized gesture avowed his interest in the welfare of minority groups—the Negro in particular.

Judge Feinberg it will be remembered, rendered the unfavorable and widely criticized ruling which upheld restrictive covenants in Chicago, and advised Negroes against attempting to "live where you are not wanted." His gesture of friendliness at Wednesday's meeting, in the opinion of many, can only be regarded with suspician. Observers have termed it as a direct attempt to solicit the Negro vote.

Opinion is unanimous, however, that Negroes will not be misled by the pre-election promises. They are becoming more and more cognizant of the power of the ballot, and use it with intelligence and effectiveness in matters in which they are vitally concerned.

Present at Wednesday's meeting in the jurist's private chambers were leaders in the Southside's civic and professional circles. They comprised editors and representatives from each of the local weeklies, attorneys and politicians.

Name Is Sent To Senate

Chicagoan Has Had Long And Brilliant Career

CHICAGO —(ANP)— Attorney Herman E. Moore, prominent member of the Illinois bar, for five years assistant commissioner of the Illinois Commerce commission and a former director of the NAACP, last Wednesday was nominated as judge of the district court, Virgin Islands, by President Roosevelt. His name was sent to the senate for approval and confirmation of the appointment is expected soon.

Long active in civic affairs and in litigation involving the rights of his people, Atty. Moore is also a noted traction expert, having served for the past five years as assistant commissioner of the Illinois Commerce commission During that time he was in full charge of the Chicago Traction division's universal transfer case, whose decision legalized issuance of transfers from elevated trains to street cars and buses and vice versa.

SAT ON STREET CAR CASE

Commissioner Moore also set in a judicial capacity in the case involving the division of $60,000,000 in fares and as a reult of his decision in that case, the huge sum was divided between the elevated railroad and the street car lines as he had directed.

The new federal jurist is 45 years old, a native of Jackson, Miss. He received his A. B. degree in 1914 from Howard university, his master of laws in 1919 from Boston University Law school, and his first training in traction matters when he served as attorney for the Boston City Traction Co. from 1919 to 21.

Judge Moore is a former president of the Cook County Bar association and at the time of his appointment was a member of a prominent loop law firm, his associates being Attorneys William L. Dawson (former alderman, 2nd ward), William H. Haynes, Irvin C. Mollison (member, Chicago Library board) and J. Ernest Wilkins.

HAPPILY MARRIED

Judge Moore is happily married and resides with his wife on the near Southside. She will join him at their future home in the Virgin Islands as soon as he has established his residence there. A federal judge, he will succeed Judge William H. Hastie of Washington D. C., who recently resigned the post to join the faculty of Howard University's School of law.

Several months ago another Chicagoan, Robert Morse Lovett (white), member of the faculty of the University of Chicago and long famed as a defender of the rights of minority groups, was appointed secretary to the governor of the Virgin Islands.

CONG. CHURCH EYES SEAT IN U. S. SENATE

After conferring with many Republican leaders thruout the state since his return from Washington, and months of pressing on the part of his friends, Congressman Ralph E. Church, Evanston, lone Republican representative in Washington from Cook County, today indicated he would make an early announcement concerning his decision on becoming a candidate for the United States Senate.

Acknowledged by all as a slave to duty, Congressman Church has maintained a five-year record of never having missed a session of Congress nor a single roll call, rising from a sick bed for the Special Session this fall. His thorough knowledge of events in Washington and the entire New Deal legislative program, make him the "up-to-date" candidate for service in the Senate, according to his admirers.

On Naval Affairs Committee

In this period of world unrest and European War, they also point to his ranking position and long service on the House Naval Affairs Committee. He was in Oslo, Norway, this summer, as a delegate to the Interparliamentary Conference just prior to Germany's invasion of Poland. He heard Anthony Eden deliver his famous war speech in the House of Commons but he refuses to let emotionalism sway his opposition to American participation in this war.

Congressman Church served 16 years in the Illinois Legislature. He was elected to Congress in 1934 and in 1936 carried his District by 18,000 votes against Roosevelt's 15,000 margin. The Democratic landslide in Cook County in 1938 failed to affect Church who rolled up a 40,000 majority. Although a Cook County man, living in Evanston and practicing law in Chicago, the Congressman comes from Vermilion County where he and three sisters still have large farming interests.

DePriest Fights for Chicago Job

CHICAGO — (ANP) — In Chicago's hectic primary election, which was held Tuesday, interest among colored voters centered about eleven Second and Third wards' aldermanic candidates.

In the Second ward aldermanic contest, the hottest Chicago has seen in years, Republican interest was divided between Alderman William L. Dawson and William E. King.

Called Half and Half

King, Second ward comitteeman and former State Senator, says that Dawson is half Republican and half Democrat.

The Republican primary winner must run against the Democratic candidate—concededly Earl B. Dickerson, assistant attorney general of the State, who by skillful maneuvering, is running under the Roosevelt-Kelly banner.

In the Third ward, the main GOP contenders are present Alderman Robert R. Jackson and former Congressman Oscar DePriest, Deputy Coroner Benjamin Grant, Democrat, was endorsed by Mayor Kelly and Committeeman Mike Sneed.

PROF. DOUGLAS IS DEMOCRATS' CHIEF PROBLEM

Tribune 2-26-39

Colored Wards Have Finish Fights.

BY WILLIAM STRAND.

Republican hopes soared last week as the current aldermanic campaigns were drawing to a close. Determined fights by G. O. P. candidates have narrowed the margin of leadership held by Democratic sitting aldermen. Leaders now agree that almost any development today or tomorrow can change the outcome decisively and swing the deciding votes behind the Republicans.

Under the law, aldermanic campaigns are nonpartisan. The ballots carry only a list of the candidates' names without any party identification. But in every instance those named as favorites in the races are supported by party organizations.

Wherever no candidate has a clear majority in any ward, the two leaders must enter a runoff campaign which will be decided in a second election April 4. Those candidates winning a majority Tuesday will be declared elected, but will not take their seats until after the mayoral election.

Family Strife Bitter.

Meanwhile the battle between the rival Democratic factions has shown increasing bitterness with the approach of the election Tuesday. Aldermanic candidates supporting State's Attorney Courtney are waging unremitting warfare on candidates wearing Mayor Kelly's colors.

There is no contest for the 1st ward seat, which was left vacant late last year through the death of John [The Bath] Coughlin. Former Alderman Michael [Hinky Dink] Kenna, the regular Democratic committeeman, had several opponents when the campaign opened, but all have withdrawn, leaving him in command of the field.

In the 2d and 3d wards, making up most of the city's wide Negro section, the candidates have rolled back the years in one of the bitterest campaigns in the last decade. Besides the usual political issues, the 1939 campaigns have been marked by harsh personal feuds between the principals. In the 2d ward, former State Senator William E. King, regular G. O. P. committeeman, is seeking to oust Ald. William L. Dawson, also a Republican. Dawson tried in 1936 to wrest the committeeman's post from King but failed by a narrow margin.

As youthful attorneys, the two started in politics together and for many years were inseparable friends. Together they eliminated Louis B. Anderson, former Republican floor leader in the council, and then divided control of the ward organization.

Trade Blame in Defeats.

But they couldn't agree. King failed of reëlection to the legislature last November. Many of his supporters blame Dawson's organization. Dawson was defeated in a race for a seat in the national house of representatives. His friends blame King's organization. Thus the two are now waging a finish fight which is expected to settle many old scores.

The Democratic ward organization has also been split by factional strife. Corneal A. Davis is supported by the Courtney group, while Attorney Earl B. Dickerson is the Kelly candidate. However, the ward is normally Republican.

Experts regard the real battle as being between King and Ald. Dawson with the former having a slight edge because of outstanding work in the legislature. There are strong possibilities, it is said, that the two will have to battle through a runoff.

Jackson Runs on Record.

The campaign in the 3d ward is patterned along similar lines. Ald. Robert R. Jackson, a Republican with a record of long service in the council, is opposed by the G. O. P. ward committeeman, former Congressman Oscar DePriest. The latter was the first member of his race to sit in the national legislature in more than a quarter century and a few years ago had a large following.

But in late years many of his supporters have deserted for other camps. Although he is recognized as a threat to Ald. Jackson, observers give him only an outside chance to win. The incumbent is active on several important council committees and is running on his record of improvements for the ward in the last six years.

Deputy Coroner Benjamin A. Grant, indorsed by the regular Democratic organization, is making a strong bid and stands a chance of being in a runoff should Jackson and DePriest divide the G. O. P. votes.

Lewis Is Factor.

John A. Lewis, leading the fight for State's Attorney Courtney, has also received the consideration of the forecasters. It is believed, however, that there are too many other powerful candidates in the field for him to stand a show of winning. He may, however, take enough votes away from Grant to make things easier for the G. O. P. aspirants.

The battle in the 4th ward for the vacancy created through the death of Ald. B. A. Cronson is a wide open conflict which has been further complicated by the failure of the regular Democratic organization to indorse a candidate. The favorite is Attorney Abraham H. Cohen, president of the ward's regular Republican organization, who has the indorsement of Ald. Cronson's old group.

Observers concede him a place in the runoff if one is necessary after Tuesday's election. His candidacy was strengthened last week by the indorsement of the Better Government association.

Other leading candidates, all bidding for the support of the regular Democratic organization, include Attorneys Nat Ruvell and John E. Kelly and Alex Kieferstein, a La Salle street broker.

Geary Stands Off.

The apparent reluctance of Joseph P. Geary, regular Democratic committeeman of the ward, to declare for any one of these candidates is attributed to their support of Mayor Kelly. Selecting one, it is pointed out, might alienate the support of the others and throw it to one of the other mayoral candidates. Attorney Harry Freeman is the Courtney standard bearer who probably will garner most of the insurgent Democratic votes, making it easier for Attorney Cohen to gain a majority in the first election.

Ald. James J. Cusack's opposition in the 5th ward has been narrowed to two candidates, Prof. Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago and Attorney Noble W. Lee, indorsed by the regular Republicans. Four other entrants in the race may complicate matters and force Ald. Cusack into a runoff with Prof. Douglas or Attorney Lee, according to observers.

Douglas a Party Problem.

Ald. Cusack is supporting Courtney while Prof. Douglas has received the indorsement of the regular Democratic organization. Old line Democrats were surprised when they were ordered to work for Prof. Douglas and many have expressed dissatisfaction with this choice of a standard bearer.

Early in the New Deal he was identified with the defunct NRA. Newspaper files of a decade ago reveal that following a trip through soviet Russia he described the condition of Red workers in glowing terms. In 1928 he supported Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential nominee, and was one of the leaders in forming a national Progressive party.

Four years ago, he announced himself as a "fusion" candidate in the mayoral race in opposition to Mayor Kelly. But this movement came to naught. All the more strange in view of his present support by the regular organization was Prof. Douglas' recent attempt to draft PWA Administrator Harold L. Ickes to run for mayor on a reform ticket.

Cusack Bolts Regulars.

Ald. Cusack, one of the University of Chicago's greatest athletes, took most of the organization workers with him when he bolted the regular organization and joined forces with Courtney. It is reported that the Kelly group decided to support Prof. Douglas rather than risk certain defeat with some one less well known. Another surprise was injected into this campaign late last week when the Better Government association indorsed Ald. Cusack and Attorney Lee.

On the basis of the party vote last November, experts are ready for an upset in the 6th ward race. Ald. John F. Healy, who ran originally for the council as a Republican now has the support of the regular Democratic machine. He is opposed by Patrick Sheridan Smith, veteran G. O. P. leader, and Horace Don Briley, also a Republican, representing several of the younger elements in the ward.

Shift Back to G. O. P.

In 1936 the ward went Democratic by 6,701 but last year it went Republican by 887 votes. The trend back to Republicanism is more clearly shown by the number of straight ballots cast in 1936, compared with 1938, a nonpresidential year. In the former year the Democratic straights exceeded the Republican straights by 4,823 but last year there were only forty-four more Democratic straights.

Observers predicted that either Smith or Briley will enter a runoff with the incumbent in April. And, they said, the Republican will have the better chance for victory because of the shift in party strength since 1936.

Smith, former city clerk and veteran of many political campaigns, lost in a runoff four years ago. He was the Republican nominee for sherif last November but was cut down before the Democratic city machine. Briley, new to politics in Chicago, is making a strong bid and looms as a dangerous threat for the 6th ward seat.

Lesch Wins Indorsement.

Attorney Roy N. Lesch, regular Republican candidate in the 7th ward, is another who might unseat a Democratic incumbent. The sitting alderman is Thomas L. Daley, who is running on his record which shows

Leaders in Council Races

William L. Dawson
2d Ward

William E. King
2d Ward

Oscar De Priest
3d Ward

R. R. Jackson
3d Ward

A. H. Cohen
4th Ward

J. J. Cusack Jr.
5th Ward

Paul H. Douglas
5th Ward

John F. Healy
6th Ward

P. S. Smith
6th Ward

Thomas J. Daley
7th Ward

Roy N. Lesch
7th Ward

M. F. Mulcahy
8th Ward

many improvements for the ward. Last week Lesch received the indorsement of the Better Government association, an important factor in his ward which is mostly residential and has many civic and improvement groups.

Alderman Daley, however, is one of the most active members of the council. Besides the regular organization support, he has won the backing of many independent citizens' groups on the strength of his achievements. It is possible that one of his opponents will oust him observers declare, but it will not be easy.

George Nixon Davis, running without party support, has a wide personal following, having been a resident of the ward all his life. He is expected to be the only candidate without organized support who will be an important factor in the race.

Returns of the 1938 election showing a decided G. O. P. trend in the 8th ward indicate that Alderman Michael Mulcahy, regular Democrat, is in some danger of being among the casualties next Tuesday night. He faces the combined opposition of the Courtney forces, led by Arthur J. Ward, an insurance broker, and Attorney Roy E. Olin, regular Republican.

See Olin in Runoff.

This ward went Democratic in 1936 by 5,583 votes and Republican by 2,063 last year. In 1936 the ward cast 14,489 straight Democratic ballots and only 9,067 in 1938. Last year the Republican straights exceeded the Democratic by 2,028.

Attorney Olin has made a determined fight and is expected to draw heavy support from the Scandinavian-American population in the ward. Ward may reduce Mulcahy's strength by enough votes to enable Olin at least to win a place in a possible runoff election.

Alderman Mulcahy's record is one of the best among the members of the present council and includes many improvements ranging from street repairs to new school buildings. He has the support of several strong independent citizens' groups.

The result of the 9th and 10th ward races is almost a foregone conclusion. In the former ward Ald Arthur G. Lindell, a Republican, is opposed by only one candidate, Andrew Draus, supported by the Courtney Democratic faction. Observers predict that the incumbent, who is credited with an excellent record, will win easily.

Rowan Seen as Victor.

In the 10th ward Ald. William A Rowan, leader of one of the strongest Democratic organizations in the city, should have little trouble in disposing of three opponents. Attorney Alfred O'Connor, regular Republican has made a strong bid, but there appears little likelihood that he can poll enough votes to endanger Ald Rowan's position.

But G. O. P. leaders in the 17th and 19th wards are confident that they will win seats in the next council. Albert E. Grammer, a regular Republican, is given a better than even chance for victory over the incumbent, Ald. William T. Murphy Grammer is being supported by the strong Deneen organization and was indorsed by the Better Government association.

Assistant State's Attorney John M. Long is running on the Courtney ticket. While his candidacy will have little affect of the Republican vote, it may prove disastrous to the regular Democratic organization supporting Ald. Murphy.

Bradley a Threat.

In the 19th ward another strong Republican, Roland H. Bradley, is recognized as a definite threat for the council seat occupied by Ald. John J. Duffy, regular Democrat. A third candidate is Harry A. Carlson, who has the support of the 19th Ward Young Men's Republican club.

The votes cast in the election last year indicated that the G. O. P. can expect support from the so-called independent voters this week. Normally the ward is Republican and, according to experts, the factional strife among the Democrats has served to remind the residents that they are now represented in the council by a Democrat.

DAWSON ENDORSES DICKERSON FOR SEAT IN CITY COUNCIL

Perhaps the most significant development in South Side politics this week was the endorsement of Earl B. Dickerson for Alderman of the Second Ward by Alderman William L. Dawson who was defeated for re-election in the last primaries.

Dawson at a closed meeting of his organization on Sunday, Mar. 19, at Congressional Hall, made a stirring address in which he pleaded for new leadership for the Second Ward. At the end of of his address he personally introduced a resolution and had it passed asking that his organizaiton go on record as being 100 per cent behind the candidacy of Mayor Edward J. Kelly for Mayor and Earl B. Dickerson for Alderman.

"I want Kelly elected, said Dawson, because Mayor Kelly has always been fair to my people."

"I want Dickerson elected," he added, "because Dickerson son represents the best thought of the people of the Second Ward and is capable by training and experience of making the most outstanding Alderman in the City Council. He will be a credit to his people, his community and his country."

This week Dickerson also received the endorsement of George T. Kersey, Republican, who headed the William Hale Thompson for Mayor organization, Attorney C. C. Wimbish, Democrat is Courtney leader in the primaries, and Corneal A. Davis, who was the Courtney choice for Second Ward Alderman. * * *

Tie-Up Perils Mitchells' Seat

Journal and Guide 11-25-39

CHICAGO (ANP) — Chicago's Southside colored district which gained national prominence twelve years ago when it sent the first colored man (Oscar DePriest) to Congress in twenty-five years, is buzzing over the appointment of William L. Dawson, last year's GOP candidate for Congress, as Democratic committeeman of the Second Ward by Mayor Kelly.

Norfolk, Va.

Observers see in the appointment of Mr. Dawson, a former Republican, a possible threat to the Congress seat of Arthur W. Mitchell, of the First District, unless the GOP should win.

Earl B. Dickerson, Democratic Second Ward alderman, is being picked as the party's probable choice for the nomination for Congressman at the 1940 primary. Basis of this prediction is the fact that Mr. Dawson, by succeeding the former white committeeman Joseph Tittinger, has united the district's colored Democratic vote.

MITCHELL

Mr. Dawson was succeeded in the city council by Mr. Dickerson, former assistant attorney general.

POLITICAL -1939
ELECTIONS

KANSAS

Negroes Divide Vote To Elect A City Commissioner

Kansas City Star
4-7-39

The partisan fight in the city election here Tuesday failed to whip the Negroes in line and to make them cast their votes in one direction in the fight for commissioner of streets, parks and boulevards.

Henry F. Schaible, took a smashing defeat when the Negroes divided their votes and helped elect Francis Blake, thirty-three year old Kansas University graduate and former election commissioner under the Huxman administration, and a former deputy sheriff under the present county sheriff.

The Negro population is centered from the first precinct to the forty-third precinct. In these precincts it had been predicted that Schaible would carry them at least seventy-five per cent, but th record shows that in these precincts Schaible received 4,975 and Blake received 4,698, giving Schaible a lead of 277. However, there is in these precincts a large white vote bordering some of the precincts.

Francis Blake received 19,090 votes and Schaible received 17,490 from the city's 160 precincts, thus defeating Schaible by a margin of 1600.

Other city officials winning included Mayor Don C. McCombs, who has served the city for the past twelve years as mayor, and George T. Darby, Finance Commissioner. Both of these commissioners won easily without much opposition. The fact that they had little opposition is tribute to the fine administration and the progressive program that Kansas City is now enjoying with such capable men.

The Board of Public Utilities, James L. Beggs, James DeCoursey, Charles A. Lowder and Lawrence E. Wilson, won easily over the only opponent, Ulysses G. Plummer, attorney-at-law. Plummer was over 5,000 votes behind the nearest member of the present board. He received 9,725 votes and has been hailed by many for making such a creditable showing.

The Board of Education was re-elected as a unit, Frank Rushton, W. R. Honnell, John E. Carlson, O. Q. Claflin, Robert E. Crowley and George W. Mears. The only contestant that showed any competition was Ralph A. Fulton, young Republican leader and business man, who was 1,500 votes behind the lowest man on the Board. Thelma Rea Thurston received 7,238 and has been commended for her fine showing.

It is expected that a clean sweep of the present appointees under the Commissioner of Streets will take place as a result of Blake's victory. It is believed that only one appointment, Andy F. Wilson, a clerk who has worked over twenty years under the Civil Service and given efficient service, will remain. Supporters of Blake have asserted that the appointment and issue of jobs will be made on a non-partisan basis. Contrary to what has been rumored that Negroes would not fare as well under Blake as under Schaible, supporters promise that the Negro will receive their proper patronage in all lines of the department.

POLITICAL- 1939
ELECTIONS

KENTUCKY NEGRO LEGISLATOR WILL RUN FOR A THIRD TERM

Att'y Charles Anderson Jr., Was 1st Negro Elected to Assembly in the State in 1935

LOUISVILLE, Ky., (By Mack Davis for ANP)—Charles W. Anderson, Jr., young attorney and present member of the Kentucky legislature from the 58th legislative district of Louisville, announced his candidacy for re-election in the August primary. Lee L. Brown who was defeated by Mr. Anderson in the 1935 primary election filed his notification and declaration papers in the office of the county clerk on June 27 in opposition to Mr. Anderson in the primary on August 5.

Mr. Anderson was first elected to office in November 1935, on the Republican ticket, and re-elected in November, 1937, for his second term. When he took the oath of office on Jan. 7, 1936, he was the first Negro in the history of Kentucky to become a member of the legislature, and the first in the South since the Reconstruction era. In less than 33 days after taking the oath of office during his first term, he successfully sponsored a bill to provide graduate education for Negro students who were compelled to study outside of the state by reason of the separate school laws of Kentucky.

CHARLES ANDERSON IS RENOMINATED AS G.O.P. LEGISLATOR

Young Louisville Lawyer Snows Lee L. Brown Under by Vote of 20 to 1

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Aug. 24—(By Christine Ison for ANP)—Charles W. Anderson, Jr., young Louisville attorney and incumbent member of the Kentucky legislature from the 58th district, won renomination in a bitter and hotly contested primary election here, defeating his opponent, Lee L. Brown, by a vote of nearly 20 to 1 after a campaign which lasted more than five weeks. Under the Kentucky slow method of counting votes, the result was not announced until Friday, August 11, while the primary was on August 5th.

At the conclusion of counting votes, Mr. Anderson had carried every precinct of the 22 in his district with a total vote of 893 against 72 for his opponent. In Mr. Anderson's first bid for public office in 1935, he defeated Mr. Brown in the Republican primary by a vote of 6 to 1; after which he defeated his Democratic opponent, Attorney C. Eubanks Tucker, and became the first Negro legislator in the history of Kentucky; if he is re-elected in November, it will be his third term in office.

During the past four years, he has been the only Republican office-holder in the city of Louisville, white or black, having survived two Democratic landslides.

Birmingham, Ala. News
August 3, 1939

A Southern Newspaper Reveals Its Tolerance

Louisville, Ky., may not classify as the most intensely Southern city in the land. Nevertheless, it is in a state generally regarded as Southern. With one-fifth of the population Negro, the city has many racial problems shared by all the South.

In Louisville, as elsewhere throughout the South, there are white persons who seek justice and opportunity for the Negro. *The Louisville Courier-Journal*, with native Southerners as editor and as publisher, is urging the election of a Negro to the Louisville Board of Alderman. That goal is part of the paper's definite statement of policy.

Says that newspaper: "We . . . urge the recognition of an unrepresented minority group by election of a Negro to the Board of Aldermen. Appropriations affecting Negro schools, health measures and city services and tax measures affecting their property are constantly being passed, and it is only fair that they should have at least one voice in the council."

That position, taken by a Southern newspaper run by Southern men in a Southern city, indicates a fine sense of justice that is all too rare in every section of the country.

KENTUCKY

ANDERSON WINNER IN KENTUCKY

Young Louisville Attorney Re-elected to Legislature For Third Term

Courier 11-25-39

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Nov. 22—(ANP)—Charles W. Anderson, Jr., young Louisville attorney and only Negro member of the Kentucky legislature, won re-election here again last week for his third term in office as state representative from the 58th legislative district of Louisville. Mr. Anderson sought re-election on the Republican ticket and while the Democratic party carried the State in electing Keen Johnson governor by more than 100,000 majority, he was successful in surviving the Democratic landslide to win for the third consecutive time.

Mr. Anderson wages a vigorous campaign upon his record of four years in office, during which time he sponsored and successfully passed many measures beneficial to the race. He was opposed by Mrs. Florence Dishmon, popular political worker in the Democratic ranks, but succeeded in defeating her by nearly two to one. His successive victories in surviving three Democratic landslides in this southern city have given him the name of "Man O' War," similar to the famous Kentucky race horse because of the manner and way in which he wins his races over all opposition. In the Republican primary he defeated Leo L. Brown by a vote of eight to one.

POLITICAL - 1939
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MASSACHUSETTS

WINS VICTORY IN RACE FOR COUNCIL

Union 10-21-39

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., Oct. 19—Atty. J. Clifford Clarkson was nominated in the recent primaries as one of the three Republican candidates to the Common Council from Ward Four in Tuesday's primaries. There were ten candidates, and Mr. Clarkson won the first nomination with a 672 plurality. This represents the largest plurality ever pulled in Ward Four by an incumbent. It is believed that this was achieved through the united efforts of both the white and Negro leaders.

Mr. Clarkson led the vote in every precinct except one, and that one was the home of the leading opponent. The winning of his election is practically conceded in that it is a strong Republican ward and nomination in the primary is practically equivalent to election.

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ELECTIONS

MICHIGAN

THREE VACANCIES TO BE FILLED AT DETROIT IN 1940

Many Candidates in Race for Elevation Dr. George Curry, Joseph Gomez and S. S. Morris Often Mentioned

BY JAMES FLEMING

PHILADELPHIA.—ANP — Who will be the next A. M. E. bishops elected, is one of the important questions being asked as leaders of the great denomination from all parts of the country met last week in three diferent conferences—the Bishops' council, the Connectional council, and the Young People's congress.

There was no official answer, but supporters of different candidates were present winning friends among the delegates who will attend the next general conference next year in Detroit.

There are three vacancies on the bishops' bench—caused by the deaths of Bishops W. H. Heard, A. Grant, and W. Decker Johnson. It is expected that these seats will be filled, and that even a fourth bishop may be named.

Although no bishop would speak for publication, it has been learned that they are not in favor of increasing their number. Nothing can prevent the General Conference doing this, however.

Among the names most often mentioned as being "very much" in the race are those of Dr. George A. Curry, Philadelphia, manager of the A.M.E. Book Concern: Dr. Joseph Gomez, pastor of St. James church, Cleveland, Ohio, Dr. S. S. Morris, secretary-treasurer, Allen Christian Endeavor League.

Close runners-up seem to be Dr. D. Ward Nichols, New York City; Dr. J H. Clayborn, editor, Southern Christian Recorder, and Dr. H. M. Collins, Los Angeles, Cal., who is carrying banner of the Far West because no westerner is now on the bishops' bench.

Dr. Curry, who came here from a presiding elder's post in Jacksonville, is credited with "saving the Allen building," six-story modern office structure owned by the church, but which was lost for a time. He was elected to the book concern at the general conference held in New York in 1936.

Dr. Gomez is one of the most popular preachers in the church, especially in the Middle West. His successful rebuilding of St. James, which was destroyed by fire January, 1, 1939, is considered one of his striking accomplishments. In the rebuilding program he enlisted a city wide committee, of both races, and representative of every denomination, from Roman Catholic to his own.

Dr. Morris has been secretary of the A.C.E. league for several years and is considered one of the most respected of the general officers. He is well known throughout the church and is versed in the history of the denomination.

Eight other churchmen whose names are mentioned for the episcopacy are:

The Revs. C. A. Gibbs, presiding elder, Jacksonville, Fla.; Frank A. Reid, St. Louis, Mo.; G. T. Stinson presiding elder, Shreveport, La.; R. A. Scott, president, Campbell college, Jackson, Miss.; W. L. Jackson, presiding elder, Philadelphia; J. B. Butler, presiding elder, San Antonio, Texas; Prince F. Jackson Dallas, Texas.

Offers Wayman Wards

Dr. Wayman Ward, pastor of Bethel, Chicago, is the candidate put forward by the ministers of Chicago, "because no bishop has been elected from Chicago and the Middle West since Bishop A. J. Carey." Still others in the race are:

The Revs. H. H. Carr, Fort Worth, Texas; J. S. Johnson, Pensacola, Fla.; George W. Baber, Detroit, Mich.; D. T. Babocock, Atlanta Ga.; I. H. Bonner, Selma, Ala.; C. P. Cole, Newport, R. I.; Charles E. Stewart, Portsmouth, Va.; T. J Miles, Charles, S. C.

One candidate entered his candidancy on the unusual condition that he be sent to Afica. He is the Rev. Dr. T. J. Davis, of Americus, Ga. Dr. Davis is both a physician and a minister, and he is especially anixous to go to South Africa to continue the health work started there by Bishop R. R. Wright.

Paying high tribute to the present financial secretary, John R. Hawkins, of Washington, D. C., three candidates, nevertheless, presented themselves so that whenever a vacancy occurs in this very important post, they may be considered. These aspirants are O. A. Travis, Louisville, Ky.; Roderick Harris, grand secretary, Improved Order of Samaritans, Athens, Ga.; and the Rev. J. W. Howell, Detroit.

Candidates for editor of the A. M.E. Review are the Revs J. G. Robinson, the incumbent; J. S. Brookings, Selma, Ala.; C. S. Slade, Philadelphia, and C. C. Clark, Trenton.

The Rev. L. M. Moore, Florida, wants the secretarvship of the Allen Christian Endeavor League. The Rev. David Norris, Atlanta wants to be the editor of the Christian Recorder.

The total number of those whose hats are "in the ring" number 23. In addition, several other people are interested in the many important and rather well-paying general offices.

Tremendous sentiment is evident in favor of Mrs. Lucy M. Hughes Cameron, Texas, as secretary of missions, the job now held by the Rev. L. L. Berry of New York City Mrs. Hughes is connectional president of the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary society, and it seems that the votes of women delegates will be centered on getting this one important office for a woman.

Among other aspirants is the Rev. Wiliam A. Dorsey, pastor of Bethel church, Woodbury, N. J., who is a delegate to the 1940 conference and who has his eye on the management of the book concern.

Negro Vote Helps Elect New Detroit Mayor

DETROIT, Nov. — (ANP) — Robert Crump for ANP — Once again it has been thoroughly demonstrated that the Negro vote, when properly organized and well directed, can play an important part in any election as was evidenced here Tuesday when the colored vote helped immeasurably to swamp Mayor Richard W. Reading and to elect Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., for mayor by a two-to-one vote.

Jeffries, however, has Dr. J. J. McClenden, forceful and impressive president of the NAACP, to thank for the large turnover of Negro votes, for the political leaders in both camps did nothing more nor less than fling mud at each other and offered no constructive reasons why the vote should be cast for either man.

Long before the campaign started McClenden had already built up a bulwark against Reading because of the mayor's laxity and unwillingness to attempt to stop the wanton brutal activities of the police. McClenden stated openly that police brutality is sanctioned, if not sponsored by the head of the administration and his police commissioner. Heading a coordinated "End Police Brutality" committee, conferences were held with the mayor to no avail. Then with petitions bearing the signatures of tens of thousands of citizens of both races asking for the removal of the commissioner, the fighting NAACP man served notice on Reading that the same thousands would be out to get him at election time.

Seven Negroes were elected constables in four wards.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
October 4, 1939

Mr. Stone of Mississippi

About thirty-three years ago a gentleman scarcely out of his twenties was a visitor in the office of The News and Courier. He had lately written a book about the negro and the plantation system of the South, perhaps the best book on the subject that has been written.

"If The Jackson Daily News had the privilege of selecting the United States senator from Mississippi to be chosen next year its choice would unhesitatingly be bestowed on Alfred H. Stone, chairman of the state tax commission, he being the foremost authority on political economy in Mississippi and ranking among the best in the nation."

The News and Courier wishes that The Daily News had the privilege of selecting the United States senator from Mississippi. If Mr. Stone (the same that visited The News and Courier so long ago) were a citizen of South Carolina The News and Courier would nominate him for United States senator. The Daily News remarks that "the chances are 100 to one that no amount of persuasion could induce him to become a candidate", although "he is the type of man the senate sorely needs in these days when a deficit of more than forty billion dollars must be wrestled with."

It is not likely that Mr. Stone could be elected to the senate from South Carolina or that any other man who would wrestle with a deficit could be as long as a considerable number of the South Carolinians are solemnly convinced that they are saved from starvation by deficits or are getting rich out of them. A sound political economist is the most unpopular survival that we have with us.

2 Colored Candidates Seek Nomination for Aldermen This Friday

With two colored candidates in the field, a light vote in the aldermanic election this Friday was predicted. The primary will be for nomination of 14 Aldermen from the even wards.

The colored candidates are both Republicans. They are George W. Fields, 1844 O'Fallon St., Pullman employee in the 4th Ward, who is opposed by W. C. Heaston, a merchant; Edward White, 2632 Lawton Blvd., physical director in the 6th Ward who is opposed by Fred S. Meier, a clerk.

The regular election will be held April 4. At that time five places on the Board of Education will be voted on in addition to the aldermanic post. Atty. Robert L. Witherspoon is the only colored candidate for the Board

NEGRO CANDIDATES

At the coming election which will take place next Tuesday, April 4th, there will appear the names of three Negroes on the general ballot. Two, George W. Fields and Edward White, will be on the aldermanic ballot and the third, Robert L. Witherspoon, will be on the ballot for the Board of Education. The public generally is hereby requested to vote for these three candidates.

We are making this appeal in the vein we do, because in a democracy such as ours, it has been a custom to place a deal of stress upon popular government by the people, for the people and of the people. The Republicans of the city are now complaining that the election of members of the Board of Aldermen should be by wards, because, they say, that method would give them a chance to have representation in the city's lawmaking body. We are making the appeal for the Negro candidates on the ground that all groups and races are clamoring as never before, for representation in all public places which compose our body politic.

There are twelve members on the Board of Education. The colored school population is 20 per cent of the whole. If there is any racial group which by every rule of the game should be represented on this Board, it is the Negro group. To do this would advance the whole population of the city of St. Louis in intelligence. It would give this city a democratic air which it has never enjoyed before and would give the whole town re-birth and a baptism of the spirit of liberalism which is badly needed. Forward, St. Louis, with the election of Robert L. Witherspoon as a member of the School Board.

'DOUBLE CROSS' IS CHAR AS RACE CANDIDATES

Witherspoon, White and Fields Defeated in St. Louis Election—Rumors Fill Air as Charge Is Made Negroes Were Outsmarted.

ST. LOUIS, Apr. 13—(Special)—Following the running of all of the Negro candidates at the tail end of all of the tickets in the April 2 election, charges of doublecross are being hurled. Attorney Robert L. Witherspoon, with an apparently solid Negro backing for the school board, Edward White on the ticket for the Republican aldermanic post in the Sixth ward and George W. Fields, Pullman porter, in the G.O.P. race for alderman in the Fourth ward, were the losers.

This year for the first time, the Negroes were slated for the aldermanic race by the Republican city committee.

It is claimed that the Negroes were accepted in an effort to bring back the Negro vote and then were "cut" on the sample ballots distributed by some of the poll workers.

Interested citizens have obtained collections of the sample ballots which show that bad faith was evidenced in some of the wards, especially in the school board contests.

CARRIED FIVE NAMES INSTEAD OF FOUR

Mysteriously, an endorsement by Harry Pesnell, G.O.P. committeeman of the Twenty-third ward, of Witherspoon's candidacy, managed to find its way into a number of white wards, checkers report. It was in the Twenty-third, and the Twenty-third alone, that Witherspoon led the entire slate, although the vote was close in the Fourth, Sixth and Nineteenth wards where Negroes are heavy voters. The endorsement by Presnell urged Negroes to vote for Witherspoon and Witherspoon alone.

Some of the wards carried five names on the sample ballots and it is thought that many Witherspoon votes were lost because people voted for five candidates instead of four.

A number of other votes were believed lost because some voted straight tickets, forgetting to mark the school board ticket which was on the same sheet. The school board race, for the first time, was non-partisan and a number of Democratic groups supported Witherspoon, nominally a Republican. However, checkers found that while some ward leaders slated Witherspoon in the colored ends of their wards that he was not carried in the white sections.

POLITICAL- 1939
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NEW YORK

Forty-Seven Big City Industries Paid Heavy

WHEN POLITICS JOINS HANDS WITH RACKETS

Toll To Racketeers Until Dewey Came Along

By FRANCIS E. RIVERS

Assistant District Attorney of New York

(From a speech delivered by Mr. Rivers in Thorne Hall, Northwestern University, last August.)
(Third Installment)

JUST AS POLITICS helps the rackets, so do the racketeers help the political leaders. In addition to contributions, usually under concealed names by racketeers to their patron political leaders, the racketeers, exercising their talent for extortion, make the political beefsteak dinners and dances huge financial successes by "suggesting" to the many standing in fear of them the wisdom of taking tickets.

Furthermore, these industrial racketeers, with such sway over industries, can place in jobs the henchmen of the political leader. The racketeer can furnish the political leader armed thugs on election day as well as large numbers of persons to do the illegal voting. The political leader can be most sure of these criminals who know they will need him to keep them from going to jail.

F. E. Rivers

In the case of Al Marinelli, the political leader, friend of the great vice-racketeer, Lucky Luciano, and a friend of the trucking racketeers, Doyle and Terry, he had among his inspectors of election and his county committee 32 men with 76 arrests for charges ranging from robbery and dope-peddling to sex crimes. A political leader, by working with a racketeer, can get control of the economic operations of citizens who had theretofore taken pride in the fact that they were complete strangers to and independent of the political machine, such control as to make them as subject to the orders of the political boss as political job holders.

And just as the politician benefits by moving closer to the racketeer, so the racketeer benefits by moving closer to the politician.

Recently, in a large American city, a minority group of a grand jury presented a report which said in part, "A portion of the underworld profits have been used in financing campaigns for the election of district attorney, sheriff, mayors of various cities, some councilmen, some supervisors and some other officials in vital positions and the crime clique frequently designate the personnel for important commissions and key-spots in our local government."

Enough has been said to show that as big as any of the problems facing American statesmanship is the question: how to destroy present rackets and prevent the creation of new rackets; and obviously, the answer to such a question calls for discovering what must be done in politics to prevent it nurturing and joining hands with rackets.

Rackets can be proceeded against by city, state or national authorities, or by all three of them combined. The major, if not the only instance of destroying important rackets by city machinery, is that found in the work done in New York the past three years.

This achievement included breaking the empire of vice headed by Charles Luciano; the restaurant racket headed by Dutch Schultz and Jules Martin; the poultry racket headed by Tootsie Herbert; the trucking racket; the loan-shark racket; and the garment racket headed by the notorious Lepke and Gurrah; the record of trials showed 72 convictions out of 73 persons tried.

When Mr. Dewey commenced these prosecutions he faced a system of politics-rackets alliance which had been built up between a political machine and the New York underworld over a period of many years. An examination of the major steps involved in his achievement is the best way to determine what a city can do to break the grip of rackets.

By 1931, the alliance between rackets and politics in New York City had arrived at a condition manifesting all the symptoms and elements of this unholy marriage. Instead of considering the district attorney as the one through whom to get orders for the prosecution of crime; instead of considering the police department as the one to ask to effect arrests; instead of looking to the mayor for those executive acts which would protect a great city, the citizens of New York City had come to regard a few powerful Tammany politicians, and the leading crime-lords, as the repository of the governmental power of New York City.

The same thugs who terrorized elections also terrorized workers in private employment, and a voter who ran afoul of their brutality had no more redress than the union worker on the wrong side of the fence. Under such a regime, of course, the morale of the citizens was stepped down. Once-courageous business men and labor leaders feared to complain about the actions of a Dutch Schultz to the district attorney.

At this point, it was apparent that to break the grip held on New York City by the politics- rackets alliance the following fundamentals would have to be changed: the police department and the district attorney's office freed from the control of this political machine; a new attitude created on the part of the public of moral indignation against the enslavement of a city by a criminal alliance; the restoration in the minds of the public of faith and confidence in the prosecuting officials so that victims of criminal extortion would have the courage to complain against oppressive acts and to testify in open court against their masters; and the establishment of municipal conditions making it possible to put men in city offices solely because of their fitness for the job and not because of obligations to a political machine.

How these fundamental changes in New York City conditions were brought about needs no repetition. Every one knows of the exposures by the Seabury investigation in 1931, and then in 1933 of the election for the first time in 20 years of a Fusion mayor, F. H. LaGuardia, and the subsequent steps of Mayor LaGuardia in freeing the police department and other city departments from the grip of politics.

However, 1933 failed to elect a non-machine district attorney, and the prosecutor's office, therefore, remained in the control of the politicians, which control, under the laws of New York, was immune to any interference by the mayor of New York City.

What happened as a result of this failure to elect an anti-Tammany district attorney showed conspicuously that the continuance of politically - protected racketeering depends primarily upon the politicians continuing to control the prosecutor's office.

Even after LaGuardia became mayor and after he had removed all the executive city departments from the control of the political machine, and despite the mayor using all the power of his office against rackets, many powerful rackets continued to thrive. All this happened under the eyes of a supine action gave comfort to the development of these rackets.

Johnny Dio and James Plumeri would never have been able to bring the trucking racket to a state of perfection if the district attorney Tammany prosecutor whose in had successfully prosecuted the first terroristic steps taken by these thugs against honest but unprotected truckmen. And it was the inaction of the district attorney which permitted the restaurant racket to get a foothold.

CROSSWAITH NAMED FOR CITY COUNCIL BY LABOR PARTY

NEW YORK CITY—The American Labor Party nominated Frank R. Crosswaith, veteran trade unionist as one of its two Manhattan candidates for the City Council.

Mr. Crosswaith's candidacy was announced by Alex Rose, State secretary of the powerful Labor Party which has effectively wielded the balance of power in Municipal and State politics. The American Labor Party vote has been credited with the successive elections of Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey and Governor Herbert H. Lehman, and with consistent support of the New Deal.

Nomination of Frank R. Crosswaith by the American Labor Party on its Manhattan slate was regarded by some political observers as tantamount to outright election as the 1938 party vote of the ALP in that particular county practically assures the success of at least two candidates on its ticket in that Borough. The ALP polled more than 75,000 votes for Governor Lehman in Manhattan in 1938. Only 50,000 first choice votes are necessary for the election of a Councilman.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

CLAIM THEY WERE TRICKED OUT OF COUNCIL SEAT

NEW YORK, Nov. 22— Tammany Hall was being blamed directly this week for Harlem's failure to gain a Negro representative in the second City Council whose election has just been completed under proportional representation.

With the P. R. count finally completed, New York's more than 350,000 Negro voters who formerly sent two representatives regularly to the Board of Aldermen found that for the second time they had been tricked out of a Negro councilman.

This became evident when all three of the Negro candidates were eliminated early in the count last week. None of the three had been conceded a chance to win, however, and Tammany had been blamed for forcing from the ballot Frank R. Crosswaith, the only Negro nominee who was conceded an excellent chance of election.

Crosswaith, candidate of the American Labor party, had been assured an almost solid Harlem vote, and an equally heavy vote in the garment districts downtown and the old Socialist strongholds in Washington Heights. So sure was this support that the ALP was making him their No. 1 choice in these white districts.

Alarmed at the apparent strength of the noted labor organizer, Tammany Hall trained all its big guns on his nominating petitions. John J. Dooling, chairman of the Tammany law committee, personally directed the fight, which resulted in the last minute removal of his name from the ballot.

The Wigwam's sincerity for the Negro vote was shown in the actual election, when its own Negro candidate, Percy Foster, was eliminated on the eighth count, his mere 23,500 votes being then split up in second choices among the white Tammany councilmen who were elected.

In Brooklyn there was even less chance of the election of a Negro. Benjamin F. Butler, who ran on the Fusion ticket, polled only 9,639 votes for an early elimination, and Chester R. Thomas, young attorney who carried the banner of the Home Relief party ticket, was put out with 3,500.

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NEWYORK

WILSON TO SEEK NEW YORK ELECTION AS CONGRESSMAN

Authorized By Grand Lodge To "Advise" Membership In National Elections

J. Finley Wilson, dimunitive leader of 250,000 Negro Elks, expects to be the first Negro Congressman from the State of New York. Wilson announced his intention of making a bid for Congress in the coming elections next year.

At the same time, friends of the stocky little man who has perpetuated himself in Negro Elkdom's most powerful position for seventeen years, campaigned to help him make the large fraternal order a strong political machine which will help Wilson to gain his ends. Introduced and passed by the Grand Lodge Session which closed last week in Harlem was a resolution which authorizes Wilson to "investigate the candidates for President of the U. S., and to advise the membership by proclamation as to the attitude of said candidates to our group and to recommend to us the best candidate."

Political observers stated there is great power in this resolution given Wilson as it puts him in the position where the National Democratic and Republican Party heads will have to seek his good graces to reach the masses of organized Elkdom.

It has been in the air for some time that the leader of the Negro Elks would like to toss his hat into the ring to supersede the present incumbent in the Congressional seat from the 21st District, Joseph A. Gavagan. It was anticipated that the fight would be on in the last election, but Wilson did not receive the nomination of the Republicans. It has been a sore spot in the side of New Yorkers that they have not been able, up to now, to send a Negro to Congress. It is believed that the nomination from the Republicans is Wilson's for the asking.

Preparatory to his bid for Congressional election, Wilson recenlty moved his residential and voting address from Washington to New York and bought property here.

Others who have made the race for Congress are Hubert T. Delaney, Dr. Charles H. Roberts and former Assemblyman Edward A. Johnson.

Thomas E. Dewey, New York's District Attorney Appears Fair On Questions

NEW YORK, Sept. 1—(ANP)—What sort of person is this Thomas E. Dewey, a man whom half a dozen years ago scarcely anyone knew, but whose name today is spoken by millions of pople of every race and creed? Rarely has a personality impressed itself upon the thinking of an entire nation in so brief a time as has that of this fighting district attorney of New York county.

The American public loves a fighter, one who has courage and the brains to battle against great odds. When such a man in addition, despite the ties and restraints which a big city political office imposes, has the integrity and "guts" to go up against one of the most highly-organized group of racketeers in the country, backed by a political machine like Tammany, with power so great it is legendary, it is but natural that the entire country should regard such an individual as having unusual potentialities for leadership.

Penetrating into the interior of the building at 137 Centre street, devoted entirely to the district attorney's offices in New York, one seeking Mr. Dewey passes the numerous police who guard its portals; one half a dozen assistants and a score of aids, stenographers and messengers hurrying through the halls before finally landing up on the sixth floor where Mr. Dewey's private office is situated.

An alert, vigorous, youthful man rises from behind a desk and strides forward to greet you. Handsome, even better looking than his pictures, you observe; but virile with the punch and forcefulness of a go-getter. Rosy complexioned, sharp nosed, brown eyes which are challenging yet friendly, he wears a heavy brown mustache, as much to make him appear older as for any other reason, you suspect. Once he starts talking, however, asking incisive questions, showing by his comment a wide knowledge of current affairs, a broad general philosophy and an understanding of the intricate problems which affect racial minorities, one realizes that here is a man of tremendous force and ability. The question of years is banished.

"There is no room for prejudice in a great cosmopolitan city like New York, with its many diverse populations, or in an office such as this," Mr. Dewey asserted. "I determined when I became district attorney that all elements in the population should be represented.

"I have more Jews working in the department than has ever been true before, and for the first time a Polish assistant is employed. There are more Negroes in outstanding positions than has been true of any other administration, as you have observed. In fact, a colored woman lawyer is the head of the largest bureau in this office," he pointed out.

She is Mrs. Eunice Hunton Carter, brilliant young lawyer, the only woman assistant on Mr. Dewey's staff, graduate of Smith college and in law at Fordham, daughter of a distinguished father and mother. Mrs. Carter's bureau, which handles misdemeanors, does a tremendous amount of work, her assistants conducting cases in three courts every day during the year. Recent statistics show that her department handles four times as many cases as any similar division in any district attorney's office in the country. She earns $6,000 per year.

"Odd, too," Mr. Dewey remarked. "I hired Mrs. Carter the first day I met her. Shortly after I was appointed, a prominent judge who knew that I was looking for a woman assistant, told me he knew a wonderful colored woman lawyer. I told him to send her over, was impressed, and retained her. She has made good, and commands the respect of the bench of the city. You perhaps know that she has been awarded an honorary LL. D. degree by Smith college, her alma mater. I learned from the dean of her college the other day that the school is very proud of her accomplishments.

"Francis Ellis Rivers, another member of the staff," he continued, "is one of the principal assistants in the office, and regarded among the two or three ablest Negro lawyers at the New York bar."

Mr. Dewey recounted that the conference of judges in the district has recently paid particular tribute to Mr. Rivers' keen legal mind. He handles only cases in the higher brackets of civil practice. Mr. Rivers who has an A. B. from Yale, is a graduate of Harvard Law school and holds an LL. B. from Columbia university. He is one of the highest paid assistants in the office, his salary being $7,500 yearly.

Still another Negro assistant is youthful Atty. James Yergan, a nephew of Max Yergan of African Y. M. C. A. fame.

Mr. Dewey's Republicanism is well founded. His grandfather was one of the founders of the Republican party at Jackson, Mich., in 1854. His father, a Michigan newspaper editor, was a cousin of Admiral Dewey, Spanish American war naval hero.

He himself was born in Owosso, Mich., 37 years ago; he graduated from the University of Michigan where his chief claim to fame aside from serving as an editor of the Daily Michigan was to become an intercollegiate singer. Winning a scholarship to study music farther, he moved to New York, finished law at Columbia while also studying voice, began practice, became chief assistant United States Attorney for Southern New York, then briefly United States Attorney for the same district. It was his stellar performance while a federal prosecutor which led to his selection as special district attorney to bust the New York rackets, an accomplishment which focused national attention upon him.

Mr. Dewey is concerned that the administration of justice shall not be polluted by racial discrimination; he is determined that all persons, regardless of race, shall be equal before the law. During his career as a prosecutor, a number of incidents have occurred in which Mr. Dewey saved Negro defendants who had been unjustly accused of crime. Shortly after he took office as district attorney, he made a personal appearance in court to free a young Negro, Tim Smith, who had been "framed" on a gun charge. Mr Dewey not only had the case against Tim Smith discharged, but sent the policeman who had "framed" Smith to jail.

In his campaign for the governorship, Mr. Dewey also made clear his position on the necessity of continuing relief. So long as there are men and women in need, he declared, government's duty is to take care of them and so long as he had anything to say about it government would not shirk that obligation. Si-

milarly, Mr. Dewey emphasized the need for low cost housing for the lower income groups....describing it as a long overdue activity of government.

It is understood that Mr. Dewey favors a system of cooperation between the federal and state governments in the direction of housing projects as well as relief. His attitude might well be summed up in the words: No law is any better than those charged with its enforcement. Indeed, Mr. Dewey's attitude seems to be that an honest, straight-shooting federal administration, interested in upholding the constitutional doctrine of equality, could serve in a supervisory capacity to insure that misguided citizens in no state would be able to wreak unjust discrimination upon any group. The federal government would thus serve an all-important role without actually usurping any of the functions of the states.

Mr. Dewey is also understood to favor the enactment of federal legislation designed to end the lynching evil. Indeed, in a letter to the NAACP recently, Mr. Dewey praised the association for its determined campaign to end lynching, describing it as one which would "aid our government in fulfilling its obligations to secure to all citizens the right to life."

On the question of the franchise, Mr. Dewey has always been emphatic. In that same letter he described the association's fight to end disfranchisement of the Negro citizen as "the outstanding effort in America today to preserve the traditional and sacred principle that government derives its powers from the consent of those governed."

On numerous other occasions he has reiterated his firm belief that all citizens of the United States, regardless of race or creed, should be guaranteed the right of franchise and of equal opportunity for work. In the latter connection, it was the Republican legislature of New York, under Mr. Dewey as titular leader of his party in the state, which passed four anti-discrimination measures, designed to insure Negro equality in the civil service, unions and other fields. Two of the measures were vetoed by Democratic Governor Lehman.

One turns from a visit with him refreshed in spirit. Here is a young American who somehow breathes the spirit of Americanism, of liberalism. There is still opportunity for effective leadership in our national life when men of the calibre of Tom Dewey are being produced.

BURROWS IS SLATED AS HARLEM LEADER

Negro Assemblyman Wins the Support of Perry Group

10-25-39

Daniel L. Burrows, Negro Assemblyman, is expected to replace Harry C. Perry as Tammany leader of the Nineteenth Assembly District tonight when the Democratic county committee of the district meets at P. S. 68, 127 West 127th Street.

Mr. Burrows's election, it was said, will be brought about through an alliance whereby the Perry committeemen will throw their support to the assemblyman, thus assuring him of victory over the third contestant for the leadership, James Ravenell, also a Negro.

In a three-cornered primary fight Mr. Perry, chief clerk of the City Court and half-brother of Representative Christopher D. Sullivan, Tammany Hall chieftain, received only 131 committeemen of a total of 570 in the district, running third to Mr. Burrows and Mr. Ravenell, who won 185 and 215 committeemen respectively. The election of twenty-nine committeemen is being contested in the courts.

None of the three received the 286 majority necessary for election as leader, and Mr. Perry, in deciding to support Mr. Burrows and end his four-year leadership, is bowing to insistent demands of the district for a Negro leader.

With the Perry forces supporting Mr. Burrows, the assemblyman's combined committeemen will number 316, a safe majority. In return for Perry support it is expected that Mr. Burrows will support Mr. Perry's choice for co-leader, Mrs. Bertha Green. Mr. Burrows ran without a woman co-leader, and it is understood that he is willing to accept Mrs. Green as co-leader.

The Perry-Burrows alliance, however, will not find smooth sailing at tonight's meeting and a long fight between the Perry-Burrows forces and the supporters of Mr. Ravenell is expected.

A. Philip Randolph Head Of Crosswaith Campaign Committee

9-30-39

Stressing the absolute necessity for the election of a Negro as member of the City Council, A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, this week began organization of an Independent Citizens' Committee of 1,000 to support the candidacy of Frank R. Crosswaith veteran union organizer and one of the Manhattan nominees of the American Labor Party.

Scores of prominent New Yorkers, Negro and white, have joined his committee, Mr. Randolph said, and hundreds have signified their intention to actively work in Crosswaith's behalf. Among those already on the committee, he said, are Lester B. Granger of the Welfare Council; Ashley L. Totten of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Miss Layle Lane, public school teacher; Samuel A. Allen of the State Department of Welfare; Attorney Horace I. Gordon, Ted Poston, newspaperman; Thomas Young, vice president of the Building Service Union and Noah Walter, assistant manager of the Laundry Workers Union.

Mr. Crosswaith is chairman of the Negro Labor Committee, a federation of 75 C.I.O. and A.F. of L. unions which have Negro membership. He is also general organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and a veteran worker in trade unionism.

Harlemites Laud The New York Age For Stand In Leadership Fight; Stephens Announces His Candidacy

Scores of letters, phone calls and messages of congratulations have been received by The New York Age on its stand for district autonomy and against outside influences in the Democratic leadership fight which is being waged this year in the 19th Assembly Distirct. All eyes are now turned to the Amsterdam News which it challenged to answer seven questions bearing on the situation.

Leading politicians and citizens in the 19th Assembly District, who are taking an active part in the fight to unseat Harry C. Perry as leader and elect a Negro district leader, visited the office of Editor Fred R. Moore to pledge support to any single individual but almost unanimously all expressed their opposition to Raymond Jones, deputy U. S. Marshall, a resident of the 22nd Assembly District for years, who just recently declared that he had transferred his residence to the district to run for the leadership.

While the candidacy of Mr. Jones has not yet been officially announced by the Dahoga Democratic Club, which organization has been given almost exclusive preference in the news columns of the Amsterdam News over other existing clubs in the district, it was expected to be announced within the fortnight. In the meantime, Jones and his followers are said to be making personal calls and visits to rival camps in an effort to get them to consolidate with the recently formed Dahoga Club.

Friends of former Assemblyman James E. Stephens on Monday announced that they would actively back his candidacy for the leadership of the district. Stephens, a veteran politician and a known vote-getter, would make no comment on his candidacy except to scoff at the claims of those in the Dahoga camp that he didn't have a chance because they were prepared to spend some five or six thousand dollars to back Jones in his fight.

"Voters in the 19th A. D. will not be bought in this fight," he declared, "as they are aroused for Negro leadership and will vote for the right man because of the principle of the fight."

With the exception of Stephens, the only other known candidate for whom announcement has been made is former Assemblyman Robert W. Justice who was denied renomination for his post last year by Harry C. Perry.

Typical Letter On Issue

Typical of the letters received by The Age on its editorial of last week is one written by the executive committee of the Attucks Democratic Club of which Fred E. DeMendez is executive secretary. The letter said in part:

"The executive committee and members of the Attucks Democratic Club wish through this medium to extend our commendations to your paper for its courageous stand in the interest of truth and fairness in bringing to the attention of the public and particularly to the voters of the 19th A. D. the tactics of those who are scheming to again thwart our desire for true an unfettered Negro leadership in this district.

"Your illuminating editorial in the issue of February 25th tends to revive in public community organs what respect is forfeited and what hope is abandoned when newspapers that they are taught to believe are unbiased in their dissemination of information and scrupulous in their efforts to shape public opinion deviate from these prescribed courses and descend to the ranks of common conspirators against the interest of the public.

"We are grateful for your stand both as citizens of the district and as an organization which for the past two years has been consistently seeking to dislodge interlopers whose only object is to promote their personal welfare at the expense of the people of this community...."

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

OVER IN BROOKLYN, Negro organizations are already at work preparing for the coming elections at which City Councilmen will be elected for a two year term under Proportional Representation which to the Negro has meant no representation at all.

Cognizant of the fact that "too many cooks spoil the broth", these organizations are uniting to the end that only one Negro candidate will seek election in Brooklyn thereby allowing all Negroes in that borough to concentrate in an effort to elect him. As 75,000 votes are necessary to elect, it will take almost a one hundred percent Negro vote to elect a Negro in that borough but it can be done IF every qualified Negro resident registers and votes.

All of us know what happened in the first election held under "P. R." Whereas in the old Board of Aldermen there were two Negro members from the two Harlem districts, under the new system the race lost its representation in the city's law-making body. And it wasn't because there were some half a dozen candidates running in Manhattan against each other. The loss of representation may be blamed on two causes, the first and most important of which is the fact that not as many Negroes were registered as should have been and secondly because those who did vote in most instances failed to give their first-choice votes in large enough numbers to the Negro candidates.

The only Negro candidate two years ago with a major party designation was Julius S. McClain but even he failed of election because the Democratic machine did not give him the proper support in the Negro districts where he would normally have received the greatest support. Instead of party workers being instructed to tell the voters to make McClain the first choice in the Harlem districts, the Tammany leaders so callously disregarded the interests of their Negro constituents that they had other candidates marked for first choice votes.

Manhattites could take a leaf from what their fellow citizens in Brooklyn are doing by calling a conference of all those who might be candidates and then selecting just one person to make the campaign. But before they enter the conference, they should realize that there is no use in selecting a candidate unless the general Harlem public registers in order to be able to vote.

Bill Robinson, Dancer, Urged for Council; Morris Bids Harlem Elect Negro to Post

He used to dance in the beer gardens in Richmond for fun and he has been shot at four times and slashed with razors and knives on many occasions.

Now he has a big limousine with "6B" on the license plates; draws a large salary for dancing; never eats more than four quarts of ice cream a day and aids his fellow-Negroes financially. His name is Bill (Bojangles) Robinson and yesterday he was nominated for the City Council by Newbold Morris, president of that body.

At dedication ceremonies for the second of two new playgrrounds opened in Harlem, Mr. Morris said that he would prefer to have Mr. Robinson not as an entertainer but in the City Council. Before 1,000 residents Mr. Morris declared:

"I believe you owe it to him to send him down to City Hall to represent you. We need a few good new Councilmen and we are going to get them next November."

The occasion was the opening of a recreation center at Lenox Avenue and 139th Street, built by the WPA and bought and developed jointly by the Park Department and the Board of education. The plot adjoins Public School 139 and provides faciilties for handball, paddle tenns, basketball, roller skating and ice skating.

Mr. Morris, one of several speakers, hailed it and also the previously opened playground at 150th Street and Seventh Avenue, which is similarly equipped, as the means of providing every child with the same opportunity for recreation.

"Under our form of government, any one is a possible candidate for the Presidency of the United States," he said. "Therefore, we must be sure that every child has the same opportunity for decent environment."

At this point he referred to Bill Robinson, who at the first ceremony had insisted that he "would rather be a lamp-post in New York than Mayor anywhere else," as a likely person for the Council. He said he would rather have the tap-dancer not as a lamp-post, nor as an entertainer, but in the Council.

Some 3,000 persons participated in the ceremonies, 1,000 of them parading down Seventh Avenue and east to Lenox Avenue to music rendered by the Monarch Elks Band and the Park Department Band. Park Commissioner Robert Moses presided at both affairs.

Mr. Moses promised more playgrounds for the area, urging the residents of Harlem to get behind movements advocating the setting up of recreation centers. He warned that the only opporunity they would have for some time, in this, would be while the Harlem River Drive project was under way, adding that there would be two more playgrounds at points on the drive and also an esplanade, or walk, along the riverfront.

Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs, saying that the city had only given him enough money to plan playgrounds, revealed that he was going ahead speedily with the plans and that he hoped to have the support of the Board of Estimate when they were completed.

NEGRO COUNCILMAN URGED

Drive Is Started to Elect One From Manhattan Next Fall

A campaign to elect a Negro Councilman from Manhattan this November was formally opened yesterday. Sponsors of the program include many prominent Harlem Negroes, public officials, clergymen, civic workers and labor leaders.

"There is general agreement that a Negro citizen should be elected to the City Council of New York," the sponsors declared. "All sections of the Negro community as well as large numbers of whites affirm that this can be done. The Negro press has repeatedly called attention to the necessity of having a Negro on the City Council. Likewise, numerous civic, labor and other organizations, churches and responsible individuals, have urged and supported this progressive step."

Sponsors of the movement include City Tax Commissioner Hubert T. Delany, Channing H. Tobias, secretary of the National Board of the Y. M. C. A.; City Magistrate Myles Paige, the Rev. A. Clayton Powell Jr., pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, and the Rev. Lorenzo H. King, pastor of St. Marks Church.

Call Parley To Elect Negro To City Council

Daily Worker

Conference Set Next Thursday at YMCA in Harlem

6-9-39

A conference to discuss the election of a Negro to the New York City Council has been called for Thursday evening, June 15, at the YMCA, 180 W. 135th St., William H. Gaulden, secretary of the Harlem Non-Partisan Committee for the Election of a Negro to the City Council, announced yesterday.

"There is general agreement that a Negro should be elected to the City Council," Mr. Gaulden said. "All sections of the Negro community, as well as large numbers of white people, affirm that this can and must be done."

He said that the need for a Negro representative in the City Council "is inherent in the position of New York's Negro population.

In the belief that a Negro can be elected, he said, the committee was urging that all organizations send representatives to the conference next Thursday evening, so as to "organize a united community campaign to realize this objective in the elections."

Endorsers of the conference include the best known and most progressive Negro citizens of New York City.

7 Negro Democratic Captains In 13th A. D. Quit Keating; Work To Elect Sheldrick, District Leader

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

The spirit of revolt which has entered the ranks of the various political organization clubhouses in Harlem broke out recently when seven of the nine Negro election district captains in the Andrew B. Keating Democratic Association of the 13th Assembly District walked out of the clubhouse and signed up with Keating's opponent for the leadership, Assemblyman William Sheldrick.

From his headquarters at 438 West 125th street, Assemblyman Sheldrick is waging a vigorous campaign to unseat Keating who has been the target of numerous political fights for years. Opposition in the past decade was unsucessfully furnished by Patrick Dowd, Joseph Broderick and Daniel Tone and now Sheldrick has quit the organization and announced his candidacy. And he is considered a safe bet to win.

The seven Negro captains who have quit Keating and are supporting Sheldrick are Theodore Bolin, Samuel Faide, Elsworth Roberts, Bennie Butler, Silas Williams, Joseph Yancy and Edgar Starks. The two Negro captains who remained in the Keating camp are Clinton Williams and Joseph Owen and they have been told that their immediate superior is David Cobb, in previous years an insurgent Democrat who often worked for the Republican organization.

Aside from the fact that the eastern end of the district is sure to go almost 100 percent against him, Keating must also face the fact that some 16 or 18 white districts will also elect county committeemen opposed to him. The combination of the Negro and white county committeemen is enough to defeat Keating and elect a new leader.

For years the Negro district captains have been kicked around, they complained, but opposition had never crystallized to the point where they could effectively oppose Keating. They resented Keating's high-handed treatment of them, his total disregard of them when it came to giving out patronage and jobs, and his lack of respect for Negroes as citizens or voters. Six years ago he showed his true colors when he turned thumbs down on a Negro for candidate for Alderman and put in a white nominee although the aldermanic district was predominantly Negro. The captains claim that he often referred to Negroes as "darkies" and "niggers" and made no apologies for using these opprobrious terms.

Opposed McClain

Two years ago when porportional representation went into enect, Keating had a candidate, John Nugent, and instructed his Negro captains to tell their voters to vote for Nugent in preference to McClain, Negro candidate of the Democratic party. Feeling that a Negro should be supported by the organization, many of the Negro captains disregarded Keating's instructions and urged their voters to give McClain preference on the ballot. In at least one case, the Negro captain opposing Keating was called on the carpet and told that he must support Nugent. When the captain told Keating he would not support the white candidate and tendered his resignation to take effect immediately, Keating refused to accept the resignation fearing that it would then start a split in his organization with the other Negro captains in open revolt.

Since the P. R. election, there has been a steadily growing tide of opposition to Keating and it looks as though this is his last days in the leadership. In a few days from now voters will be asked to sign county committee designating petitions and it is predicted that so great is the opposition to Keating that he will have difficulty in getting as many signatures as are required by law.

Then, too, in past primary fights Keating has had the backing of James J. Hines, recently convicted of furnishing protection for the late Dutch Schultz, numbers king. But with Hines discredited and other leaders also facing fights it looks like Keating will have to fight his battle alone this year and it looks like defeat for him.

POLITICAL - 1939
ELECTIONS

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro, N. C., Record
April 8, 1939

Negro Dentist Enters City Council Contest

George C. Simkins, 161 North Dudley street, negro dentist, today entered the race for city councilman, being the 14th official entry for the primary on April 24. This gives two negro aspirants for council seats, R. C. Sharpe, having filed some time ago.

Last Member Is Elected To Council By Negroes If P. R. Fails, Speaker Says!

Union - Cincinnati, O
4-27-39

Cincinnati Negroes have elected their last member to City Council if the proposed amendment abolishing P. R. is not defeated June 6, Alfred Segal, Post columnist, told a West End audience last night.

"It is only because of proportional representation that a Negro is in City Council today," Segal said in a talk at the West End Baptist Church, Smith and Carlisle Streets. "You couldn't possibly elect him by the proposed new system that is to be voted upon June 6. It is simple arithmetic.

"This new system provides for the election of Councilmen by straight majority voting.

"Now there are about 150,000 votes in the city election. Under the proposed system it will take more than 75,000 votes to make a majority. This is to say, you will need more than 75,000 to elect your Councilman.

"Where are you going to get 75,000 votes?

"In the first place, there are only about 50,000 colored people in the Cincinnati population. And these are not all voters.

"There are, in fact, only 25,000 voters among your people.

"So you see you will be 50,000 votes short of electing a Councilman under the system that is being proposed.

"You must face the fact, however unjust and cruel and painful it is. The fact is this: You must depend almost entirely upon the votes of colored people to elect a Negro Councilman. Not many white men are going to vote for him. I will vote for him if he is a good man, but not many others will . .

"But under the proportional representation you have had a share in the local government. You had it once with (Frank A. B.) Hall, twice with Dr. (R. P.) McClain.

"You've had it because, under proportional representation, it takes only a quota of 15,000 votes to elect a candidate. You have more than enough votes for that; and you will continue to elect a Councilman as long as proportional representation lasts."

Pointing out that Negroes were not elected to Council even from Negro wards in the old days of ward representation, Segal charged that politicians of these days, who "boasted that they had the colored vote in their vest pockets," used the Negro voters as political pawns, but gave them nothing.—Enquirer.

CLEVELAND EDITOR TO RUN FOR COUNCIL

Attorney Walker

CLEVELAND, O., May 4 (ANP) —In response to widespread demand on the part of civic, religious and social bodies, William O. Walker, editor of the Call-Post of this city, has announced his candidacy for the position of City councilman.

COLORED DEMOCRAT CHOSEN COUNCILMAN IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

Globe
6-2-39
Republican

CLEVELAND, O., June 1—(By Clarence L. Simmons for ANP) Colored citizens here are bubbling over with pride especially colored Democrats, as they learned that the Democrats in the city council here Monday evening elected Thomas J. Davis to the 18th Ward seat vacated by Lawrence O. Payne (R), new member of the Ohio Parole board.

The 32-year-old Tom Davis, who is a former state liquor inspector in the Martin L. Davey administration and one of the organizers of the Negro Democrats for the state, working with Dr. L. L. Rodgers and Percy D. Jones, was elected on the first ballot by 17 Democratic votes.

The 15 Republicans cast their vote for Atty. Augustus G. Parker, law partner of former Councilman Payne.

The cohesion of the Democrats was first demonstrated in the council recently when they voted for the Democratic resolution to prohibit Republican ward leaders and precinct committeemen from holding jobs as WPA supervisors.

Tom Davis was elected, apparently, with the help of both the quarreling Democratic factions, although councilmen insisted the factional issue was not raised in the caucus which preceded the election. Tom Davis has been largely a follower of the faction headed by Ray T. Miller, but Burr Gongwer followers said he was also acceptable to Gongwer, head of the second faction.

They Win Council Seat

Herald
11-10-39

HAROLD T. GASSAWAY
Cleveland
Who was re-elected as Councilman from the 18th Ward. He polled 4,205 votes against Septimus Craig's 1,996.

WINS SCHOOL BOARD POST FOR 3RD TIME

Defender

Breaks A Strong Labor Block To Defeat Opponent

11-18-39

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Nov. 17—That Mrs. Mary B. Martin still holds her record as a veritable vote-getter was proved again in the last general election. Being elected to the Cleveland Board of Education for the third time she has the honor of being the first Cleveland Race woman elected to an elective office in the history of Cleveland politics.

Mrs. Martin

The vote for Mrs. Martin was so strong that she broke into the labor bloc which was headed by Edwin J. Bradley (white), president of the board. For a time it was thought that she was going to lead the school board ticket.

However, she ended second in the race, polling 101,869 votes to Bradley's 103,213. Mrs. Martin nosed out Thomas J. Martin (white) for second place. He polled 98,191 votes.

The big surprise of the election was the displacement of Frank T. Jamieson (white), a strong member of the labor bloc who was up for re-election. He landed in fourth place. Mrs. Martin succeeds him on the board.

Francis E. Young made a splendid run, polling 36,452 votes, landing in seventh place. This was Mr. Young's first attempt at a candidate for public office.

Having served two terms on the school board before retiring four years ago, Mrs. Martin will return to the Cleveland Board of Education well trained by her past experience.

For three years prior to her marriage to Alexander H. Martin, prominent Cleveland attorney, she taught in the grade schools of Birmingham, Ala. When the youngest of her four children was ten years old she resumed her teaching in the Cleveland public school system.

Negro Defeats White Men In Council Fight

Courier
11-23-39
Pittsburgh

First Race Man Elected Councilman In Massillon, Ohio

MASSILLON, O., Nov. (ANP)—At last week's election, for the first time in this city's history, a Negro was elected to serve in the City Council. The successful candidate was Carroll U. Burke, a Democrat, who defeated his two white opponents by a safe margin. He also polled the solid Negro vote, despite the fact that here the colored vote is about equally divided between the two major parties. Councilman Burke's friends declare that his victory also marks the first time in the history of Ohio that a Negro Democrat has been elected to any city or state office.

POLITICAL - 1939
ELECTIONS

OHIO

Davis Succeeds Payne As Cleveland Councilman

CLEVELAND, Ohio, June 2—Democrats in the city council elected Thomas Davis to the eleventh ward seat vacated by Lawrence O. Payne (R), new member of the Ohio parole board.

Davis, who is 32, and a former state liquor inspector in the Davey administration and an organizer of Race Democrats for the state organization, was elected on the first ballot by 17 votes.

Davis was elected, apparently, with the help of both factions of the Democrats who are quarreling, although councilman insisted that the factional issue was not raised in the caucus which preceded the election.

Davis has been largely a follower of the faction headed by Ray T. Miller, but Gongwer followers said that he was also acceptable to W. B. Gongwer, head of the second faction.

Councilman Vasko, white, a ward 16 Democrat, nominated Davis in a speech in which he recalled that Payne, in a farewell address to the council last week, entrusted the destiny of his people as a responsibility to every individual councilman.

"Mindful of that responsibility, I present Thomas Davis," Vasko said.

Councilman H. G. Gassaway, ward 18, Republican, nominated Parker as the choice of the Republicans and Payne. The Republicans voted in the caucus to support Parker after Payne had said that he wished it.

Davis attended both Central and Glenville high schools. He also took high school and college extension courses from Wisconsin university. He has worked among Race Democrats for former Gov. Davey in 1934 and 1936 and in the primary of 1938. After Davey was eliminated he supported Charles Sawyer, the Democratic nominee.

He is president of the Ohio State Democratic League, organized by the Davey forces, and a vice president of the National Colored Democratic Association. He is co-publisher of the Ohio State News, a weekly newspaper published at Columbus, Ohio. He is married and lives at 4814 Carnegie avenue, S. E.

VOTE TUESDAY FOR JOHN E. O'DONNELL

The tumult and shouting of the pre-election days is well-nigh over, and Cleveland's forty thousand Negro voters will find themselves next Tuesday face to face with the important question as to who will lead our City government for the next two years.

This question is far more important to Negroes, who represent one of the City's minority groups, than it is to most Clevelanders, because on our decision next Tuesday will rest the future of the Negro in Cleveland. Cleveland Ohio Herald 11-3-39

Whatever may be said about Mayor Burton's administration, there is one SOLID FACT that stands out with reference to its attitude toward Negroes. That fact is that Negroes are NOT CONSIDERED. Mayor Burton does not give a tinker's dam about what becomes of Negroes economically. He is content to let them shift for themselves regardless of how perilous that shifting may be.

On the question of Relief, the policies of the Burton administration have been cold and heartless. The hundreds of Colored men and women, who have trudged day after day to the various Relief agencies, vainly trying to get a crust of bread for themselves and their starving children, can tell this story of inhumanity much more vividly than we can.

The long, tiresome grind of so-called investigation which has supplanted every other consideration when one's hunger is involved—with members of the Relief staff unable to unbend for the sake of human suffering, even though their hearts urge them to cut the red tape and feed the hungry first—is used as an excuse to avoid extending help immediately to those poor and unimportant folk who need such help.

And what makes the situation more devilishly irksome and unbearable is that THERE IS ONE RULE in Relief offices in the white sections, and an altogether different one in the sections where Negro relief clients predominate.

Who among us does not remember the heartless fact that while hundreds of needy people were face to face with starvation, the two sons of Mayor Burton's millionaire Director of Public Welfare had fat jobs on the W. P. A.?

The Burton administration moves hand in hand with the privileged, but gives the needy veritably a swift kick in the pants.

* * * * * * *

Of all the other multitudinous problems of city government like the street car franchise, the gas controversy, the electric light rate question . . . and the like, the Burton administration has bungled the issues — leaving them all unsettled. Only in cases where the interests of the dwellers of Cleveland Heights and Shaker Heights are concerned has Mayor Burton moved with any decisive dispatch. On questions that affect the poor folk only, he has either dallied, blinked . . . or straddled — offtimes standing like an acrobat on BOTH SIDES of a question.

* * * * * * *

Vitally interested in the continuation of the Burton administration are people like Congressman George H. Bender, chairman of the County Republican organization, who is now just as unconcerned about explaining his **religious prejudices** as was Burton's Director of Public Service, Miles Evans, two years ago when it was openly charged that he was **a member of the notorious Ku Klux Klan.**

It is not beside the point here to remind minority groups like our own people that one of the things which the Burton administration has been unable to satisfactorily explain is the fact that for the first time in the history of the City of Cleveland neither a Roman Catholic nor a Jew occupies a place in the Mayor's cabinet. This is not begging the religious question — it is simply a bald statement of fact.

* * * * * * *

On the vital questions of jobs and civic representation for the Negro, the Burton administration has given us the run-around in the first — sending us around Robin Hood's barn by way of a number of rude and bumptious personnel directors; and in the matter of representation has flatly ignored us.

This is the record of four years of Harold H. Burton — in so far as Negroes are concerned. And this policy has been more vigorously enforced during the past two years when Mr. Burton and his advisers chuckled with glee over the daily newspaper statement in 1937 that Mayor DID NOT NEED the Negro votes to be elected.

* * * * * * *

Opposing Mayor Burton is the Republican candidate, John E. O'Donnell, member of the Cleveland School Board and formerly the Board's president whose public career has been noteworthy for its fair and impartial attitude to ALL classes and groups of people. It was under the humane leadership of John E. O'Donnell that the old established policies that had firmly shutout the Negro from any advancement in the school system were reversed. It was under the leadership of John E. O'Donnell and his associates on the Board that the long-hoped-for dream of a new Central High School was at last realized.

* * * * * * *

There is no promise in political life that is as solid as the promise based upon performance in the past. It is his promise that impels us to believe that with John E. O'Donnell as Mayor of Cleveland hunger will first BE SATISFIED — and investigation made AFTER. It is the evidence of his humaneness now before us, based on the public record of John E. O'Donnell, that bids us urge Negroes to rally to his banner on next Tuesday. There is nothing cold or heartless — or shrewdly calculating about John O'Donnell; there is no straddling about him on any issue, however ticklish that issue may be.

* * * * * * *

And lined up behind the candidacy of John E. O'Donnell for Mayor are men and women who have always stood HIGH in the estimation of Negroes. Working side by side with common people who make up the ranks of John O'Donnell's supporters are two men whose political careers have been built upon the rock of fairness and square dealing to the Negro: Alex. Bernstein and Herman H. Finkle. And behind the leadership of these two men, the majority of Negroes of Cleveland will march politically on November 7.

Let us roll up a vote for John E. O'Donnell next Tuesday that will send out to the city-at-large the message that over here in the so-called Black Belt, Negroes have determined to support their friends and punish their enemies.

Let us vote solidly on next Tuesday for JOHN E. O'DONNELL for Mayor of Cleveland and end the "silk-stocking" administration of Harold H. Burton.

Do Negroes Want Negro Leadership?

Black Dispatch

The current uproar in the Second Ward regarding white leadership and opposition to white political leadership is responsible for what we shall say in the next few paragraphs. While during this election there was marked improvement in the desire of Negroes to consolidate their strength, there still remains an unruly group who rebel against any type and sort of leadership, and it is too this group that these lines are addressed.

A white grocer, who happened to be a personal friend of one of the candidates for city council in the Second Ward, and who operates his stores in the Negro district, during the current campaign, became very active for his friend. This was perfectly natural. Why should not one friend support another. This should be true even were the relationship interracial.

Perhaps this outburst of feeling would not have been so pronounced and full of dynamite had not the community for many years been, at various times, under the supposed domination of white dictation. Almost every election some white man, within the precincts of Ward 2, and occasionally from other wards shows up on the scene, following his announcement downtown that he controls the Negro vote in Ward 2, and can produce it from his vest pocket. Rumor has it that such interlopers have at various times claimed discredit for some direction in which the Negro vote inadvertently drifted.

So this year, a perfectly natural incident was converted into a Frankenstein shunting many Negroes away from the winner, and distorting the real issues which should have been more clearly before them.

We have drawn this ugly picture of the Second Ward in order to show Negroes what is wrong over in a section of Oklahoma City where 15,000 Negroes reside. Why should Negroes rebel against white leadership, when openly we have these same office-seekers to understand and know that we will not follow a black leader?

During this campaign the manager of one of the campaign headquarters came to the Black Dispatch office and brought a list of names of eleven Negroes, who had personally gone to her headquarters, stating opposition to all Negroes on the Eastside but themselves. Each one of the eleven promised to sweep the Eastside, and all were opposed to the Black Dispatch. We have that list in this office which anyone may see if he takes time to come down to 324 Northeast Second Street.

Can you see the picture? Why would it not occur to a candidate to send a white man down t oorganize Negroes in the Negro district? He has it direct from Negroes who allege they are the leaders, and that none but themselves, in the Negro section, is fit to lead?

In other words, after we go down into the white section of the city and destroy the reputation of every Negro, we want to become incensed when white folk finally decide that Negroes put no confidence in Negro leadership.

At the present time we have a little group of petty politicians over the state sniping at the administration of affairs at Langston University, and snatch at every little technicality shoving it to the front, with the thought that they may perhaps discredit an able man, and snatch a job for themselves. They overlook the fact that the present head has brought the institution out of the red, where he found it. Only this week we returned some news copy to a certain group because we discovered they were rushing to print with a matter which could be handled properly without publicity. We cannot have Negro leadership and destroy it at one and the same time.

Such thoughtless individuals do not seem to see that instead of destroying an individual, they are destroying the Negro race. It is the sniping such individuals are doing that has caused State Senator Virgil Stokes, from Marietta to declare on the floor of the present legislature that Langston University needs white management. It is significant to note that this same senator is a close personal friend of a Logan county senator, whom the Black Dispatch charged last year was seeking to name a white manager for Langston University.

What will it profit any man to be president of Langston University if, when he is placed in that office he is a mere puppet, with a white business manager selecting the employees on the grounds and perhaps nosing around into the faculty selection. The proposition is wholly preposterous from a standpoint of consistency and the small group of Negroes who are sniping around at this time are contributing to a program that will dam the progress of Negroes for the next quarter of a century. You cannot blame white people when they select white folk to direct Negroes, when the Negroes themselves refuse to accept leadership from among their own group.

While we are indulging in these rambling observations about Negroes' shortcomings we want to touch on another angle of the same subject. Truly, in the language of the apostle, Paul, "We see through a glass darkly." A young white man, who collects a newsboy route for the Daily Oklahoman, came into the office Monday. This young man took this route last year when the Oklahoman dismissed Negro carriers because, according to the circulation department manager, Negro patrons would not pay Negro carriers.

"They are moving me to another section of the city, and we are going to put white school boys on this route," said the young man, who has been dropping into the Black Disputch in a friendly way ever since he came over last year to work in this section.

"I'm quitting the route but I want you to see what I have been doing. My route runs from Walnut on Second out to High and back on First Street to Walnut. I walk the distance of about twenty-two blocks daily every week, and this closing week my collections were $36.00. Everybody on my route is paid up to date. For me it's the best route in town, and I cannot see why Negroe on that route will not pay a Negro boy as quickly as they will pay me."

FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

In holding yesterday that Oklahoma unconstitutionally denied a Negro the right to register for the November, 1934, elections because of his race and color, the Supreme Court has handed down one more in its long line of decisions in defense of civil liberties and the equality of human rights.

The critics who have so often accused the court of "obstructing the will of the people as expressed through their legislatures" are not likely to object to this latest decision on that ground. Nor is the type of decision that the court has just handed down new in its history. The Supreme Court insisted on new trials for the Scottsboro Negroes. It set aside the death sentences of three Mississippi Negroes, several years ago, on the ground that they had been obtained by "confessions" exacted under torture. It set aside, in January, 1937, the conviction of an Oregon Communist for allegedly advocating criminal syndicalism, sabotage and the overthrow of the Government by violence—the conviction having rested simply on the fact that the man was a member of the Communist party. Last December it held that as long as the State of Missouri chose to provide training for law students it must not deny to Negroes, as it had done, a privilege that it extended to white law students.

The latest decision of the court, therefore, is in line with traditions of long standing. The historic function of an independent judiciary has been to protect human liberty against any encroachment even by other branches of the Government itself. We have seen in the authoritarian countries what happens to human liberty when an independent judiciary ceases to exist. In their zeal for changes our own reformers should not lose sight of the ever-vigilant defense of human liberties which our court system, whatever its defects, provides.

Gov. James Pledges Negroes "No Discrimination" At Ball Following Inaugural Address

Philadelphia Negro Delegation To Inauguration Largest In History Of State

JAMES THANKS NEGRO CITIZENS

Herbert E. Millen Among Leaders Of Philadelphia Delegation; James Driving For Employment

(Special to the TRIBUNE)

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Governor Arthur H. James, intent on letting the Negro backers of Republicanism in the State know where he stood, visited the Madrid ballroom, scene of the colored Republican ball, on Tuesday night following his inauguration, and pledged the group there that there would be no discrimination, based on race, during his administration.

A concrete demonstration of the Administration's pledge to recognize the Negro was seen in the committee appointments made by Elwood J. Turner of Delaware County, Speaker of the House.

Committee appointments of the six colored members of the House of Representatives are as follows:

E. WASHINGTON RHODES (R)
Cities, first class; Federal Relations, Judiciary General, Military Affairs, Printing, Public Health and Sanitation.

EDWIN F. THOMPSON (D)
Aeronautics, Dairy Industries, Public Health and Sanitation, Railroads and Railways.

HOBSON R. REYNOLDS (D)
Aeronautics, Printing Professional Licensure, Law and Order.

MRS. CRYSTAL B. FAUSET (D)
Apportionment, Federal Relations, Welfare.

HOMER S. BROWN (D)
Cities, second class; Constitutional Amendments, Judiciary General, State Government.

WILLIAM A. ALLMOND (D)
Federal Relations, Elections, Public Health and Sanitation, State Government.

In a hard-hitting inaugural address, in which Governor James outlined his program and purposes, he vigorously denounced politics in relief and pleaded for aid and support and the "cooperation of all the men and women of this State, of whatever race, creed, party or color, that together we may do for Pennsylvanians the things which need to be done."

The Negro Philadelphians shared honors in the line of march, scattered indiscriminately throughout the almost endless ribbon of marchers who didn't end their colorful parade until after 9 o'clock at night—an all-time record for inaugural parades.

Jay Cooke, blue blood but uncommonly democratic Republican leader, sporting a carnation and a wide-brimmed fedora hat, led the Philadelphia contingent.

Herb Millen Parades

Following not far behind in his footsteps was Herbert Millen, Philadelphia Negro leader of the James campaign. Millen was dapper in a black overcoat and jaunty derby hat.

The honors of escorting Governor James to the inaugural ball held by Negro Republicans were divided between Mrs. Maude Coleman and Dr. Charles A. Crampton, both Negro Republican leaders of Dauphin county.

Throughout the Negro residential sections of Harrisburg, homes were profusely decorated, adding to the general atmosphere of a holiday occasion.

A musical unit that struck a responsive chord as it paraded was the John A. Watts Elk Band, of Chester. Albert Reading, active Republican figure in Delaware County, is exalted ruler of Watts lodge.

A score of colored women marched with a large delegation of women from the 36th ward in Philadelphia.

Walking Suits

A highlight of the parade was the appearance of 16 Negroes among a group of 22nd ward marchers, all attired in English walking suits, sporting derbies and carrying unfurled white umbrellas over their shoulders.

There were numerous colored youths who paraded as members of white high school bands from throughout the State.

Among the Philadelphians seen throughout the day were: Mrs. Maude Morrissett, Mrs. Mary Lewis, Mrs. E. Washington Rhodes, Mrs. Herbert Millen, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Miller, Mr. and Mrs. Walker K. Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. Wilon Jackson, Harry Battis, Joseph V. Baker, John W. Harris, Jr.,

Also Robert Lawson, Paul Keene, Robert Montgomery, LaBarre Potts, William H. Fuller, George Jeter, Leonidas Allen, Ernest Copeland, A. L. Haile, Thomas Bolden, Lacy Doss, James Banneker, Mrs. Daisy Berry, Mrs. S. Willie Layten, Magistrate and Mrs. Edward W. Henry, Mrs. Edna Hamlett, Miss Ethel Charleston, Louis Loftin.

Also George Burrs, William Upshur, George McClane, David Asbury, Arthur Daniels, George Wilmore, Mrs. Mary Douglass, Mrs. Lucy Davis, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Johnson, William Wyatt, John Richardson, Arnett Smith, Clarence Smith, Marshall Strickland, Charles Campbell, Mrs. Kate Robinson, Amos Harris, Charles Polk and James Robinson.

COUNCILMAN

In the recent race for member of the city council from the Eighth ward, Charleston, W. Va.; J. Roy Edwards, Republican candidate (incumbent) scored an easy victory over his opponent, Henry Hicks, Democrat. Mr. Edwards enjoys the distinction of being the lone member of our group in the council chamber.

Force Of Cooke's Endorsement Lessened By Bar Assn. Failure To Recommend Herbert Millen

Observers Believe G.O.P. Will Support Negro Lawyer For One Of 4 Seats In November Election

Governor Arthur H. James threw cold water on Monday on the aspirations of Negro Philadelphia to see Herbert E. Millen chosen a judge of the Municipal Court when he appointed John Robert Jones, 61-year-old Blue Law advocate, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge William M. Lewis.

Failure of the Philadelphia Bar Association to include Millen's name in its list of recommendations to the Governor lessened the force of Millen's endorsement by Jay Cooke, chairman of the Republican City Committee.

Plan Renewed Fight

"We are much nearer to our goal," one of Millen's leading backers told the TRIBUNE Tuesday morning. "This is seen in the fact that Mr. Cooke endorsed him. This is progress. We must now intensify the fight, and keep constantly before the City of Philadelphia that a Negro judge in a court of record in Philadelphia is due the thousands of colored voters and taxpayers, irrespective of party affiliation."

It is believed that Millen's name will be included in a slate of four G. O. P. lawyers, including the newly-appointed judge, who will contest the four seats on the Municipal Court for which the voters will be asked to elect full-term jurists this November.

PHILADELPHIA POLITICS HOT AS NINE SEEK COUNCIL POST

Race Candidates Will Figure In Primaries

PHILADELPHIA,—(ANP)—John H. Boykin, Hampton institute graduate and the only Negro master plumber in Philadelphia until he went into politics, entered the race for city council last week, getting the official Democratic endorsement which Hobson Reynolds, state legislator, Elk leader and undertaker, had hoped for.

Boykins will run in the fourth district. B. A. Johnson and Councilman James H. Irvin will carry the Republican colors.

As the registrations closed last week, the number of Negroes seeking office and the switches which had been made since the first aspirants appeared, came to light.

To date, veteran Councilman Irvin, who has reached his biblical allotment of years, has not been endorsed by the Republican organization. Only popular demand is causing him to run, he declares. At first it was announced that he would run this year as a Democrat, but some fast re-switching has put him back as a GOP'er. Councilman Irvin has been in the undertaking business fifty years.

Altogether nine candidates for council of color will figure in the September primaries.

John H. Joynes, Republican, is running in the third district; Robert J. Nelson, former boxing commissioner, Republican, is a candidate in the same district as Irvin and B. A. Jackson and is seeking Irvin's seat; four Democratic aspirants in the Seventh ward are Mrs. Octavia Bryant, Dr. John K. Rice, Attorney George Thomas Jackson and John H. Briggeman, now a member of the state legislature.

In the magisterial race, Edward W. Henry, incumbent, is the Republican nominee from South Philadelphia, while Dr. Willard T. Grinnage, dentist, is the Democratic entry.

Race Legislator Voted 'Most Able' In Poll By Newspaper Reporters

Courier 5-27-39 Pittsburgh Pa.

HARRISBURG, Pa., May 25.—Attorney Homer S. Brown, Pittsburgh legislator, carried off one of the chief titles in the biennial daily newspaper poll on the State Legislature, the tabulation revealed Saturday.

More than two-thirds of the newspapermen covering the legislature, voted Mr. Brown the ablest all-around member of the House.

Mr. Brown, who recently became the first Negro legislator to preside over a session of the House, was also selected by the newsmen as the best orator and the "coolest head" in the House.

Councilman James H. Irvin Is Slated By Republicans

White Opponent Withdraws, Giving Incumbent A Clear Field

Councilman James H. Irvin has received the endorsement of the Republican City Committee, which practically assures his nomination at the Primary Election, within the next two weeks.

R. F. Frankenfield, white, withdrew and will support the entire Republican slate which includes Judge Robert E. Lamberton for mayor.

James B. Bannaken, Councilman Irvin's secretary, has requested that no one vote for him, but urges the Republican voters of the 4th Councilmanic District to vote for the incumbent, James H. Irvin and all the candidates endorsed by the Republican organization.

The endorsement of Irvin is the result of much hard work on the part of Councilman Irvin's friends and Jay Cooke, City G.O.P. Chairman.

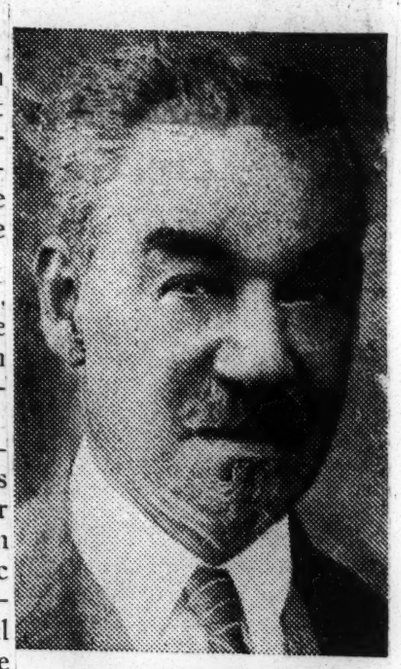
The 4th Councilmanic District elects five Councilmen. It appears that the following men have the official endorsement: George Maxman, 46th Ward, James H. Irvin, 44th Ward, Charles Holloran, 40th Ward, Wallace Egan, 34th Ward, James G. Clarke, 24th Ward.

When La Barre Potts takes over the job of Secretary of the Athletic Commission on the first of the month, Mack Scott, colored, of the 51st Ward, will take Potts' job in the Sheriff's office. Potts will receive $3,600 a year.

The Registration Commission is getting plenty of colored clerks. Aside from those already employed, Herbert Finney, of the 20th Ward, goes to work this week.

The political situation appears as though the Democrats and Republicans are evenly matched with endorsed candidates. The Democrats have endorsed John H. Boykin for City Council and the Republicans James H. Irvin, both from the 44th Ward. The Democrat high command has put its approval upon Dr. Willard Grinnage for magistrate, and the Republican chiefs have given the go-ahead signal to Edw. W. Henry. Both of these candidates are from the 30th Ward.

The position in North Philadelphia has not cleared as yet, but it is still possible for a colored candidate to be endorsed by the Democratic Party in that section. G. Thomas Jackson and Dr. John K. Rice still have a chance to get Kelly's O. K.



COUNCILMAN IRVIN

He's Slated

"No Reckless Pledges", Says G.O.P. Choice

Inquirer

Lamberton Promises Full Rights Of American Citizenship

HITS RACIAL BARS

10-12-39

"Must Face Practical Situation", Says Judge Lamberton

Philadelphia Inquirer

By E. W. RHODES

The man is honest and refuses to make empty political promises which he knows he can not keep.

That is the conclusion reached after talking for 45 minutes with Judge Robert E. Lamberton, Republican candidate for Mayor of Philadelphia.

The interview was obtained to ascertain the attitude of the candidate toward colored citizens, because of the peculiar circumstances under which they live.

I wanted to know what Judge Lamberton thought about the colored firemen and police. It is common knowledge that there are not as many colored police officers today as there were in former years. I asked the question pointedly.

"Every group should be represented in the Department of Public Safety as far as possible in accordance with their numbers," he replied.

"I do not believe in government by groups, but I do think that no group should be excluded from participating in their government because of its racial identity. The important question in selecting officials should not be race or religion but whether they are good Americans with good characters," he said.

Cite "Ideal Situation"

It was agreed that the ideal situation for America and Philadelphia is for all citizens to be treated alike. However, I pointed out that the ideal situation did not obtain and, since there was discrimination, the main point at this time is, what he proposed to do to bring about the ideal.

"True it is that there are inequalities, but no one man can change that. However, every honest man can do his part by doing everything he can to convince his fellow citizens that American principles demand that all men be treated fairly. It is a difficult task but it can and will be accomplished," he continued.

I suggested that perhaps one of the reasons for the unfair attitude of some people toward colored citizens was because colored citizens were not included in the thinking of public officials when construction programs for the general welfare were being developed.

Colored citizens are usually excluded from commissions and committees which have to do with formulating programs of government. This exclusion, whether intentional or not, naturally prevents the contact of the best minds of the colored and white groups. This causes a lack of appreciation for each other's problems. This lack of understanding often nourishes prejudices.

Agrees With Viewpoint

"Since this contact appears to be necessary for the better cooperation of the two groups, would you be willing to include colored citizens on important committees and commissions appointed by you?" I asked.

"Most certainly," was his reply.

"It is necessary for us to face a very practical situation. There are some people who try to fool colored people by making all kinds of reckless promises, until after election. I do not propose to follow that procedure. I honestly believe that the general welfare of all can best be obtained by assisting every segment of our population to enjoy the full rights of American citizenship. And since I believe that it be for the best interest of all it follows I propose to follow that line," concluded Judge Lamberton.

Colored Voters Return To G.O.P.

Henry, Irvin Returned As G.O.P. Sweeps

30th Ward Returns To Republican Ranks; Dems Slip In W. Phila.

DEMS LOSE 20TH

Democrats Hold Only 2 Negro Wards With Scant Margins

By ORRIN C. EVANS

Colored voters throughout the city, many former Democrats, socked an ailing Democratic city machine, Tuesday where it was felt most keenly —in the polling places.

With just two exceptions—the 34th and 47th wards—every ward that has an appreciable colored vote swung into line behind the victorious banners of a determined Republican machine that swept the city.

One of the indications of a significant gain in the part of Republicanism within the ranks of colored voters was in the Fourth Councilmanic District, in West Philadelphia, where Republican incumbent James H. Irvin, in the hotbed of Colored Democratic activity, not only was returned to Council, but increased his strength in terms of ballots by 3,133 votes over the number of votes that sent him into Council 4 years ago.

In 1935 Councilman Irvin polled 72,559 votes. On Tuesday, with Democrats confident of carrying his Councilmanic district in the event of city-wide defeat, Irvin rolled up 75 692 votes.

In winning in 1935 Irvin faced no colored opposition, from the standpoint of a candidate of his race.

BOYKIN THREAT FAILS

There was no temptation to split the vote on the basis of racial appeal in 1935. He was the lone colored candidate on a city-wide Councilmanic slate. On Tuesday, however, he faced a threat in the opposition of John H. Boykin, colored Democrat, who finished in last place among a total of ten Councilmanic candidates. Boykin polled 73,227 votes. He garnered 2,465 votes less than Irvin.

Councilman Irvin, in being returned to Council, ran fourth among the Councilmanic candidates.

In the 34th ward, bailiwick of Rev. Marshall L. Shepard, admitted colored Democratic leader of the city and right-bower of city leader John B. Kelly, the Democrats carried the ward by only 388 votes.

In the 1938 election this ward, heavily populated with colored voters gave a plurality of 1,564 votes to the Democratic party.

30th WARD BACK

Practical politicians were not surprised with the result of Tuesday's balloting in the 30th ward in South Philadelphia, for years the storm center of the city in bitter partisan politics.

This ward first started slipping from its moorings of Republicanism in the Roosevelt landslide, eight years ago. Relief, WPA and other New Deal aid agencies contributed immeasurably to sending this ward deeper into the ranks of Democracy.

On Tuesday, however, there was a marked return to the ranks of the G.O.P. Efforts on the part of the Democrats to hold the ward in line through the candidacy of Dr. Willard T. Grinnage, 2324 Christian street bogged down, when the ward swung back into the Republican column with a Republican majority of 166 votes.

Full appreciation of even such a small majority cannot be realized until it is recalled that the Republicans lost this ward to the Democrats by 1,325 votes a year ago.

The full strength of Magistrate Edward W. Henry behind the interests of the Republican party definitely contributed to the success of Republicanism in this ward on Tuesday.

HENRY VALUABLE AID

An astute politician, an able campaigner and one whose popularity is apparently on the increase among colored voters, Henry aided Charles B. McIntyre, G.O.P. ward leader, in reclaiming hundreds of votes previously lost to the Democratic setup.

Henry, returned to office for another 6-year term, polled a city-wide vote of 383,474. Grinnage trailed behind Henry with 349,738 votes.

In the 30th ward, where both Henry and Grinnage reside, Henry polled 5,133 votes, while Grinnage garnered 4,801 ballots, a lead over Grinnage by Henry of 332 votes.

In the 20th ward, domain of Republican Councilman Louis Schwartz, bitter feeling marked the election. Last year this ward went Democratic by a majority of 2,163 votes. On Tuesday, however, it returned to Republican ranks with a majority of 315 votes.

Active in lining up the colored vote throughout the ward was Russel Allen, one of the original supporters of Kelly and his Democratic machine. Allen, former secretary of the State Athletic Commission and one-time Coroner's detective, broke with the Democratic party recently, and has been waging a tireless and vigorous campaign for the Republican party.

PREDICTS ALMOST TO VOTE

A sweeping victory for Judge Lamberton, G.O.P. standard-bearer, was predicted the day before election by John A. Sparks, 50 N. 13th street, for years an assistant city solicitor, and recognized among colored political figures as one of the ablest colored political analysts.

"I rarely pay any attention to newspaper evaluations of a man's character. I know Judge Lamberton as a man who has always had the interests of colored citizens at heart. Too, in all of my experience in Philadelphia, since before the turn of the century, I have never known the Republican party to present to the voters a higher type man. I predict a victory for Republicanism by over 30,000 votes," Sparks said.

G.O.P. In Philadelphia Returns Henry and Irvin

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The Republicans also elected their mayoralty candidate, retained twenty-two city council seats, re-elected the occupants of all major county offices, and had no trouble sweeping the state with their judiciary ticket.

Thirtieth Forsakes New Deal

11-18-39

Two Dropped From Council In Lawnside

PHILADELPHIA—A general swing of colored voters back to the ranks of the GOP, which they deserted on the rise of the New Deal, were envisaged by political leaders as a result of last week's municipal elections which returned

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POLITICAL- 1939
ELECTIONS

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston News and Courier
January 25, 1939

Perils of 100 Percentism

The recent performances of Mr. Olin D. Johnston, who as governor, retired last week and as candidate for United States senator was retired last August, sheds a penetrating light on the "everlasting negro question" as it affects Southern politics. What is about to be said is in part conjectural but is based on strong circumstantial evidence.

Our purpose is to point out the vexations of the question and not at all to reflect upon the former governor, who is no more than an unhappy but convenient illustration.

At the beginning of his canvass for senator, in Sumter, Mr. Johnston was about to address a party of his followers when it appeared that seventy or eighty quietly behaved negroes had come to hear him. His "friends" invited them to leave, and Mr. Johnston is reported to have used the expression, "I run 'em off."

Nothing could have been more natural and appropriate than that Mr. Johnston welcome negroes, for he was a candidate as a "100 per cent" Roosevelt man against one marked for slaughter by the "Lincoln Democrats". and Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Ickes, Chairman Farley, Senators Guffey and Wagner, all of the Northern New Dealers, were and still are tender cultivators of the negro voters. Nothing could have been more indiscreet and discordant than for a Southern Roosevelt man to insult negroes. But Mr. Johnston apparently saw the vote-getting importance of resort to "race prejudice", perhaps he thought he had to show dramatically that he was not a Roosevelt man in respect of the negroes, and his manner of resort was of a crudity that no "Southern bourbon" would have adopted. The Southern bourbons invariably treat respectful colored people with courtesy and respect. It does not occur to them to treat them otherwise.

President Roosevelt overlooked the Sumter performance, if he heard of it. Mr. Johnston continued to gush praise of him, and the president as "party leader" came to his assistance in Greenville. Mr. Johnston was and is the one South Carolina candidate for an office for whom Mr. Roosevelt has put in a word; he was the "party leader's" clearly appointed favorite and champion.

Mr. Johnston in his candidacy was understood to have the support of "Labor's Non-Partisan League", political agency of the CIO, and the CIO not only accepts negro labor in the Northern industrial centers but with emphasis and signs of affectionate interest draws it to itself. It is in considerable part a negro organization. Mr. Johnston's behavior in Sumter was defiant of it, though it did not damage him among the CIO voters in South Carolina who are not yet accurately informed of the society's appeal to negroes.

The Sumter speech, it is virtually certain, caught the attention of Northern leaders of negroes, such men as Walter White and "Bob" Vann, as well as the Wagners, Guffeys and their brethren. When Mr. Johnston's name was in discussion for a federal judgeship or other fattish federal office, negroes in Columbia passed resolutions of protest, and, while we are not saying we are thinking that a hint came to them from Northern negro headquarters.

The upshot was, or so we surmise, it became out of the question to appoint Mr. J. to a federal office subject to senatorial confirmation without challenging the Wagner-Guffey servitors of the colored vote in the cities and the Republican servitors as well. Mr. Johnston's conduct was much fresher in mind than was Mr. Hugo Black's Kluxian activities and, besides, Mr. Black had time to repent and recant. The News and Courier doubts that Mr. Johnston could be confirmed in the senate to a federal office even if he should have the support of Senators Byrnes and Smith. For, as Mr. Byrnes says, the negroes control the Democratic party and he has often noticed the presence of Walter White in the senate gallery. Moreover, it is not an outlandish thought that after Mr. Roosevelt's failure to elect Mr. Johnston he concluded that it would be well, with charm and firmness, to wash his hands of Mr. Johnston, though he may have offered him something inconsiderable.

It does not escape notice that in the closing weeks and days of his authority as governor, Mr. Johnston pardoned or paroled in certain cases white men who had been convicted by white juries of killing negroes. White slayers of negroes too often escape justice, but in Spartanburg county those juries as a rule find verdicts according to the law and the evidence. In December and the first half of January nothing was to be gained by neglect of petitions for parole of white men in the penitentiary for slaying black-skinned persons. The Southern bourbons believe in equal and exact justice to white and black, and prosecuting officers like Sam Watt see that they get it. The judges of the South Carolina courts always are of this mind and habit.

So Mr. Johnston's expiring performances as governor aggravated the effect of the Sumter speech, and one may be sure that Walter White knows all about them.

How can a governor be indulgent or especially merciful to white men convicted of killing negroes and have in political contests sympathetic "cooperation" of President Roosevelt? He can't. How can he "run off" negroes from his meetings without running off the CIO and Labor's Non-partisan League? He can't. Mr. Johnston may again be a candidate, he has a numerous following, but he will perhaps seek to compensate for losses in other ways than 100-percenting for Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. R., or so we guess, is no longer 100-percenting for him.

The sad story exposes the difficulties of South Carolina politicians when they head on collide with the "negro question." Mr. Johnston's consistent course would have been to track in the course of Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Farley, Mr. Aubrey Williams and the Southern uplifters.

The ways of the Southern bourbons with the negroes are difficult and sometimes perplexing to themselves, but they are better than those of Mr. Johnston's and, in the end, not so lame and futile. Mr. Johnston's 100-percentism seems to have torn him asunder, and the laugh is on Mr. Roosevelt, too.

"Cotton Ed" Smith Brags In Race Equality In Opposing Civil Liberties Inquiry

8-24-39

19—Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith's remarks in the Senate August 4, shortly before Congress closed, were cited by N.A.A.C.P. officials here as an example of how southern reactionaries use Negro-baiting to cover up their hatred of all progressive legislation.

Senator Smith was speaking against a Senate appropriation of $100,000 for continuing the work of the La-Follette Civil Liberties Committee, when he remarked:

"But think of what is involved in this civil liberties committee. As I said in reference to the State of Pennsylvania, she obtained so much civil liberty that she wanted to open the door of public places of amusement and entertainment to our brothers in black."

Smith then went into a long tirade against the dangers of mixing the races. His speech, however, had an opposite effect upon Senator Clark, of Missouri, who made the following rejoinder to Smith's speech;

"After hearing the speech made by my very dear and distinguished friend (Cotton Ed Smith) . . . I am perfectly willing to vote for $200,000 if necessary. This is one of the few times in my life that I have listened to a very eloquent speech by a very dear friend of mine and have been completely convinced on the other side."

South Carolina Senator Drags In Race Issue

8-24-39
Philadelphia Pa

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SEN. SMITH'S ARGUMENT HAS 'WRONG' EFFECT

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Three Colored Men In Council Race For May Election

Drs. G. L. Jackson, Jackson Brown And H. H. Walker Seeking Votes Of Both Races In Their Wards

Three well known colored men are candidates for positions in the city council of Nashville, according to a report from the City Clerk's office made Wednesday of this week.

Dr. G. L. Jackson who is running from the Second Ward, now represented by Dr. J. R. Mansfield; Dr. Jackson Brown, running from the Eleventh Ward, now represented by Alex M. Hines and Dr. H. H. Walker, running from the Fourteenth Ward, now represented by Charles E. Miles.

Dr. Jackson was the last of the three to qualify, but was not surpassed by either of the other two in his enthusiasm for the contest and in expressing a determination to remain in the race to the end. Dr. Jackson and Dr. Walker both are physicians while Dr. Brown is a prominent Jefferson street druggist.

The Second Ward councilmanship seems to be a choice plum as it probably has more candidates for the office than any other ward. Seven men are running. Besides Dr. Jackson, the colored physician, the incumbent Dr. Mansfield has the following opponents: Former councilman Walter Craddock, Wm. T. Phillips, Arthur Burnett, Henry W. Sadler and John Robertson.

In the Eleventh Ward there are four candidates. Besides Dr. Jackson Brown, the colored druggist, there are Alex M. Hines, T. Duckett, H. H. Spears and Charles N. Payne.

City Council Reverses Itself On Issue, After Citizens Make Protest

Councilman Riley's Chance Of Winning Believed Hurt And Dr. Walker's Helped By Plan For Fair Election

They are going to use voting machines in the 14th ward on election day, May 11, and the citizens of that ward will enjoy "equality of citizenship" along with all other citizens of Nashville.

The pressure on Councilman Riley of the 14th who got his ward excepted from the use of machines on Wednesday night of last week, became so great that he, with a show of bitterness, and reluctance, got the council to rescind its action on Tuesday night of this week.

Councilman Riley had been reported as likely to resign from his office as councilman from the 14th if they put in voting machines, but he gave no indication of such a purpose on Tuesday night when he boasted that whether they use machines or ballots he was certain to be re-elected.

Councilman Riley let it be known that he was moving to have the council rescind its action of last week solely because of the desire of the fifteen other city councilmen to be relieved of responsibility of what had proved to be the most unpopular action they had taken this year to deprive the 14th ward citizens of voting machines.

Tuesday night Councilman Riley acknowledged that he had a petition signed by a hundred of the best citizens of his ward asking that voting machines be provided. In the meantime it is stated that each councilman who voted with Mr. Riley had been bombarded with telephone calls and other forms of protest to an extent that surprised them. It was well known that had not Councilman Riley taken the easy way out by moving to rescind the council action, other members who had voted with him had planned to take the action themselves in obedience to the "voice of the people."

Tuesday night's meeting of the city council, was another revelation to the "City Fathers" of the extent to which they had offended colored citizens by the "raw deal" they had given the 14th Ward. The largest delegation of colored citizens that has been at the council in a long time was present. It was composed of leading colored men and women from all parts of the city, including special committees from the leading organizations. They were there prepared to speak in opposition to the council's action and had come despite the assurance given in the daily press that the council would reverse itself on the 14th Ward matter.

In addition to the Globe's editorial of protest to the council's action of last week, The Nashville Tennessean had made a strong editorial protest and also published the names of the councilman who voted for and against the proposal to deprive the 14th ward of voting machines. The Nashville Banner had called attention to the fact that the people of the 14th Ward had voted in support of the bond issue that would tax them for the purchase of voting machines. This was apparently intended to refute Councilman Riley's contention that the people of his ward did not want the machines.

The Rev. W. J. Faulkner, President of the Inter-denominational Ministers Alliance, published a strong letter of protest in two daily newspapers, in which he hinted that lawlessness in Nashville would be encouraged by a failure to provide for an honest method of voting in the 14th Ward.

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4-28-39

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Nashville Banner

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Globe 4-21-39

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Tribune 7-22-39

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Washington Post

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Davies Is Commissioned

Reversal Too Late, Says FDR

NAACP Fought Former Ku-Klux Klan Member

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—(SNS)—Elmer D. Davies, new federal judge of the Middle Tennessee District, vigorously opposed by the N. A. A. C. P., because he was a former member of the Ku Klux Klan, said Friday he expected to receive his commission from President Roosevelt during the day and if so he would probably take the oath of office before nightfall.

The Senate confirmed Davies' nomination Wednesday afternoon, but a few hours later voted to recall it from the White House after Senator Barbour, Republican of New Jersey, said the "colored people of New Jersey" opposed Davies' appointment because of his former Klan membership.

In a message to the Senate late Thursday afternoon, President Roosevelt said he could "not accede to this request as before its receipt I had signed and sent out a commission appointing Judge Davies.....!"

The 40-year-old Nashville attorney said in regard to the appointment that "of course, I am delighted."

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
February 14, 1939

SANE GOVERNMENT PLEDGED BY MOORE

City Commission Candidate Outlines Platform, Sets Out Qualifications

Walter D. Moore, coal dealer, formally announced his candidacy for the city commission last night with a pledge of successful, sane and orderly operation of government if elected March 14. Mr. Moore was one of the last to qualify for the race Saturday, and last night's statement was his first formal expression of platform.

His statement follows in part:

"In announcing my candidacy for the city commission race subject to the March election, I wish to state clearly that I am not opposing any particular one of the present commissioners. I have the kindliest feeling toward the incumbents and, while there may be points or issues on which we are not fully in accord, as a whole I think they have discharged their duties very capably, and I have no criticism to offer. I am not aligned with any particular faction, either with the 'outs' or the so-called 'ins,' and will not indulge in any such petty criticism of any of my opponents, such as bringing to the voters' attention any of their shortcomings, if there are any, and I wish to be elected to the commission board on my own capabilities and not on the deficiencies of any of my opponents.

"In selecting your commissioners, it is only natural that you should know in a measure something of their private lives in order that you may judge their fitness for the position they seek.

"I came to Chattanooga from Huntsville, Ala., twenty-seven years ago at the age of 15. My education was completed in Chattanooga and in the earlier part of my business career I was connected with three national transportation companies in various capacities, later launching a business career of my own, entering the retail coal business which I have operated for the past fifteen years. I am a member of Centenary church, Masonic lodge, American Legion and Eagles. I have a family of a lovely wife and three fine boys. I am confident my past business training has well qualified me to successfully discharge the duties of any one of the

ANNOUNCES FORMALLY

WALTER D. MOORE

commission posts and that my evenly balanced life and training will give me the proper perspective on all issues pertaining to the safe and sane performance of the government of our city. It is upon this belief that I submit my candidacy to the voters for their consideration.

"If elected I will serve in any post to which I may be assigned.

"So far as my means and time would permit I have always been interested and taken a part in the civic development of our city and have long cherished the hope that I might some day have the opportunity of serving my city and having a part in directing its destiny. I believe a post on the city commission affords me the opportunity of full expression of this long-cherished hope and I feel that my past life and experience has just now brought me to the age where I am capable of mature, sound reasoning, not too old to be lacking in ambition and yet not too young to lose sight of the practical view of all issues. If I am elected as one of your commissioners, I will faithfully consider all matters put before me with the hope that any mistakes I may make will never be of the heart or deliberate. I will lend my influence only to the higher ideals of the successful sane and orderly operation of your government. I will not get pennies in my eyes when it comes to a decision effecting your city, but will try to visualize the future that our work and decisions of today may be practical and beneficial tomorrow. I will not permit waste in our government; neither will I permit stagnation for the lack of vision and intuition."

CANDIDATES ARE INVITED TO MEETING OF NEGROES

Candidates for office in the coming city election have been invited to address a community mass meeting at New Zion Baptist church, the Rev John B. Turner, pastor, tonight at 7 o'clock.

The church is a small building on Wall street and arrangements have been made for a loudspeaker system to be installed and the street roped off so that residents of the densely populated area who cannot gain admittance may hear the speakers.

The rally will be held under auspices of the Colored Voters' club of the Second ward, Second precinct.

A meeting will be held tonight also by the Third Ward club in the main auditorium of the Silver Moon Night club, 99 Pine street.

Chattanooga, Tenn News
March 6, 1939

Candidates Gird For Stretch Drive

Cobb Asks U. S. to Police Balloting March 14.

Runners in the city primary race made preparations over the week-end for a home stretch drive. Various candidates continued jockeying for favorable positions on the favorites' slates as it was apparent that at least one and possibly two places were still open on the organization ticket for the city commission.

Veteran political observers said that the commission race is the most jumbled scramble city politics has known in a long time with all the candidates receiving substantial backing.

Opponents of Commissioner T. H. McMillan conceded that he is running strong and said that he will be hard to "head," despite the fact that he has spurned support of the political leaders. One political leader expressed the opinion that a heavy vote would hurt McMillan's chances.

N. A. (Ty) Cobb, candidate for city judge against Martin Fleming, wired United States Attorney-General Frank Murphy asking that the Federal Government send investigators here to watch the election. He mailed newspaper clippings concerning alleged irregularities in registration and a brief of the law concerning Federal intervention.

Last Saturday Cobb wired Gov. Prentice Cooper asking him to veto the bill passed by the local delegation to increase the city judge's term from four to eight years.

F. L. Dixon, Sr., also is a candidate against Judge Fleming and has expressed opposition to the eight-year term.

Sam Bankson, candidate for mayor against Ed Bass, advocated over the week-end the repeal of the 5-cent pike fund levy by the county. He said this tax is unnecessary since the State has taken over the pikes, and roads are being built and repaired with Federal funds.

T. B. (Tommy) Walker, East Chattanooga business man, another candidate for mayor, was inactive over the week-end.

Commission candidates are McMillan, Commissioners R. M. Cooke, E. R. Betterton and Eugene Bryan, Gordon Gambill, French Grubb, W. F. Langley, Fred Payne, Walter D. Moore and Lon Worsham.

Candidates were planning to make many speeches at political rallies and over the air during the final week of the campaign.

Many Negro meetings to hear the candidates are already scheduled.

A meeting will be held at 7:30 p.m. Tuesday at the Alleyne Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Will Garrett, chairman of the Fifth Ward Club, announced. The church is at Williams and Sixteenth Streets and is for voters of the Fifth, Eighth and Tenth Wards.

A meeting for all candidates to address voters of the Seventh Ward, Second Precinct, has been arranged by Dock Harper, courthouse janitor, at the A. M. E. Zion Church, Palmetto and Flynn Streets, Tuesday night.

Walter C. Robinson, Negro leader of the Fourth Ward, has called a meeting for Monday night at the Friendship Primitive Baptist Church, corner of Ross Avenue and Grove Place.

Bill Grossman, West Side boss, has arranged a meeting for Thursday night in the ballroom of the Silver Moon Club, 919 Pine Street.

Chattanooga Tenn News
March 10, 1939

Candidates In Final Lap Of Talk Derby

Will Hold Last Rallies Before Primary Tonight.

The political speaking tourney enters the final round Friday night. No more rallies by candidates for the various city offices are planned after tonight, and candidates will confine their talks to radio appeals Saturday and Monday nights.

On Tuesday the voters will register their choices at the polls.

A big booster meeting will be held at 7:30 p.m. Friday by supporters of Commissioner R. M. (Bob) Cooke, candidate for reelection.

The rally will be held at 7:30 p.m. in the courtroom of Judge Martin Fleming. Talks will be broadcast over station WAPO.

Speakers announced include Judge Martin A. Fleming, Ernest H. Holt, J. O. Shrader, Phil Angel, V. W. Hallmark and T. R. Cuthbert.

A crowd of 1,000 jammed the Silver Moon, Negro night club on Pine Street, Thursday night to hear candidates. The place is owned by Bill Grossman, white political leader of the West Side.

Candidates who spoke were Commissioners E. R. Betterton, T. H. McMillan, Eugene Bryan and R. M. Cooke, Judge Martin Fleming and Walter D. Moore, Gordon Gambill and Lon Worsham, candidates for the City Commission.

Ken Whitaker spoke in behalf of Mayor Ed Bass.

BRYAN HEARD

The Bryan Booster Club of the Twelfth Ward heard talks by Commissioner Bryan and the Rev. J. N. Bull, pastor of East Chattanooga Baptist Church, Thursday night. A crowd of 300 overflowed the community hall on Dodson Avenue. J. A. Taylor is chairman of the group and Mrs. Harry Taylor vice-chairman.

Other rallies were held at East Side Junior High School, St. Elmo Fort Cheatham and East Ninth Street. Commissioner T. H. McMillan and other candidates appeared at these meetings. McMillan reviewed the work of the Education Department at these meetings.

A meeting for all candidates will be held Friday at 7:45 p.m. at Hardy Junior High School. Band music will be provided. Paul Good will act as chairman, and Mrs. Harry Taylor vice-chairman.

Nashville Tenn. Banner
April 4, 1939

Denies Candidacy

Dr. R. B. Jackson, Negro doctor of 1303 Tremont Street, a resident of the Tenth Ward, wishes to announce he is not a candidate for election to the City Council, inasmuch as his name has been confused with those of Dr. G. L. Jackson, Negro, of 1213 Twelfth Avenue, North, a resident of the Second Ward, and Dr. Jackson Brown, Negro, of 2602 Jefferson Street, who lives in the Eleventh Ward. The latter two are candidates for the Council.

Nashville Tenn. Banner
April 10, 1939

Negro Physician Enters Race for City Council

Dr. H. H. Walker, Negro physician of 924 First Avenue, South, today announced his candidacy for election to the City Council from the Fourteenth Ward in the municipal election May 11.

Dr. Walker pledged, if elected, to give "full cooperation in every way with the City Administration and to work in harmony with councilmen of other wards to the best interest of all of Nashville and especially of the Fourteenth Ward."

Hottest Races For City Offices In Many Years Are In Prospect For May 11

Globe
Nashville, Tenn.
3-17-39

Dr. Jackson H. Brown To Run For Councilman In 11th Ward; Field Full Of Candidates For All Positions Warm

With the largest enrollment of poll tax paying voters on the rolls in the history of Nashville, and the assurance of a big turn-out of persons below and beyond the tax-paying age, one of the hottest races for municipal offices ever held here is to take place on May 11.

If some maneuverings behind the scenes bear fruit, there is every prospect that the race for Mayor will split the voters into two warring camps, with the result likely to remain in doubt until the official

DR. J. H. BROWN IN RACE FOR COUNCILMAN

Only one colored citizen has announced for councilmen, he is Dr. Jackson H. Brown, proprietor of Brown's Pharmacy, on Jefferson street. Dr. Brown is a successful druggist, and has a host of friends throughout the 11th Ward where he is a candidate. Educated in Nashville public schools and at Meharry Medical College, he is considered fully qualified to represent his ward, and his friends state he will begin an active canvass for councilman in the near future.

Dr. H. H. Walker in the Fourteenth Ward and Dr. Jackson Brown, druggist, in the Eleventh Ward, were the only colored candidates for councilmen up to Wednesday of this week and whether or not both of them would remain in the race to be voted on May 11th was a topic of discussion in many quarters this week, following reports of strenuous efforts to get them to withdraw.

Both Dr. Walker and Dr. Brown informed a representative of The Globe that they were in the race to stay, and would resist the overtures being made by persons interested in other candidates to get them out of the race.

Dr. Brown confirmed the rumor that he had been approached by colored men who pleaded with him to get out of the race in the interest of one of his white opponents. Efforts were made to get Dr. Brown in a conference at the city hall in order to effect a deal for his withdrawal, it was reported. Dr. Brown very vigorously spurned the overtures, it is reported, and let it be known that he did not think highly of political schemes that would cause a colored man to accept pay for himself to get out of a race, as that would be disheartening to the reputable men and women who were supporting him.

In the race for Mayor, the contest has proceeded thus far without any outstanding issue, with all of the candidates pledging the same things to the voters, and with Mayor Cummings having the advantage of actually being on the job doing many of the things he is promising.

There was a strong belief current that one of the opposition candidates would have to withdraw if either of them hoped to make any headway in his efforts of defeating Mayor Cummings. Because of the apparent better organization Mr. A. Roy Greene has gotten together and having a good supply of campaign funds, according to reports, he was being hailed as the strongest opponent of the Mayor and this fact might influence the backers of Hon. Felix Wilson to urge him to withdraw in favor of Mr. Greene.

Mr. Greene's chief support among colored citizens is said to be that of several insurance agents who are reported to be making an organized canvass for the groceryman.

The Hon. Felix Wilson has many old friends among colored citizens who have backed him in former races and continue to remain loyal to him despite any reports that Mr. Wilson's race is hopeless.

While there is considerable division among colored voters, it is generally admitted that Mayor Cummings at present has a larger share of this support than the other candidates as a result of the habit of a majority of voters to "string along with the administration in power."

The usual boasts of different political leaders that they controlled big blocks of voters were being made to candidates and were being pretty generally discounted because of the way these leaders have failed to deliver in the past. The system of getting well known men and women as political workers and sending them on a still hunt for voters and the holding of rallies in all parts of the city is the system that has been found more potent than giving lump sums of money to political bosses who have the reputation of taking the lion's share for themselves and neglecting to give the workers the pay the candidates have made available.

As the campaign comes into the home stretch it is predicted that new issues, charges and counter charges will fill the air and all forms of strategy will be resorted to by candidates and their backers in order to achieve victory on May 11.

Knoxville Tenn. Journal
April 17, 1939

Cabinet Named By Knoxville's Negro Mayor

Dr. J. H. Presnell, Negro physician, who has been elected honorary mayor of Knoxville, yesterday named his "advisory cabinet" to help work for betterment of Knoxville's Negro citizens.

Prof. James G. Beck, Prof. Leon F. Nance, Prof. M. D. Senter, James Bussell, Dr. P. M. Alexander, Charles Cross, B. Branner Smith, Prof. T. R. Davis, Harry C. Cansler, Walter C. Kennedy, Claude Walker, and Nathan Dogan.

EFFORTS MADE TO FORCE COLORED MEN FROM RACE

Globe
4-21-39
Nashville Tenn.

Campaign For City Offices Develops Many Rumors; Fight For Mayor Gets

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
September 2, 1939

Davidson Race Watched By State Leaders

NASHVILLE.—(U. P.)—Tennessee's political spotlight today is focused on the Davidson County sheriff's race, ordinarily a local political molehill from the statewide viewpoint, but now taking on mountainous proportions.

The outcome of the Davidson County Democratic primary September 7 is slated to reinforce or disrupt the statewide political domination of Shelby County and Boss Ed Crump.

Sheriff Ivey Young, who is backed by Mayor Thomas L. Cummings of Nashville, is running for reelection against R. D. Marshall, who is suupported by the anti-Cummings faction.

Mayor Cummings is striving to bring to submission the last remains of the old quarter-century city machine of the late Mayor Hilary E. Howse.

At the same time, Cummings hopes to build a machine that will put the Capitol City political throne up as high as Boss Crump's.

Mayor Cummings has declared himself publicly against the "domination of Shelby County in State politics."

Davidson County's registration of voters reached the all-time high of 45,000, with the supplemental registration still to come.

Cummings has taken a lessor from Crump's use of the Negro vote in the Cotton Carnival city. Davidson County's record registration represents a Negro total multiplied ten times over the last registration figure.

Neither Gov. Prentice Cooper nor the Shelby advance guard have been heard from yet in the local primary.

HOUSTON MAN TELLS SENATE--'DON'T PUT ALLRED ON BENCH'

R. R. Grovey Appears Before Committee to Tell of Prejudice Shown by Former Governor of Lone Star State.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9—(ANP)—Marking the first time in recent history that a senate committee has heard a Negro from Dixie voice objections to the appointment of a federal judge, R. R. Grovey, Houston barber and former school teacher, Friday, told the committee that Ex-Governor James V. Allred should not be confirmed because he had shown prejudice toward Negroes both as attorney general and the chief executive of Texas.

TWISTED JUSTICE TO SUIT HIS OWN ENDS

Grovey, who said he represented the "heart and soul of Texas Negroes who opposed Allred's confirmation," declared the former juggled the law and twisted justice to suit his political ends at the expense of colored citizens. He produced newspaper clippings describing how Allred drove Negroes from political meetings during his gubernatorial campaign although the race was not an issue in the elections.

Specifically, Grovey charged the appointee is "prejudiced and anti-Negro according to his own statement and press reports of abusing and insulting language to Negroes; he pledged in a public speech to defend and protect a form of legal disfranchisement in Texas; he is a leader of that schol of politicians which believes in taxation without representation, and he asserted in a public address he would do all in his power to keep the Democratic party a white man's party."

Negro Texans have been divided on Allred. He was at first condemned for obtaining the U. S. Supreme Court decision declaring the Democratic party a private club which could restrict membership to whom it wished, but in recent months he has championed the Negro's cause and in is message to the legislature convening in January pleaded for better educational and other facilities for Negroes.

Burn Cross In Yard Of Man Running For Dixie School Board

Houston's James B. Grigsby Breaks Precedent By Becoming Candidate — KKK Act Denounced By Daily As "Un-American."

HOUSTON, Tex., Mar. 23—A fiery cross was burned in the front yard of James B. Grigsby, prominent business man and insurance official last Friday night, because he chose to run for election on the Houston School Board.

This marks the first time in the history of the city that a colored citizen has filed for this office.

In a biting article, the Houston Post, morning daily, denounced the act as "un-American," and upheld Grigsby's right to run for office.

Mrs. Grigsby was alone in her home when the cross was set afire by two white men who drove up in a car. The candidate declared the demonstration would not make him quit the race.

THREE VACANCIES TO BE FILLED, APRIL 1

Grigsby, one of the largest property owners in the city and n-ty, is seeking one of the ee vacancies which are to be filled in an election scheduled April 1.

Only a poll-tax receipt is necessary for qualification to vote in school board elections. Negro voters have participated in the elections for years, and the right of a Negro to be a candidate in such elections has never been questioned.

There are 34 Negro schools with an enrollment of 14,000 students in the city. If the potential strength of thousands of parents are transferred to ballots, Grigsby has a fine chance to win. A native of Mississippi, but a long-time resident here, he was one of the first citizens to file a suit challenging the exclusion of Negro voters from Democratic primaries.

BOARD MEMBERS ARE NOT HOSTILE TO IDEA

Opinion of white school board members differed as to the advisability of having a colored citizen added to the board, but one, Dr. Henry A. Peterson, said: "It will probably be a good thing for Grigsby to make this campaign. Certainly it will mean that a great deal more interest will be shown in affairs of the Negro schools."

H. L. Mills, business manager for the school system, said Grigsby's candidacy will mean that "we will have a much more representative vote of Houston citizens than is usual in school board elections."

The possible "social" angle was quickly eliminated by Dr. E. E. Oberholtzer, superintendent of schools, who declared that if Grigsby were elected, luncheon sessions of the school board would be ended.

In a brief statement, Grigsby told The Courier: "I am filing for a place on the board because I believe I can be of service to my people. I am interested in getting better vocational training for our boys and girls so that they will be qualified for jobs when they leave school. I think I can be of help to the board in working to raise the educational standards of my race."

Candidate For School Board

Journal and Guide 3-25-39

Citizens Rally To Support After Cross Burns

HOUSTON (ANP) — A fiery cross flamed in the front yard of James B. Grigsby, local candidate for the city school board, last Friday night, but instead of frightening hm out of the race it spurred his campaign for election.

Mr. Grigsby is the first colored man to seek election to the board in the history of the city. Indications are he will be elected with votes of both races.

The burning of the cross in front of his home rallied colored citizens to his support and brought forth a denunciation from the Houston Post, morning daily, which denounced the act as "un-American."

The Post upheld his right to run for the office, and declared Houston is no place for a revival of "expeditions hiding under cover of darknes or the protection of bed sheets."

The cross burned in Mr. Grigsby yard at 1713 Hadley Street while he was at his insurance office in downtown Houston. Mrs. Grigsby was at home alone. She phoned her husband who asked police to investigate.

Officers who answered the call were told by neighbors two men placed the cross in the yard and hurriedly left the scene in a car. They said the could not tell whether the men were white or colored. Officers extinguished the flame.

If the burning of the cross was any hint for him to get out of the race he certainly has no intention of taking it, Mr. Grigsby told interviewers.

TEXANS DEFEATED IN ELECTION FOR SCHOOL BOARD

Louisville Courier-Journal 4-13-39 Des Moines Iowa

Houston, April 11 (ANP) — Although making a spirited campaign, highlight of which was the mysterious burning of a cross on his front lawn, J. B. Grigsby finished eighth, in a field of 17 candidates in Saturday's election for members of the Houston school board.

This year's vote, 9,500, was the largest since 1932. All candidates except Grigsby were white. During the heated campaign it was charged that anonymous letters endorsing two white candidates had been sent out on local YMCA stationery. This was denied by the candidates and by YMCA officials.

LYNCH FOE VICTORIOUS

CONGRATULATIONS TO the voters of San Antonio, Texas, who last week dealt a body blow to the reactionary Democratic coalition in that state and elected Maury Maverick as the new Mayor of the city.

Maverick, who was defeated by the coalition last year when he sought renomination as a Congressional candidate, will be remembered as being the only Southern Congressman who had the courage of his convictions and openly supported the ill-fated anti-lynching bill which passed the House of Representatives but was killed by filibuster in the Senate.

Age 2-28-39

As a Congressman Maverick disregarded the sectional feeling stirred as result of the introduction of the anti-lynching bill and in no uncertain terms, on the floor of the House of Representatives, he vigorously scored and denounced the lynching evil and lynchers. That he had nothing to gain but respect and everything to lose for his stand was admitted by political observers at the time Maverick came out for passage of the anti-lynching legislation. Gain the respect of all, he did, but the valiant stand he took was too much for the machine down in Texas and after a bitter primary fight he was defeated for the renomination.

If as Mayor, Maverick continues to be as liberal as he was in Congress, Negroes in San Antonio will benefit greatly. He will have a grand chance to show what he is made of when he takes office on June 1st. Having been tried once and found not wanting, we believe he will bring to his city a more liberal treatment of Negroes as citizens.

Blast Appointment Of Texan To U. S. Bench

Atlanta World

Atlanta Ga. 2-5-39

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—Marking the first time in recent history that a senate committee has heard a Negro from Dixie voice objections to the appointment of a federal judge, R. R. Grovey, Houston barber and former school teacher, Friday told the committee that Ex-Governor James V. Allred should not be confirmed because he had shown prejudice toward Negroes both as attorney general and the chief executive of Texas.

2-5-39

Grovey, who said he represented the "heart and soul of Texas Negroes who opposed Allred's confirmation," declared the former juggled the law and twisted justice to suit his political ends at the expense of colored citizens. He produced newspaper clippings describing how Allred drove Negroes from political meetings during his gubernatorial campaign although the race was not an issue in the elections.

Specifically, Grovey charged the appointee is "prejudiced and anti-Negro according to his own statement and press reports of abusing and insulting language to Negroes; he pledged in a public speech to defend and protect a form of legal disfranchisement in Texas; he is a leader of that school of politicians which believes in taxation without representation, and he asserted in a public address he would do all in his power to keep the Democratic party a white man's party."

Negro Texans have been divided on Allred. He was at first condemned for obtaining the U. S. supreme court decision declaring the Democratic party a private

Texas Publisher In Race For State Legislature; Has A Chance To Win

FORT WORTH, Texas, Nov. 17—Phil Register, local publisher and state president of the Texas Negro Democrats, an organization which encourages members of the Race to vote, went on record this week as the first Race member in Tarrant County to seek a public office when he filed his candidacy for state representative.

Independent

With 35 candidates in the race, Register stands a fair chance to be elected. However, he says that his candidacy is purely a step towards gaining more political rights for the Race. He also expressed the hope that most whites would tolerate his entering the race.

11-18-39

"Of course I might be elected and that would be fine," he said. "But the main thing is to get a Negro on the ballot. It means another victory in our long-fought fight for greater freedom."

Chicago

With a Race man in a political race, the Negroes can call 1939 a banner year. For it also marked the first time in history that a member of the Race ever served on a grand jury in this county. This happened in the spring at the request of Criminal District Judge Willis McGregor after the Supreme Court held that continued absence of a member of the Race on the jury for year after year, was prima facie evidence that the Race was being discriminated against in the selection of grand jurymen.

Register's hopes for tolerance were shaken even before his application was filed. For rumors cropped up that a court injunction would be sought to keep his name off the ballot.

Negro Files Candidacy In Texas Election

Black Digest

FORT WORTH, Texas,—Nov.—(By R. L. Pie Melton for ANP)—Phil R. Register, 48, local labor leader, filed application for his name to appear on the ballot for flotorial representative for Tarrant and Denton counties in the November 28 special election. The application, filed Wednesday in Mrs. Happy Shelton's office at the Tarrant county court house, was notarized by the Rev. T. S. Boone, historian of the National Baptist Convention, Inc.

11-25-39

This event marked the first time that a Negro has entered a race of this kind in the history of Tarrant county. It is believed that a court injunction will be sought to keep Register's name off the ballot. Register admitted that his candidacy was purely a step to gain more rights for the Negro. He believes that most whites will accept his act in gracious tolerance.

Oklahoma City Oklahoman

"Of course I might be elected and that would be fine," he said, "but the main thing is to get a Negro on the ballot. It means another victory in our long fought fight for greater freedom."

Register is state president of the Texas Negro Democrats, an organization that encourages activity of the Negro at the ballot box.

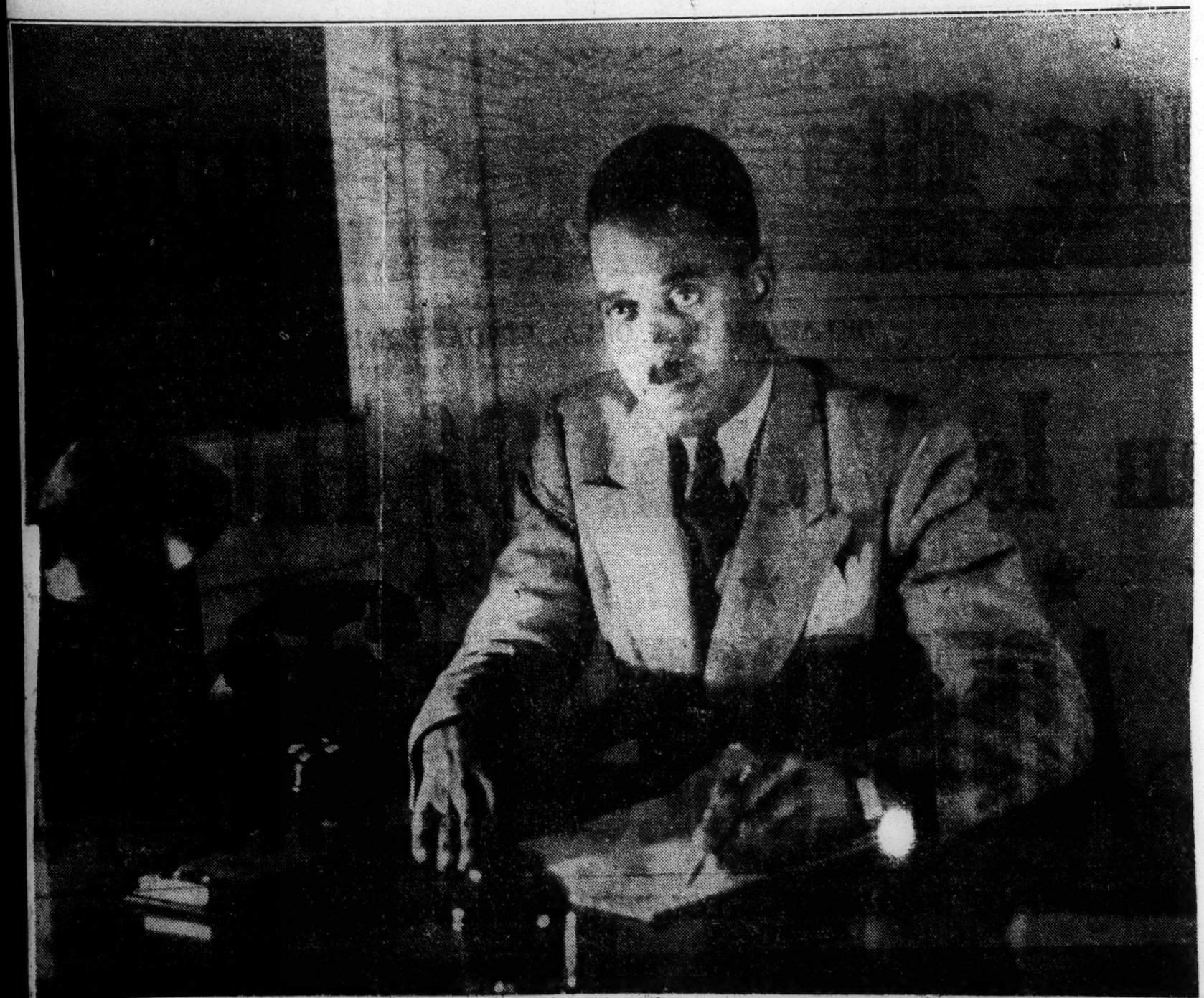
Political obsrevers point out that the 18,000 qualified Negro voters of Tarrant and Denton counties would be enough for Register to win against the 35 or 40 white candidates that will split the 42,000 white votes up into small blocks.

Southern Democrats usually manage to keep the Negro from running or voting in Democratic primaries, but the U. S. constitution and supreme court decisions give the Negroes equal rights with whites in general elections. This November 28 special election falls into the category of general elections.

POLITICAL - 1939
ELECTIONS

TEXAS

COLORFUL CEREMONY INAUGURATES DALLAS' 'BRONZE MAYOR'



DALLAS, Texas.—Before an audience of Dallas citizens that completely filled the spacious auditorium of Good Street Baptist church, Bronze Mayor A. A. Braswell was on last Friday night installed in the office for the ensuing year. Following a spectacular race that required a run-off, Mr. Braswell was declared duly elected official by the Negro Chamber of Commerce election committee who had charge of the city-wide balloting.

Mr. Braswell is one of the younger business men of Dallas and is the controlling head of the extensive Crawford interests, including the Crawford Undertaking Company, one of the largest concerns of the nature in the Southwest. A native of Knoxville, Tennessee, he has spent several years in Dallas and is regarded as one of the civic and social leaders of the city and state.

In his charge to the Bronze Mayor, Mayor George Sprague of Dallas expressed the hope that the incoming Mayor would keep up the work as laid down by Dr. T. E. Ward, the retiring official who served during the past year. He pledged the support and cooperation of his office in assisting the colored citizens to realize the benefits of citizenship, and asked the Mayor and his cabinet to call upon him and his assistants at the City Hall when there was a matter in which they could be helpful. The Mayor's address was received with enthusiasm and interest by the audience.

Mayor Braswell's response was couched in excellent language and he expressed a determination to pursue with energy the needs and welfare of the colored citizens of Dallas and serve them to the best of his ability.

Clarence F. Starks, president of the Negro Chamber of Commerce, presided. The principal address was delivered by Dr. A. H. Dyson. Others on the program were Prof. T. W. Pratt, who delivered an address presenting the Crawford Award for Distinguished Service in 1938 to Dr. R. T. Hamilton, Mr. J. S. Jones, Rev. T. M. Chambers, Rev. M. H. Jackson and the choir of Good Street church.

GOV. ALLRED OF TEXAS PROVES TO BE SHIFTY POLITICIAN ON EVE OF FACING SENATE PROBE OF HIS IDEAS

New Dealer Who Opposed Negroes Voting in Democratic Primary Now Saying Many Kind Things About Race

Austin, Tex., Jan. 11 (ANP) Gov James V. Allred of Texas, whose appointment by President Roosevelt last summer to a federal judgeship in this state will be up for action at this term of congress, is something of a puzzle to many of the state's Negro citizens.

Although he has gone out of the way in recent days to praise Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P., address colored meetings and fight for a more equitable diversion of state funds to Negro needs which has established him as a leader of the increasing group of Southern liberals, there are many who recall that it was mainly through his efforts that colored Texans were excluded from voting in the Democratic Primary which in this section is tantamount to election.

The voting issue arose when Allred was attorney general. To prevent Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary, he fought the case to the U. S. supreme court and won on the ground that his party was a private club and therefore could restrict its membership to whomever it wished. That ruling still governs Dixie and is the greatest barrier to Negroes voting in the South except the "interpretation of the constitution" clauses and the blunt refusal of registrars to register them.

However, many observers do not blame Allred for his bitter fight. They contend it was a case of self-preservation. As the story goes, Allred was in favor of Negroes voting and during his campaign for election, turned over a large sum of money to a Houston political leader who was to head his campaign among colored Texans. But the Negro leader, after collecting, immediately began working for Allred's opponent. When Allred learned of this double-cross he turned sour on the race and fought for a white primary so that none of his money could help elect an opponent.

While admitting that a man who would deny an qualified citizens the right to vote purely on the ground of race should not be a federal judge his defenders say that like many other Southern politicians, whatever Allred did was done only because it was politically expedient and not because it represented his true feelings.

They point to last summer's annual session of the National Negro Business league. At that time Gov. Allred got up out of a sick bed and took an airplane to be on hand and address one of the meetings. Met near Prairie View college, he rode the rest of the distance by auto. When the car turned off the highway for the three-quarter mile drive to the campus, the governor was so aroused over the bumpy condition of the road that he immediately had it paved by the state.

At the meeting which he addressed, Gov. Allred lauded the Negro and praised Walter White as a "brave man." Delegates said it was the most amazing public speech they had heard by a Southerner in his position. In his address prepared for delivery to the new state legislature this month, Allred devoted a large portion to the Negro and recommended establishment of a state home for delinquent girls, a state institution for the feeble-minded and eppileptic and state aid for students desiring courses not offered at Prairie View but obtainable at the state university.

Some see in his interest in Negroes a realization of the part played by the N. A. A. C. P., in preventing confirmations of Judge Parker's appointment and declare he wants to halt any attack from this quarter by establishing a record of friendliness.

However, no fight is anticipated on Allred's appointmest to the federal judgeship. Many Texans who have looked upon him as something of a puzzle are willing to give him the benefit of any doubt and take the position that his recent utterances are what he really feels and believes on the interracial question.

Mayor Greeted "Bronze Mayor"

Before an audience of Dallas, Texas, citizens that completely filled Good Street Baptist Church, "Bronze Mayor" A. A. Braswell was installed in office by the Negro Chamber of Commerce election committee in charge of the city-wide balloting. Mr. Braswell is one of the younger business men of Dallas and is controlling head of the extensive Crawford interests. A native of Knoxville, Tennessee, he has spent several years in Dallas.

In his charge to the "Bronze Mayor," Mayor George Sprague of Dallas expressed the hope that the incoming "mayor" would take up the work as laid down by Dr. E. E. Ward, who served during the past year. He pledged the support and cooperation of his office in assisting the colored citizens to realize the benefits of citizenship.

Texas Whites Seek Way To Oust Negro Candidate

Black Dispatch

FORT WORT, Texas, Nov. — (By R. L. (Pie) Melton for ANP) Phil R. Register, the lone Negro candidate for flotorial representative for Tarrant and Denton counties in a field of 53, has yet to release plans for making a vigorous campaign. He has not done anything to further his candidacy.

11-25-39

If Register is sleeping, the white democratic organizations of Tarrant county aren't. At a meeting held in the Tarrant county court house this week, the white candidates attempted to devise ways of getting Register out of the race. A motion was offered to appoint a committee to call on him for this purpose, but failed to pass.

Oklahoma City

Candidates at the meeting were asked by the chairman, also a candidate, to withdraw from the race thereby narrowing the field down to eight or ten strong Democrats who would be capable of winning the elections. None seemed inclined to withdraw.

The chairman, in opening remarks, ttold the group that "Tarrant and Denton counties are predominently white and it would be bad for these two white counties to be represented in the state legislature by a Negro."

Many local Negro citizens, who want to help Register push his candidacy, have been met with rebuffs.

All that Register has to say regarding the attitude the white candidates and voters have taken against him is, "They wanted me beaten now because they say I'm a Negro and not a real Democrat. But back in 1936 when I contributed to the Democratic presidential war chest, I was an A-1 Democrat and even Mr. Jim Farley wrote me a letter of thanks."

Two Colored Men To Run For Texas Legislature

Chicago Defender 12-1-39

FORT WORTH, Texas, Nov. 28—(ANP)—At last Friday's deadline for the filing of applications, it was learned that two Negroes were numbered among the 65 candidates officially in the race for the post of flotorial representative to the State legislature from Denton and Tarrant counties.

The number of candidates said to set an all-time record for the state, and it is reported the first time a Negro has ever sought public office in either county. The colored candidates: Phil R. Register editor Forth Worth Eagle Eye weekly paper and Jay Ford, Fort Worth laborer.

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The colored candidates are Phil R. Register, editor Forth Worth Eagle Eye, weekly paper, and Jay Ford, Fort Worth laborer.

Texas Candidates Lose at Polls

FORT WORTH, Texas.—(ANP) —Phil R. Register, labor leader, publisher and Jay Ford, automobile mechanic, Negro candidates for flotorial representative representing Denton and Tarrant counties, met defeat in the general election Tuesday.

Register received 18 votes while Ford received 6 at the polls. The race was won by Clarence Farmer, white, former state representative who polled [illegible] votes. The defeat of these Negroes at the polls probably can be attributed to their lack of effort during the campaign.

WHO MAY BECOME REPRESENTATIVE

Pittsburgh Courier 12-2-39

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POLITICAL - 1939
LEGISLATION SUGGESTED, ETC.

ALERTNESS OF NEGRO SOLONS KILLS MEASURE

Citizens Praise Legislators

By ALBERT G. BARNETT

Last weekend as the 61st general assembly of Illinois came to a hectic close, citizens throughout the state who had been anxiously following the debate on bills affecting Negroes, voiced loud approval of the colored legislators who had worked long and hard in defense of the rights of thier constituents.

These legislators are: State Senator William A. Wallace and Representatives Chas. Jenkins, Ernest A. Greene, William J. Warfield and A. Andrew Torrence. Their big triumph of the session came on Friday when the Public Service Corporation bills were killed. These bills purportedly provided for "slum clearance" and erection of modern housing with private capital.

But the combined PSC bill carried a joker—a clause, apparently inconspicuous and innocent, written into the measure—which granted the power of "eminent domain" to the corporation. Under this power (had the bill passed), the corporation, by securing the signatures of a number of property owners in a given district, could confiscate any desired property at a fixed price, whether the owners wanted to sell or not. Thus, where Negroes lived in so-called "white districts", the corporation could confiscate their property, pay them a price fixed by the corporation, and make them surrender their homes. The bill, said many observers, was simon-pure Jim Crow legislation.

Highest Privilege

The power of eminent domain is ranked as one of the highest privileges of constitutional government. It provides for the supreme dominion of the government over all land, and under it the government can appropriate property "for public use." So powerful is the law that the government is not even compelled to pay the property owner for his land. That is merely an "implied responsibility" adhered to by the government which always pays a fair price, after appraisal, for property appropriated under the law of eminent domain.

Therefore, had the Public Service Corporation bill passed, the corporation in effect would have become an agent of the government and given the arbitrary power of confiscating property wherever it wished. Big realtors and loop financial interests reportedly backed the bills.

Jenkins Begins Filibuster

Death knell of the bill was sounded when Rep. Jenkins began a filibuster by demanding that the entire bill—more than 40 pages—be read word for word. While this was being done, it was noted several pages and when he had that the reading clerk had skipped concluded, Jenkins insisted that under rule 19, the speaker insert in the record that "the clerk had missed several pages." This was a surprise move, as the bill passed over Jenkins' "missing pages" protest would have been illegal.

Shortly thereafter, Rep. Greene presented his amendment to strike out the enabling clause, which delivered another body blow to the bill, left it staggering on the ropes. It was then officially "tabled." Proponents of the bill, however, said they would introduce the measure at another session, "with the objectionable features eliminated."

Bills passed by the 61st general assembly of great benefit to the state's colored citizens were the following:

House bill 809, by Reps. Jenkins, Warfield, Greene and Torrence, appropriating $75,160 for an Aframerican Emancipation exposition in Chicago.

Senate bill 468, by Wallace in senate, Rep. Greene in house; creates commission to study health, housing and economic conditions among Negroes of the state and carries an appropriation of $10,000.

House bill 69, by Rep. Torrence, provides that relief clients may retain up to $1,000 in insurance.

House bill 139, by Reps. Warfield and Jenkins: appropriates $100,000 to rehabilitate the armory of the 8th regiment, I. N. G., of which Warfield is colonel.

House bill 528, by Rep. Greene: provided for transfer of the insane to hospitals.

Among the bills "killed" that would have been of benefit to Negroes were the "restrictive covenant" measure making it illegal for real estate and property deeds to carry covenants or clauses prohibiting the sale or lease of property to Negroes. These "killed" measures were senate bill 14, by Senator Wallace, and house bill 82 by Reps. Greene and Torrence.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

ARKANSAS

He Was Named To FSA Regional Staff

Joseph H. Dean of Alcorn, Miss., has been added to the regional staff of the Tenant Purchase Section of the Farm Security Administration at Little Rock, Ark., it has been announced by FSA regional officials.

Mr. Dean will have the title of regional field assistant, and will assist the FSA in carrying out policies in connection with the Tenant Purchase program in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. He's a native of Alabama and a graduate of Tuskegee Institute.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

CALIFORNIA

On Board of Education

Miss FAY E. ALLEN, Negro music teacher of 519 East 37th street, Los Angeles, Calif., who recently was elected to the Board of Education, the first member of the race to be elected to a citywide public office in Los Angeles. A teacher of music at Jefferson High School for several years, she has also served as treasurer of Musicians Union Local 767 of Los Angeles and is, in addition, secretary of a unit of the American Federation of Teachers. During the World War she served with the Red Cross both in Los Angeles and in France and later was decorated by President Woodrow Wilson for her distinguished service. (TYP)

100,000 White Voters Help Elect Negro To Board of Education

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—(CNA)—Most striking aspect of the victory of the people's coalition-progressive ticket in the recent municipal elections here was the election of Mrs. Fay Allen, secretary of the Negro Musicians Union, to the Board of Education.

Voting in an almost solid block, the Negro population in the Central avenue area showed the possibility of electing members of the race into public office. But Mrs. Allen's election was also the result of Negro-white unity on progressive issues. Mrs. Allen polled 116,282 votes, about 100,000 of which were cast by whites, an indication of the revolt of Angelenos against traditional attitudes of race hatred.

Polling almost 10,000 votes in the Seventh District, Leon Washington, Negro publisher, further showed the possibilities for Negro representation in the city council in the near future. It is almost a certainty that the new Council will tackle the problem of changing the Central avenue districting to allow for a Negro councilman to represent that area. This will mark a milestone for progress in city government here.

The progressive ticket elected six of its nine City Councilmen and only missed a clean sweep by loss of 500 votes in each of the three losing districts.

POLITICAL-1939
OFFICE HOLDING

D.C.

WHY ABOLISH RECORDER OF DEEDS OFFICE?

Defender 7-15-39

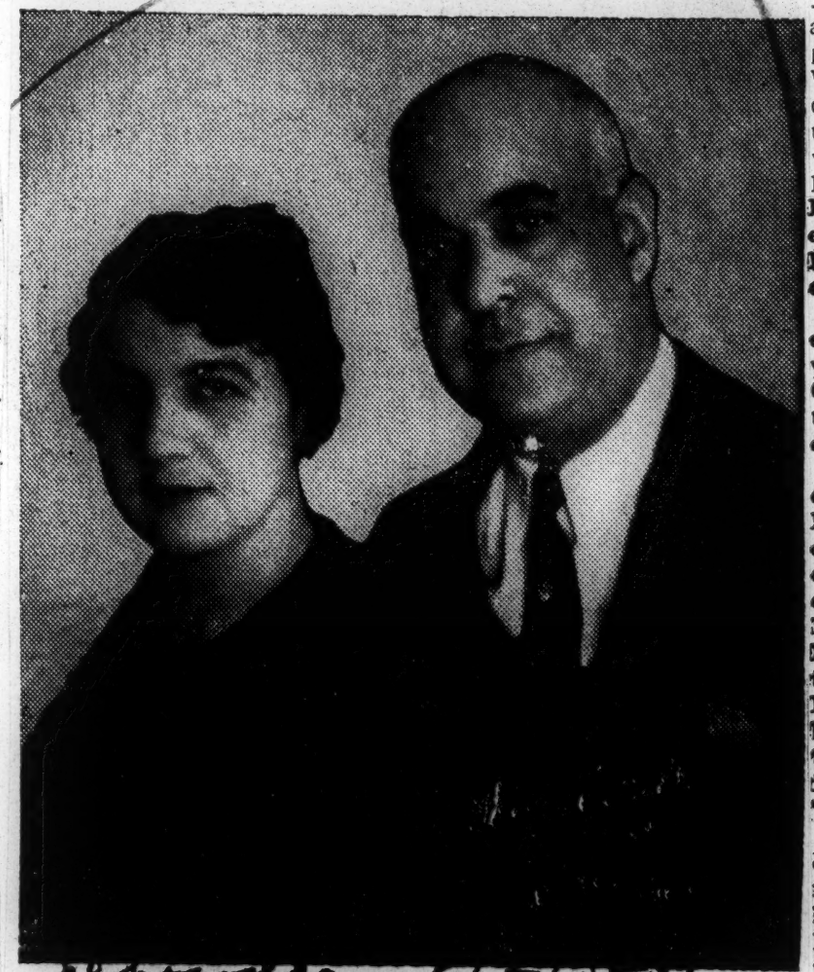
The proposed abolition of the office of the Recorder of Deeds is viewed with alarm by all those who are familiar with the history of that branch of governmental service. The functions of this office have been fulfilled by a Race man under twelve Presidents. It has been looked upon as the only worthwhile political plum in the District of Columbia which has been allotted up to this time exclusively to the Race.

If the District Reorganization Bill, which was introduced in the House last Thursday by Representative Kennedy of Maryland, becomes a law the Recorder of Deeds will be a mere clerk in the Department of Internal Revenue. All of the administrative functions, including hiring and firing and the setting of salaries and policy, will be transferred to the Revenue Department. This means that all of the Race employees of that office will be dismissed. In all probability, their places will be taken by whites in the Internal Revenue Department.

Once upon a time the office of Registrar of the Treasury was held by a member of the Race; similarly, the post of Minister to Haiti went for a number of years to a black man. One by one these worthwhile offices have been removed from us, without any attempt to replace them with other political dispensation with equal dignity and significance. Yielding to the pressure of prejudice and political manipulation the Maryland representative seems to be determined and presumably with the approval of the administration to do away with so important an office as that of the Recorder of Deeds. Since there are no logical grounds on which the present Recorder could be removed they are proceeding with the next step, that is, the abolition of the office itself.

Dr. William J. Thompkins, the present Recorder, has brought dignity and efficiency to his office. Moreover, he has been a staunch Democrat for more than thirty years. He is, by temperament, training and experience, the ablest personality to have fulfilled the requirements of the office of Recorder of Deeds. If this office is abolished under this administration it will be permanently lost to the Race. We, therefore, urge readers of the Chicago Defender to write their congressmen voicing their protests against the unjustifiable abolition of the office of Recorder of Deeds.

IN FIGHT TO SAVE U.S. POST



MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM THOMPKINS

If the reorganization bill offered by Representative Kennedy of Maryland is enacted into a law in Congress this week, Dr. William J. Thompkins of Kansas City, Mo., recorder of deeds, who was formerly assistant health commissioner and superintendent of the General Hospital of his native city, will become a mere clerk in the office of the Department of Internal Revenue. His salary which is now $6,400 will be slashed to $2,000. Photo shows Dr. and Mrs. Thompkins in their home.—Chicago Defender photo.

FIGHT LOOMS IN CONGRESS OVER MEASURE

Defender

Race Will Be Hard Hit If New Legislation Becomes Law

7-15-39

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 14—(Special)—With the introduction, last Thursday, of the District of Columbia reorganization bill in the House by Representative Kennedy of Maryland, the Recorder of Deeds office—the last big political plum—may be lost to the Race, if the bill is passed.

In its present form, the reorganization bill would place the Recorder of Deeds office under the Internal Revenue department and transfer all administrative functions as to hiring, firing and the setting of salaries and policy to the latter.

Direct Slap at Race

The Recorder is now the only officer under the President of the United States who has the authority to write checks on the United States Treasury and set his own budget. The manifold duties of his office are discharged by 130 Race employees together with scores of WPA workers retained in various capacities. The placing of this office under the revenue department would, in all likelihood, mean the loss of jobs for Dr. Thompkins, the Recorder and the remaining Race employees in that division of the Recorder's office. These jobs, of course, will go to whites.

If the reorganization plan is successful the Revenue department would then be headed by District Commissioner Allen, long known to be prejudiced towards members of the Race.

It is a known fact that repeated efforts have been made under the New Deal administration to weaken or destroy the Recorder's office because it is headed by a member of the Race. Old time party leaders have been called upon to ask President Roosevelt not to favor the plan. They point out that the Recorder's office has been headed by the Race under 12 Presidents and to make a change now would be injurious to the Democratic party. The Recorder's salary in $6,400.

It has been learned that President Roosevelt is very much in favor of abolishing the post now held by Dr. Thompkins. From reliable sources it has been learned that the President worked out the plan with District Commissioner Allen. To offset any possibility of nipping the plan to abolish the recorder's office, those close to the President say there will be no hearing on the bill. Kennedy forces will rush the measure through, owing to the pressure of national legislation.

Defender

Two other bills already introduced are expected to come up this week. The measures call for transfer of recording auto titles and liens from Recorder's office where it has been over the years to the District of Columbia traffic department. This also will mean the loss of jobs to Race employees in the office. These house bills are numbers 3950 and S. 1296.

With the Registrar of the Treasury, the ministership to Haiti, both lost to the Race, every effort should be made to block the present hostile force in Congress which is pushing this vicious reorganization bill.

Emmett Scott To Head Press Bureau Of G.O.P.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 21—John Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee, announced last Friday the appointment of Dr. Emmett J. Scott as an Assistant publicity director in charge of Republican publicity in the Race press. Dr. Scott also will serve as one of the advisers to Chairman Hamilton on problems relating to Race members.

"Dr. Scott is one of the outstanding citizens of this country and the Republican National Committee is indeed fortunate to obtain his services at this critical period in the history of our country," Chairman Hamilton asserted.

Is Well Known

Known to thousands of his race for his activities in national and local civic and social welfare, Dr. Scott is now a member of the Board of Indeterminate Sentence and Parole for the District of Columbia; is secretary of the Southern Education Foundation—a merger of the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, the John F. Slater Fund and the Peabody Fund, with an endowment slightly less than three million dollars.

He was for many years confidential secretary to the late Booker T. Washington and secretary of Tuskegee institute, Alabama. He served for nineteen years as secretary and as secretary-treasurer of Howard university, Washington, D. C., and is a member of the Republican State Committee in and for the District of Columbia.

Has Served Party

He was a member of the Advisory Committee of the Republican National Committee in the 1924 campaign, vice chairman of the Colored Voters' Division of the Republican Committee, campaign of 1928, and a member of the Planning Committee of the Republican National Committee, Colored Voters' Division, campaigns of 1932 and 1936.

Dr. Scott served as a member of the American Commission to Liberia, by appointment of President William Howard Taft, in 1909, and as secretary of the National Negro Business League from its organization in 1900 until May, 1922, when he resigned after having been unanimously reelected.

Aided War Work

During the World War, he served as Special Assistant to Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, advising in matters affecting colored troops and civilians. He is an author of distinction, having published "Tuskegee and Its People;" is also co-author of the "Biography of Booker T. Washington—Builder of a Civilization." He also is the author of the "American Negro in the World War," and "Negro Migration During the World War," this latter publication being prepared for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

JUDGE SCOTT CONFIRMED

WASHINGTON, July 20 — The Senate last Tuesday confirmed the nomination of Armond W. Scott as judge of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia. There was no opposition to his confirmation.

The first term of Judge Scott expired on May 11 and President Roosevelt nominated him to succeed himself.

APPOINTED

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, noted educator and teacher at Fisk university, who was appointed to the Industry committee of the Railroad Carrier Industry which investigates work conditions.

U. S. SUPREME COURT POST SOUGHT FOR D. C. NEGRO

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NEW YORK, N. Y. — President Roosevelt was urged to "continue breaking new ground by the appointment of one or more Negroes to full federal judgeships," in a letter sent to the Chief Executive by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Announcement of the latter was made following publication in the daily press of information to the effect that the recent death of Supreme Court Justice Pierce Butler, the President now has six federal judgeships to which he may make appointments between now and the time when Congress convenes January 1.

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Fisk University Professor Appointed to Important Post

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—C. S. Johnson of Fisk university was recently appointed a member of industry committee, No. 9 for the Railroad Carrier Industry by Harold D. Jacobs, acting administrator of the wage and hour division of the department of labor. Dr. Johnson is one of four members chosen to represent the public.

Other members of the public committee are: Frank Porter Graham, president, University of North Carolina, chairman; W. H. Spencer, University of Chicago; and Oscar K. Cushing of San Francisco. Eight additional persons comprise the group four for the employes, and four for the employers.

This committee is authorized to investigate conditions in the industry and recommend to the administrator minimum wage rates for all employes included in the act.

Emmett J. Scott Quits Parole Board

WASHINGTON, D. C. Dec. 15—Dr. Emmett J. Scott, former secretary of Howard university, resigned from the district parole board on Saturday, it was learned, because of the pressure of work due to his recently appointed position as head of publicity in Race affairs for the National Republican committee.

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Dr. Scott has served on the board since its inception in 1932.

Major Johnson Succeeds Dr. Emmett Scott

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"His straightforward thinking and wise counsel have always played an important part in the findings of our board," said Frank R. Jelleff, the chairman, in accepting Dr. Scott's resignation.

Appointment of Maj. Johnson as his successor was suggested by board members. Mr. Jelleff wrote the commissioners: "Major Johnson has a high standing in the district and for years has been interested in social work from many angles and we feel that he would make a splendid member of the board."

Major Johnson is a native of Washington and a graduate of Howard university law school, is an instructor in the school of social science in the school of religion at the university. In addition, he is a member of the board of trustees of the Community Chest and a member of the board of directors of the Council of Social Agencies; the Washington Housing association and the Family Service association. He is a member of the United States Reserve officers association and formerly served as professor of military science and tactics at Howard.

Urge Race Jurist For High Court

Without naming an individual the Cook County Bar Association adopted a resolution Friday urging President Roosevelt to name a Race attorney to the vacancy on the United States Supreme Court.

In refusing to designate any individual, the association explained that geographical factors involved in such an appointment might nullify any suggestion made by the group.

At the same meeting, candidates for the association's election were announced. Atty. Georgia Jones Ellis, chairman of the entertainment committee, announced that plans are underway for a banquet during the month in honor of Judge Herman E. Moore, of the Virgin Islands, who is in Chicago on leave. Judge Moore was at one time president of the association.

Candidates for offices in the association follow: president, Ald. Earl B. Dickerson, incumbent, and Sidney A. Jones Jr., third president, Sidney A. Jones Jr., third vice president, W. A. Robinson; secretary, Joseph J. Attwell Jr.; financial secretary, Rufus Sampson; treasurer, J. Ernest Wilkins and Richard Westbrooks; librarian, William N. Bennett; and sergeant-at-arms, Eugene M. Jones. The lawyers will hold their election in the second vice association headquarters Friday.

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POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

D.C.

Eunice, La. New Era
January 10, 1939

New Iberia Negro's Appointment To U. S. Govt. Job Draws Fire

Cornelius King Given Position At Washington Over White Employees

The following article written by C. E. St. Julien of Lafayette, relative to the appointment of Cornelius King, New Iberia negro to a federal governmental position at Washington, whereby he has supervision over a number of white employees, which was recently published in the Times-Picayune of New Orleans, and at Mr St. Julien's request The New Era reprints it herewith:

"Lafayette, Louisiana,
"January 4, 1939.

"Mr. L. K. Nicholson, Pres.,
"The Times Picayune,
"New Orleans, Louisiana.

"Dear Mr. Nicholson:

"In the Times Picayune of December 20, 1938, there appeared a news item on page 5 of that issue under the following caption "King Appointed To U. S. Credit Office."

"As stated in this news item, Cornelius King (negro) is a native of New Iberia, Louisiana, and has been employed as Director of Agriculture at Southern University, Scotland, Louisiana, which is a negro institution.

"It seems to me, and others, who know about this appointment, that the appointment of a negro, native of Louisiana to an important and substantial office in Washington under a Democratic regime and to have supervision and authority over white employees and white farmers is unprecedented and an insult to white supremacy. We believe that your paper has not taken proper cognizance of this disgraceful appointment, otherwise, I am sure that you would have given this outrage wide publicity and asked for an investigation and/or explanation.

"We do not discount the ability of said Cornelius King for we understand that he is quite accomplished and able. However, we consider this appointment a direct slap in the face to the entire South and white democracy."

"You may wish to start an investigation on your own account in order to substantiate the facts herein written but we assure you that the facts are as stated and an investigation by you will disclose this to be correct. King, being an important personage no doubt the press will have his photograph.

"King has been appointed as assistant to Governor H. H. Hill of the Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D. C. As your investigation will disclose, the Farm Credit Administration deals with the entire credit structure of the U. S. in regard to agriculture, the Federal Land Banks, the Federal Intermediate Credit Banks for Cooperatives and production Credit Corporations.

"I am a resident of Lafayette parish and own and operate several farms in this parish and during the recent depression, it has been necessary for me to avail myself of the Government's credit which I am still doing, and it is extremely distasteful to know that I must do my personal banking with a negro native of my state and district, and I am sure that thousands of other Southern farmers have the same point of view.

"No doubt your investigation will disclose who is directly responsible for this appointment and whether it was done with the consent and approval of our congressional delegation under the present State administration, and if not, we fail to understand how such an important appointment could be granted without consulting and first procuring the approval of our Democratic Congressional Delegation.

"Very truly yours,
"C. E. St. Julien"

Joseph Dean Named To FSA Post In Ark.

Courier 1-28-39

WASHINGTON, Jan. 26—(ANP)—Joseph H. Dean of Alcorn, Miss., has been added to the regional staff of the Tenant Purchase section of the Farm Security administration at Little Rock, it has been announced by FSA regional officials.

Congressman's Aide Takes Post Calmly

Wash. American 2-4-39

By ART CARTER

WASHINGTON.

Being a Congressional secretary would be considered a big time position by many, but to Harold H. Shaw of Dayton, Ohio, who occupies such a post in the office of Judge Harry N. Routzohn, white, Republican from the Third district of Ohio, it is "just another job."

Shaw, a bespectacled, mild-mannered man of forty, goes about his duties in a pretentious office on the third floor of the old House Office Building calmly and unassumingly. In contrast to other political employees here, his appearance in the city was unheralded and without benefit of usual fanfare.

Became Clerk in 1920

His association with Congressman Routzohn began back in 1920, when he was appointed to the probate court of Dayton as eleventh clerk. Routzohn was presiding jurist and held the position until 1929. When the judgeship expired, Shaw had worked his way up to journal clerk, and was in daily contact with the judge.

Following his expiration of service at the Buckeye State court, Shaw worked as secretary to James H. Parsons, head metallurgist of the Duriron Metal Company of Dayton.

He engaged in this work until early this month when he renewed association with Judge Routzohn and came to Washington to serve as clerk-stenographer in his Congressional office.

Native of Dayton

Shaw is a native of Dayton, and has resided there most of his life. He was educated at the Steele High School and Whittingburg Business Institute. He is the father of five children, but has no intentions of bringing his family to Washington (except for a visit) because he dislikes the segregated system of education in the nation's capital and feels that the children will be better educated

HAROLD H. SHAW,
of Dayton, Ohio, who is employed as clerk-stenographer to Judge Harry N. Routzohn, Republican Congressman from the third district of Ohio. Shaw is shown at his desk in the House Office Building in Washington, D.C.

Protests Appointment of Negro Official

Pittsburgh Courier 2-25-39

NEW ORLEANS, La.—(ANP)—The "New Iberia Enterprise" published a letter this week over the signature of C. E. St. Julian, a white farmer, in which he protested the recent appointment of Cornelius King as assistant to the governor of the Farm Credit administration at Washington. It made no difference to St. Julian that Mr. King is a fellow Louisianan.

He wrote: "It seems to me and to others who know about this appointment of a Negro, a native of Louisiana, to an important and substantial office in Washington under a Democratic regime, where he will have supervision and authority over white employees and white farmers, is unprecedented and an insult to white supremacy."

The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative union, a mixed organization, has attacked St. Julian's position.

in Ohio.

The dapper secretary has affiliated himself with the St. Luke Episcopal Church choir. In Dayton, he was director of music at the Linden Community Center and choirmaster at the St. Margaret Episcopal Church.

Shocked by Prejudice

When he came to work at the House Office Building four weeks ago, it marked the first time he had been in Washington and he admitted he was "shocked by the prejudices" that exist between the races. He feels, however, that the Southern attitude existing in public places here will not bother him as his work will keep him busy and he will not have time to come in contact with it.

The offices in which he works are flanked by offices of Southern Congressmen, whose secretaries and clerks all hail from the South.

He is making his home at 418 J Street, Northwest.

KELLY MILLER WRITES:--

THE NEGRO'S NATIONWIDE INTEREST IN THE OFFICE OF RECORDER OF DEEDS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The report of Dr. William J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, raises an important question as to how long the management of this important branch of the public service is to remain under Negro handling and control. The Recordership of Deeds is the only independent bureau of the Government whose head is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and who is directly responsible to him, which is now controlled by a colored man. The Recorder of Deeds appoints his own personnel and handles his own payroll without any higher control btween him and the President. It represents the only remaining vestige of authority exercised by any Negro in the public service.

When President Garfield appointed Frederick Douglass, Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia and Senator B. K. Bruce Registrar of the Treasury of the United States in 1881, he accorded these high offices, in recognition of the distinguished service which their recipients had rendered to the country and to the Republican party. It was remote from its purpose to have these places forever thereafter ear-marked as falling to the lot of the colored race under successive administrations.

When Grover Cleveland succeeded to the Presidentcy, in 1885, he found it very difficult to convince his Democratic colleagues that any Negro should be appointed to high office. By the method of trial and failure, he finally convinced the Senate to confirm William Monroe Trotter of Massachusetts. Since that time it has become traditional with both parties that a colored man should be selected for this important post.

The force and effect of custom and tradition have never been more fully exemplified. Negro politicians from all parts of the nation aspire to be Recorder of Deeds, because of the long line of predecessors in that office. The leaders of both political parties have come to recognize the Recordership of Deeds as the one important responsible post available to the colored race.

There has been repeated efforts to take from the Negro even this small crumb of official comfort. The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have insisted that as the functions of the office are purely local, its control and management should fall under their jurisdiction.

The pending Griffenhagen Bill for the re-organization of the District Government advocates the city management plan, which would, of course, abolish the independent character of the office, and limit it to its purely local character. Against such all attempts the Negro race for years has registered an emphatic protest, for the good and sufficient reason that the race would be eliminated from the highest responsible position which it now controls under the Federal Government.

In this, the contention of the race may seem to be wholly illogical and unreasonable. On sound general principles, there is little justification for nationalization a purely local office, nor for taking away from the District of Commissioners a function which is normally and logically theirs. However, it may be rejoined that race prejudice does not conform to the formulas of logic or the canons of ethics. The treatment which the Negro receives, in church, school, industry, and public life, violates all the rules of accepted private and public morals. The Negro, therefore, is compelled to make the best terms possible in an illogical and unreasonable environment. This he is compelled to do to secure for himself a place in the sun.

However, the office of the Recorder of Deeds is not a Jim-Crow office, nor does it operate on the basis of segregation. The personnel of the office is composed of the two races in approximately equal numbers. There is not the least indication of friction or antagonism. Indeed, this office furnishes the best laboratory to be found anywhere in the Federal Government of racial cooperation and good will.

The office of Recorder of Deeds has now been under colored headship for nearly sixty years. The most distinguished names of which the race can boast have figured in this list. Frederick Douglass, B. K. Bruce, William Monroe Trotter, Congressman Cheatum, J. C. Dancey, Henry Lincoln Johnson, and William J. Thompkins, have been conspicuous among the number. During all these years the conduct of the office has been efficient and satisfactory. There has never been any official laxity or loss of public confidence. It has met with the approval of twelve Presidents under whom this staff of colored officials have operated.

A special word of commendation is due Dr. William J. Thompkins, the present efficient Recorder. Under his administration the office has been taken out of the red, and is returning a surplus to the Federal Treasury.

The office has been modernized with the installation of up-to-date equipment and facilities and methods. A bill now pending provides for the erection of a new building. The result of these improvements, it is estimated, will save the citizens of the District more than $1.500,000.

A careful consideration of all the facts and factors involved in the office of the Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia amply justify public spirited Negro citizens in both political parties to memorialize their congressmen and senators to keep this office on the basis on which it has been operated for the last sixty years, and thus retain for the Negro his most important and significant place in the Federal service.

POLITICAL-1939
OFFICE HOLDING

D.C.

Politics "Out" Says Mrs. Bethune

Denies Report She'll Quit NYA Job to Help Democrats

Stories to the effect that Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune would resign her position with the National Youth Administration to work as organizer for the national Democratic party, gradually gaining wide circulation, were emphatically denied by Mrs. Bethune in an interview Thursday morning.

"I am not in politics," Mrs. Bethune said. "I am here as an educator. I am here as an interpreter of my people. I am here making contacts for them. I never made a political speech. I have never been asked to make one.

"I believe very definitely in the program of the New Deal. I believe it is helpful to the masses of my people. It gives an opportunity to the underprivileged. It helps to extend a most humane program and I am trying to integrate my people in the set-up.

Puts School First

"My school comes first. I did not come here seeking a job, the job came seeking me. I carved my job thirty-four years ago. And now, if the people want me to stay on this job, then let them show it. Right now my school has got to be taken care of."

Asked to comment further on her political beliefs, Mrs. Bethune declared: "I am in sympathy with the ideals of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, but as far as the Democratic party goes, I don't believe in them. I am with Franklin Delano Roosevelt as long as he holds to his present ideals."

Launches Drive

Earlier it had been reported that Mrs. Bethnue would leave the NYA to return to manage the affairs of her school, which had missed her leadership since her affiliation with the NYA.

She has just come back to Washington from the school, where, as part of a birthday celebration in her honor, she inaugurated a drive to raise funds to wipe out the institution's deficit.

Mrs. Bethune to Remain as Director of Negro Affairs

MRS. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE, director of Negro Affairs, this week denied that she will relinquish her post with NYA to work for the National Democratic Party.

Mary's Agin 'em

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, NYA administrator, denied that she is in politics or that she will resign her post in order to work as organizer for the national Democratic party.

Chgo. Defender 7-29-39

Said Mrs. Bethune: "I am in sympathy with the ideals of Franklin D. Roosevelt, but as far as the Democratic party goes, I don't believe in them."

And this, we think, is quite the plainest speaking Washington has heard for many moons, even though it takes in a lot of ground.

Bethune's hot.

When Mrs. Bethune said she didn't believe in the Democrats, she means, of course, the anti-New Deal Southern bloc who are still a majority in the party, and still strong enough to prevent most of the New Deal benefits from reaching the rank and file of colored people.

Hint Mrs. Crystal Bird Fausett May Succeed Mrs. M. M. Bethune

Lenley Wared 7-27-39 Atlanta, Ga.

By RIENZI B. LEMUS

BOSTON,—(ANP)—"What! You say dynamic Crystal Bird Fauset of Philadelphia soon will succeed effervescent Mary McLeod Bethune as chief of colored personnel in the NYA setup at Washington?" "I certainly do," replied an informant on a visit to "the Hub" and who rarely, if ever, has predicted amiss of forthcoming events on the national political front.

Mrs. Fauset, a native of Boston, is a member of the Pennsylvania legislature, first colored woman to accomplish that distinction anywhere, a foremost person of her adopted state, and Mrs. Bethune, though somewhat of the preceding generation, is head of Bethune-Cookman college at Daytona Beach, Fla., and a leading woman in the United States. Both of these sterling persons are now here, I believe, attending the convention of the National Federation of Women's clubs.

The story, of the same source—from which emanated six weeks before the event news of Eugene Kinckle Jones' going out of the commerce department at Washington in 1937 runs thus:

As 1940 and its potentially hectic presidential election campaign fast approaches, the Roosevelt regime, harrassed with a recalcitrant congress, must avoid as far as possible all party exigencies by filling of public offices with ancient persons of undoubted political asset the "upper" Democratic party—as in case of former Governor McNutt of Indiana, recently appointed Federal Social Security administrator, for example.

As an efficient administrator, however, Mrs. Bethune is peer of any person who might succeed her in NYA or elsewhere—yet not a political asset. She lives in Florida where nice, juicy oranges are raised in season, but only a negligible Negro vote in presidential election seasons. As to Rome, then, all roads lead to votes, now. Mrs Bethune's domain is in the bailiwick of the 'lower' Democratic party, though anomalous as it is Senator Claude Pepper of Florida is a confirmed Rooseveltian.

HOW MATTER STANDS

Of course, the informant continues, practically all the Roosevelt "black cabineteers" are also in the Bethune category; but, accepting a couple of abstract receologists, they are generally expert natural or social scientists, thus not nearly so easily dispensable as is the peerless Floridian, who Nuveeh, Chicago.

RESOLUTION

The resolution offering the henceforth will have to consecrate all attention and energies upon the conduct of her college. She gets no younger and, naturally, her "people" shall have to take second place in her affections to her great institution at Daytona Beach.

What, however, is advanced as reason of the accelerated party urge to draft Mrs. Fauset presently is the need of her dynamic and versatile leadership at the helm. She is reputed to be the only one available who can maintain political contracts while encumbered of public office, without violating the new Hatch law just passed by congress to prohibit such dual activities.

Mrs. Fauset not only has the lone advantage of having been elected to public office but, also those rare attributes of a personality instantly adaptable to practical uses on all fronts—racial, social, political, fraternal, proletarian; amply youthful to win youth, sufficiency mature to hold this group; entirely of sufficient ethical cleverness to win voters without either placing her party or herself in jeopardy of the new law, or of any other.

The Negro vote is a positive quantity in her state and in all the other states of the "upper" Democratic brackets: of which in the aggregate she is the outstanding personality, male politicians to the contrary notwithstanding—our informant concluded.

J. EVANS MAY RESIGN FROM F S A POSITION

Pitts Courier 8-6-39

WASHINGTON, Aug. 3—(ANP)—Changes which are taking place in the official families of the various alphabetical departments may include Joseph H. B. Evans, who is reported about to resign from his post in the Farm Security administration. Mr. Evans joined FSA back when it was the Resettlement administration early in the New Deal; his post was that of race relations officer. It is reported that he is considering a post at Howard university or Freedman's hospital.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

D.C.

Gets New Job in Reorganization

LT. LAWRENCE A. OXLEY

Oxley Gets Post Under New Setup

First Step In President's New Federal Program

7-15-39

Special to Journal and Guide

WASHINGTON, D. C.—As a first step in integrating qualified Negroes in the administrative personnel of the several new Federal agencies, authorized by President Roosevelt's Government Reorganization Plan, recently approved by the Congress, Lieut. Lawrence A. Oxley was named chief of the Negro Placement Service, Division of Special Services, United States Employment Service in the Social Security Agency, effective July 1, 1939.

During the past six years the new appointee served as advisor to the Secretary of Labor on problems of the Negro worker, as a Commissioner of Conciliation, and as Chief, Division of Negro Labor in the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Since July 1, 1937, he has been functioning as a field representative for the United States Employment Service. Lieut. Oxley's latest appointment is hailed as a well-merited recognition of the constructive service rendered by him in the field of conserving the interests and welfare of the Negro wage earner.

During the two years that Lieut. Oxley has given attention to Negro placement activities, over six hundred Negroes have qualified through State Civil Service or Merit examinations and received appointment to State Employment Service staffs in twenty-four states.

No program of the Federal Government is more important in the realization of its ultimate objectives than the placement program of the United States Employment Service, with particular reference to stimulating the opening of adequate job opportunities to qualified Negro job seekers, on a constantly broadening occupational base.

The consolidation of the placement fonctions of the United States Employment Service with the Unemployment Compensation functions of the Social Security Board, in the new Social Security Agency, places upon Lieut. Oxley, direct responsibility for interpreting the placement program and objectives of the United States Employment Service to Negroes throughout the nation.

OBJECTIVES

An immediate objective has for its purpose the focusing of attention of industrial leaders on the problem of the Negro worker in his search for adequate, productive, and continuing employment.

Another program objective is directed toward giving to officials in the several states, an awareness of the difficulty faced and experienced by Negro workers in their search for employment, and thus open up a greater and more varied job field, without regard to race, creed, or color.

MAY QUIT JOB

MRS. MARY BETHUNE

SECURITY SOUGHT FOR HER SCHOOL

Denies Rumor She May Become National Organizer for Democratic Party.

7-3-39

WASHINGTON, July 20. (ANP)—Despite denials by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, stories still persist regarding her resignation from the office she holds with the National Youth Administration.

Stories to the effect that Mrs. Bethune would resign her position to work as organizer for the National Democratic party, gradually gaining wide circulation, were emphatically denied by Mrs. Bethune in an interview Thursday morning.

NOT IN POLITICS; MRS. BETHUNE SAYS

"I am not in politics. I am here as an educator. I am here as an interpreter of my people. I am here making contacts for them. I never made a political speech, I have never been asked to make one," Mrs. Bethune said.

"I believe very definitely in the program of the New Deal," she continued. "I believe it is helpful to the masses of my people.

"It gives an opportunity to the underprivileged. It helps to extend a most humane program and I am trying to integrate my people in the set-up.

HER SCHOOL BADLY IN NEED OF MONEY

"My school comes first. I did not come here seeking a job, the job came seeking me. I carved my job 34 years ago. And now, if the people want me to stay on this job, then let them show it. Right now my school has got to be taken care of.

"There is a deficit of $7,000 to be met and an endowment of $135,000 to be raised before the school can meet the requirements for a Class A school.

"I am truly grateful for the gracious tribute paid me over the radio Sunday by the Southernaires. I am humbly grateful to them, and I do pray that the song they dedicated to me be reflected in my life. The song was 'Soldier of God.'"

NEGROES WAKING UP; EDUCATOR ADMITS

Asked about the recent demonstration in Miami, Fla., when Negroes participated in the primary voting, Mrs. Bethune said: "Negroes are waking up. They are tired of playing hide and seek, which was sufficiently long. Through the Chamber of Commerce and the president of that organization, they came to the front and demonstrated to those people Negroes are not cowards. It was one of the finest demonstrations yet made, and Negroes should keep on doing those kind of things."

When asked about her political beliefs and whether or not she was in sympathy with the ideals of the Democratic party and its actions as expressed in the South, Mrs. Bethune declared:

"I am in sympathy with the ideals of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, but as far as the Democratic party goes, I don't believe in them. I am with Franklin Delano Roosevelt as long as he holds to his present ideals."

Security Sought For School

Denies Offer Of Job As Demo Organizer

7-16-39

WASHINGTON —(ANP)— Despite denials by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, stories still persist regarding her resignation from the office she holds with the National Youth administration.

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BELIEVES IN NEW DEAL

"I believe very definitely in the program of the New Deal," she continued. "I believe it is helpful to the masses of my people. It gives an opportunity to the underprivileged. It helps to extend a most humane program and I am trying to integrate my people in the set-up.

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That some adjustments may be made and that conditions at Bethune-Cookman are not as favorable as she would like them was gathered from Mrs. Bethune's constant repitition of the school's name and place in her life. Earlier it had been reported that Mrs Bethune would leave the NYA to return to manage the affairs of the school, which had missed her leadership since her affiliation with the NYA.

Mrs. Bethune has just come back to Washington from the school where, as part of a birthday celebration in her honor, she inaugurated a drive to raise funds to wipe out the institution's deficit. Hundreds of gifts of small denominations poured in on the school, and Mrs. Bethune admitted she was deeply touched by the gifts of pennies from children in all parts of the country.

T. Arnold Hill To Be Let Out Of WPA Post

Tribune 1-22-39

T. Arnold Hill, consultant to Miss Florence Kerr, head of the professional service division of the Federal WPA office, will be among the fifty administrative employees dropped by the agency in keeping with the reductions of staff required by the recently passed 1940 relief appropriations bill.

Mr. Hill had been requested to resign by Miss Kerr, who at the same time, expressed her regrets at being compelled to lose his services, but the date of his resignation has not yet been set, according to a spokesman for the division head.

He has been employed on the administrative staff of the Federal office for only one year on a per diem basis, giving about 16 days a month to the work. In January of last year, he was called on by the office to give 10 days' services in the division.

Hill is the industrial secretary of the National Urban League, whose offices are in New York City. He had held this post throughout the time of his employment with the government.

The WPA has announced that 12,000 of its administrative employees must be dismissed within the next two months.

Meanwhile Federal Theatre Project workers have been given until September 1 to remain on the WPA rolls before they will be dropped from the pay rolls. The furloughing of those employees who have been on the rolls for 18 months or more will begin at the end of this month.

Recorder's Office Safe For Present

Tribune

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The office of the District recorder of deeds is safe until next January, it was learned this week when the reorganization subcommittee of the House District committee voted to shelve the District reorganization bill until the next session of Congress. 1-22-39

This action, taken on the motion of Representative Nicholas (D., Okla.), was protested by only one person, Representative Kennedy (D., Md.,), chairman of the committee, who introduced the measure.

He insisted that some features of the bill, at least, should be passed so that the District could start its new fiscal year under a reorganization which he contends is more economical and efficient.

Dr. Wiliam J. Thompkins, recorder of deeds, other politicians, and those interested in seeing that the office is saved for the race, although breathing easier, are girding themselves for a fight to save the office at the next session of Congress.

The reorganization bill, considered a compromise of the Griffenhagen report, pushed by Kennedy and supported by the President, provided for the transfer of the office of the recorder of deeds to the revenue department, a new branch proposed in the bill of government under municipal management of the District.

The transfer of the office, it was learned, would take away the autonomy from the recorder's office, making it simply a division under another department of government. This would mean that the recorder of deeds would no longer be a political appointee of the President, and, it is believed, positions in the office would be closed to the race.

Evans Denies He Will Quit FSA

Afro-American

WASHINGTON

Reports being circulated that he anticipates severing his connection with the Farm Security Administration were labeled "news" by Joseph H. B. Evans, in a statement to the AFRO, Tuesday. Mr. Evans, who has been an adviser on Negro affairs and is credited with being a member of the "Black Cabinet," declared that he had not intimated making such a change to anyone and had not been informed that such a move was contemplated by his department. 1-29-39

Joseph Evans

Mum on Howard

He also failed to verify reports that he is being considered for a post at Howard University or Freedmen's Hospital.

It was learned from other sources, however, that Mr. Evans is being considered for the vacancy of the secretaryship of Howard University which occurred upon the death of Richard Hurst Hill, last week.

Mr. Evans left the city on Tuesday to represent the FSA at the American Teachers Convention at Atlantic City. From there he will go to the National Medical Association Convention in New York, where he will discuss medical problems of rural communities which face the resettlement division.

Recorder's Office Keeps Department Of Auto Titles

Tribune

The last day for District of Columbia legislation to come before the Congress passed, Monday, without any action being taken on a bill that would have taken from the office of recorder of deeds its department of automobile titles and transferred it to the director of traffic. 1-29-39

The bill, introduced by Representative Jennings Randolph, of West Virginia, at the request of the District Commissioners, was opposed vigorously by Recorder of Deeds William J. Thompkins, who was supported in his position by the Negro press, the Washington Bar Association and several civic associations of the Capital.

Passage of the bill would have resulted in the discontinuance of one of the vital functions of the office of recorder of deeds, and would have meant the dismissal of the employees, who worked in the department of automobile liens.

Friends Were Alert

Several times during the year, the bill was listed on the House and Senate calendars, subject to call on any date either House took up the calendar. On each occassion, however, friends of the recorder's office in Congress were on the alert.

When the bill was called up in the Senate last week, Senators Truman, Missouri, and Thomas, Oklahoma, were on their feet, and objected to its consideration, thus dooming the bill for this session so far as the Senate was concerned.

This action, however did not remove it from the House Calendar, and when the final District day of the session was held in the House, Chairman Randolph refused to call the measure up for consideration because of its "controversial" nature.

Ready to object to its consideration if the bill had been called up in the House, were several Congressmen, among them being, Representative C. Jasper Bell, Missouri; Jack Nichols, Oklahoma; Joseph B. Shannon, Missouri, and J. Will Taylor, Tennessee.

Would Have Killed Office

The bill, introduced in the House by Representative Kennedy of Maryland, and in the Senate by Senator William H. King, of Utah, would have abolished the office and transferred its functions to the director of revenue, a new position that the re-organization would have created.

Dr. Thompkins, in Virginia at the time the bill was introduced, rushed back to Washington and took the lead in arousing opposition to the measure.

Headline stories that flashed in the leading Negro papers, advised members of Congress that abolition of the recorder's office would result in serious repercussions at the polls. The bill subsequently was pigeon-holed.

McDuffie No Longer Valet To President

Defender

WASHINGTON, D. C., 15—Rumors which have been going the rounds for several months to the effect that Irving McDuffie, valet to President Roosevelt, would leave his post at the White House, were verified this week when it was learned that he had been transferred to a position in the Treasury Department. 12-16-39

The report of the severance of his services with the President was confirmed this week by White House spokesman, who also said that Mr. McDuffie had been given the position of messenger in the Treasury.

When the reports that the President's valet would leave his employ were circulated in October, the White House would not confirm them, but explained that his absence was due to the fact that he was spending a vacation in Georgia, his home state, on a rest cure. His wife, Mrs. Elizabeth McDuffie, is still employed at the White House.

Both Mr. and Mrs. McDuffie have been with the President since he came to the White House.

Duties of valet to the President are being performed by George Fields and Arthur Prettyman, both of whom have been employed at the White House throughout the administration.

POLITICAL-1939
OFFICE HOLDING

D.C.

Recorder Of Deedship Only Government Office Which Is At Present Controlled By Colored Man

Philadelphia Tribune - Philadelphia, Pa.

Frederick Douglass Was First Appointee To Post, In 1881

Attempts Made Repeatedly To Wrest Office From The Negro

By KELLY MILLER

The report of Dr. William J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, raises an important question as to how long the management of this important branch of the public service is to remain under Negro handling and control.

The Recordership of Deeds is the only independent bureau of the Government whose head is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and who is directly responsible to him, which is now controlled by a colored man.

The Recorder of Deeds appoints his own personnel and handles his own payroll without any higher control between him and the President. It represents the only remaining vestige of authority exercised by any Negro in the public service.

FRED DOUGLASS FIRST

When President Garfield appointed Frederick Douglass, Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia and Senator B. K. Bruce Register of the Treasurer of the United States in 1881, he accorded these high offices, in recognition of the distinguished service which their recipients had rendered to the country and to the Republican party. It was remote from its purpose to have these places forever thereafter ear-marked as falling to the lot of the colored race under successive administrations.

WILLIAM MONROE TROTTER

When Grover Cleveland succeeded to the Presidency, in 1885, he found it very difficult to convince his Democratic colleagues that any Negro should be appointed to high office.

By the method of trial and failure, he finally convinced the Senate to confirm William Monroe Trotter of Massachusetts. Since that time it has become traditional with both parties that a colore man should be selected for this important post.

The force and effect of custom and tradition have never been more fully exemplified. Negro politicians from all parts of the nation aspire to be Recorder of Deeds, because of the long line of predecessors in that office.

The leaders of both political parties have come to recognize the Recordership of Deeds as the one important responsible post available to the colored race.

TRIED TO TAKE OFFICE

There has been repeated effort to take from the Negro even this small crumb of official comfort. The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have insisted that as the functions of the office are purely local, its control and management should fall under their jurisdiction.

The pending Griffenhagen Bill for the re-organization of the District Government advocates the city management plan, which would of course abolish the independent character of the office, and limit it to its purely local character. Against such all attempts the Negro race for years has registered an emphatic protest, for the good and sufficient reason that the race would be eliminated from the highest responsible position which it now controls under the Federal Government.

LITTLE JUSTIFICATION

In this, the contention of the race may seem to be wholly illogical and unreasonable. On sound general principles, there is little justification for nationalizing a purely local office, nor for taking away from the District of Commissioners a function which is normally and logically theirs.

However, it may be rejoined that race prejudice does not conform to the formulas of logic or the canons of ethics. The treatment which the Negro receives, in church, school, industry, and public life, violates all the rules of accepted private and public morals. The Negro, therefore, is compelled to make the best terms possible in an illogical and unreasonable environment. This he is compelled to do to secure for himself a place in the sun.

NOT JIM-CROW OFFICE

However, the office of the Recorder of Deeds is not a Jim-Crow office, nor does it operate on the basis of segregation. The personnel of the office is composed of the two races in approximately equal numbers. There is not the least indication of friction or antagonism. Indeed this office furnishes the best laboratory to be found anywhere in the Federal Government of racial cooperation and good will.

The office of Recorder of Deeds has now been under colored headship for nearly sixty years. The most distinguished names of which the race can boast have figured in this list. Frederick Douglass, B. K. Bruce, William Monroe Trotter, Congressman Cheatum, J. C. Dancey, Henry Lincoln Johnson, and William J. Thompkins, have been conspicuous among the number.

During all these years the conduct of the office has been efficient and satisfactory. There has never been any official laxity or loss of public confidence. It has met with the approval of twelve Presidents under whom this staff of colored officials have operated.

THOMPKINS' COMMENDATION

A special word of commendation is due Dr. William J. Thompkins, the present efficient Recorder. Under his administration the office has been taken out of the red, and is returning a surplus to the Federal Treasury.

The office has been modernized with the installation of up to date equipment and facilities and methods. A bill now pending provides for the erection of a New Building. The result of these improvements, it is estimated, will save the citizens of the District more than $1,500,000.

A careful consideration of all the facts and factors involved in the office of the Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia amply justify public spirited Negro citizens in both political parties to memorialize their Congressmen and Senators to keep this office on the basis on which it has been operated for the last sixty years, and thus retain for the Negro his most important and significant place in the Federal service.

Oppose Plan To Abolish Deeds Office

WASHINGTON, D. C., Apr. 21—Threats of abolition of the Recorder of Deeds office here, one of the few remaining posts allotted to Negro politicians, have aroused opposition in Congress to proposed bills which would shift the present duties of the Recorder of Deeds office to other offices in the District of Columbia government, it was revealed this week.

The bills, H. R. 3950 and S. 1296, introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate by Congressman Jennings Randolph and Senator William J. King respectively, propose compulsory registration of all aliens on autos at the traffic bureau as against the present practice under which such registration is optional and under supervision of the recorder's office.

The present recorded is Dr. William J. Thompkins who has been in office for several years.

Senator King's measure has been reported favorably from committee but Congressman Randolph's bill has not yet come up for hearing.

SPECIALIST

Giles A. Hubert, assistant professor of economics at Fisk University, has been appointed community management specialist with the Farm Security Administration, with headquarters in Washington. In his new post Mr. Hubert will assist in guiding the development and management of Farm Security projects with particular attention to those in southern regions and those in which Negro farmers are participating.

Oxley Is Named To New Post

First Appointment Of Negro in FDR Reorganization

Daily World 7-8-39

WASHINGTON, D. C.—As a first step in integrating qualified Negroes in the administrative personnel of the several new Federal agencies, authorized by President Roosevelt's Government Reorganization Plan, recently approved by the Congress, Lieut. Lawrence A. Oxley was named Chief, Negro Placement Service, Division of Special Services, United States Employment Service in the Social Security Agency, effective July 1, 1939.

Atlanta, Ga.

During the past six years the new appointee served as Adviser to the Secretary of Labor on problems of the Negro worker, as a Commissioner of Conciliation, and as Chief, Division of Negro Labor in the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Since July 1, 1937, he has been functioning as a field representative for the United States Employment Service. Lieut. Oxley's latest appointment is hailed as a well-merited recognition of the constructive service rendered by him in the field of conserving the interests and welfare of the Negro wage earner. During the two years that Lieut. Oxley has given attention to Negro placement activities, over six hundred Negroes have qualified through State Civil Service staffs in twenty-four states.

7-8-39

IMPORTANT PROGRAM

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Gets Post

LAWRENCE A. OXLEY

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An immediate objective has for its purpose the focusing of attention of industrial leaders on the problem of the Negro worker in his search for adequate, productive and continuing employment. Another program objective is directed toward giving to officials in the several states, an awareness of the difficulty faced and experienced by Negro workers in their search for employment, and thus open up a greater and more varied job field, without regard to race, creed, or color.

JUDGE SCOTT NAMED FOR SECOND TERM

Chicago Defender 7-15-39

WASHINGTON, D.C., July — Judge Armond W. Scott, local Municipal court jurist, was nominated by President Roosevelt for another four-year term this week. He was reappointed upon the recommendation of Attorney General Frank Murphy, is was learned.

Judge Scott was first appointed by the President in April, 1935, and promptly confirmed by the Senate. He succeeded Judge James A. Cobb, Republican, who served for nine years under the Republican administration and for three years during the first Roosevelt administration.

The jurist was born in North Carolina. He has lived in Washington for the past 34 years and built up a good law practice before being appointed to the bench

May Be Last Of Recorders

Daily Worker 7-14-39

Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. W. J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds at Washington, D. C., may well be the last of a long line of illustrious men who have held this important position in the nation's capital. The abolishment of the office seems certain under the government reorganization bill which already has the approval of the President. The last major appointive position ear-marked for Negroes, it has been held by black men since Frederick Douglass was first named in 1881.

POLITICAL- 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

D.C.

Hill Denies Causing Loss Of Jobs To Fed'l Workers

Statements Distorted, He Declares

NEW YORK CITY (SNS) Charging that statements in an article distributed last week by the Associated Negro Press were grossly distorted, T. Arnold Hill, recently assigned to the Works Progress Administration in Washington, D.C., denied today that his appointment had meant the demotion or dismissal of anybody, or the loss of any jobs to colored people.

On the contrary, he asserted, it has already meant the addition of two persons to the payroll of the Department of Labor and increases in the salaries of two employes of the Works Progress Administration; and also the stimulation of WPA projects which have added a considerable number of persons to the rolls of that agency throughout the country.

"ALWAYS FAIR"

"Apparently these statements were maliciously sent out by someone with a personal axe to grind," Mr. Hill said. "Anyone acquainted with my work in the Urban League for the past twenty-five years knows that I have always sought to create more and better jobs for Negroes wherever possible, never to narrow their sphere of opportunity. In everything that I have done in Washington since my appointment, and for several years before my official connection, I have adhered strictly to this policy."

Taking up the statements appearing in the article, Mr. Hill presented the following facts concerning them:

The Associated Negro Press article said: "Mr. Hill made a study at the request of WPA officials during which he pointed out, among other needs, the desirability of a Negro in the Wage and Hour Division." Mr. Hill stated: "This is not true. I made no study that pointed out the desirability of a Negro in the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor. No study needs to be made of this, because the need is immediately apparent to anyone with eyes to see. I feel that there ought not to be one Negro, but a number of Negroes, scattered indiscriminately throughout the Wage and Hour Division—just as there should be throughout all divisions and departments of the Federal government."

"STATEMENTS FALSE"

The article said: "Later Mr. Smith (Alfred Edgar Smith, administrative assistant in the Federal WPA) was demoted.....Mr. Smith's office has been dismembered....He is still handling correspondence, but with one secretary. Mr. Whitten (Mr. Smith's assistant) has been transferred to the District of Columbia WPA and took one of the secretaries with him. Mr. Ferguson (another assistant) is still doing WPA publicity and has another of the secretaries. Mr. Hill took another..."

Mr. Hill replied: "Every statement here is false. Mr. Smith has not been demoted. He does exactly the same work he has always done, gets the same pay, and has the same number of workers under his supervision. Mr. Whitten has not been transferred to the District of Columbia WPA. Mr. Ferguson has the same secretary he has always had. And the fact that one member of Mr. Smith's former secretarial staff is now my secretary has meant a full-time job for another member who previously had been working on a per diem basis."

The article said: "When Mr. Smith was relieved, Forrester B. Washington of Atlanta was offered the post of administrative assistant, which he held prior to Smith's promotion, but on a per diem basis of $15 per day. Mr. Washington was to continue to conduct the Atlanta School of Social Work and spend two or three days in Washington. Mr. Washington refused the post. Mr. Hill was then attached to the WPA at the $15 per diem."

"NOT WASHINGTON"

In reply, Mr. Hill said: Mr. Washington could not have been offered Mr. Smith's vacancy because Mr. Smith's position has never been vacant."

The article further stated: "Lieutenant Oxley (of the U. S. Employment Service)....is reported to have refused the addition of the Wage and Hour assignment, holding out that it was a separate job and should have a full-time worker. Failure to make this a full-time appointment meant the loss of one job....."

T. Arnold Hill Is Dropped From WPA In Capital

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 28—T. Arnold Hill, Urban League industrial secretary, who has been a consultant in the Federal WPA office for the past year, will be among the administrative employees dropped in keeping with reduction of the administrative staff under the new 1940 relief bill, recently passed by Congress.

Mr. Hill has been in the office of Miss Flarence Kerr, head of the professional service division. He has been employed on a per diem basis for about 16 days a month, a spokesman for the office said.

In requesting his resignation, along with 50 others, Miss Kerr expressed regret at having to part with the services of the consultant, the spokesman said, declaring that his work had been very helpful to the organization.

A total of 12,000 administrative employees on the WPA staff throughout the country will be dismissed within the next two months, it was learned.

U. S. Official

W. C. KELLEY

—prominent Atlantan now assistant manager of the Bureau of Old Age Insurance of the Federal Social Security Board, with offices in New York City, who is here on two weeks' leave from his post of duty.

Mr. Kelley, prior to assignment to his present federal post, passed a U. S. Civil Service examination with one of the highest averages ever recorded in the particular quiz taken.

The Social Security expert has had long and fruitful experience in the business, insurance and journalistic fields, having, at one time, filled the responsible post of circulation manager of the Atlanta Daily WORLD.

Dr. E. J. Scott Resigns From Parole Board

Maj. C. C. Johnson, Of Howard University, Is Made Successor

Dr. Emmett J. Scott, a member of the District Parole Board since its inception in 1932 has resigned, it was announced yesterday by Commissioner George A. Allen.

He will be succeeded by Maj. Campbell C. Johnson, an instructor in social sciences at Howard University.

In a letter to the Commissioner from Frank R. Jelleff, chairman of the board, it was said Dr. Scott "retires only because a new position is making very great inroads upon his time and he is unable to give the Board of Parole the amount of time which it deserves."

Tribute Is Paid Scott

"As you know, Dr. Scott has been a member of this board since its inception and his straightforward thinking and wise counsel have always played an important part in the findings of our board and we shall miss him very greatly."

It was understood that Dr. Scott has joined the Republican National Committee in a publicity capacity.

The Commissioners appointed Maj. Johnson on recommendation of the present parole board. Wilbur La Roe, jr., author of the recent book, "Parole With Honor," is the third member of the board.

Johnson Is Complimented

Jelleff said: "Maj. Johnson has a high standing in the District of Columbia and has for years been interested in social work from many angles and we feel that we will make a splendid member."

Maj. Johnson was born in the District 44 years ago, was educated in the public schools and is a graduate of Howard University Law School. He is a member of the District bar but has not been actively in practice. He is executive secretary of the Twelfth street Y. M. C. A.; a member of the Board of Trustees of the Community Chest; member of the Board of Directors of Council of Social Agencies, Family Service Association, Washington Housing Association, Southeast House and the Southwest Community House.

Last Appointive Position In Government May Be Lost By Race

WASHINGTON—(SNS) — The last big political plum of the race, that of the Recorder of Deeds office, may be lost, if the District of Columbia reorganization bill passes the House of Representatives.

Introduced by Representative Kennedy of Maryland the reorganization bill, in its present form, would place the Recorder of Deeds office under the Internal Revenue department and transfer all administrative functions as to hiring, firing ad the setting of salaries and policy to the latter body.

ONLY ONE LEFT

The Recorder, Dr. William J. Thompkins, is now the only officer under the President of the United States who has the authority to write checks on the United States Treasury and set his own budget. One hundred and thirty Race employees together with scores of WPA workers retained in various capacities discharge the manifold duties of the Recorder's office.

The Recorder's office has been headed by a member of the Race under 12 presidents. The salary is $6,400. Under the proposed bill, H. R. 7095, the office would be abolished as an autonomous unit of the District government and the recorder reduced to a mere division head, probably with an annual salary of $2,400, more or less. The employees of the office will be placed under the District civil service regulations and most of the jobs probably go to whites.

Several prominent people in the capital and representatives of national organizations appeared at the bill hearing Tuesday. The District commissioners also appeared and expressed the hope that the recorder's office remain in its present independent status.

CAME AS SURPRISE

The provision of the proposed division transfer was introduced in the House July 6, and came as a surprise to Dr. Thompkins. It is believed that the plan was worked out by the president with District Commissioner George Allen and Representative Kennedy. Congress planned not to hold hearings on the measure, leaders declaring that

Reorganization Bill Certain To Doom Deeds Office

hearings have already been conducted on the Griffenhagen plan, upon which this bill is based. The sister bill has been prepared and will be introduced in the Senate at an early date and rushed through before adjournment of Congress. Little time for protesting the bill is left, but quick maneuvers are being made.

Both Democrats and Republicans are interested in the change since its loss would be a blow to prestige of politicians, as it robs the race of one of its most coveted government positions. The office of Register of the Treasury was lost to the group under Woodrow Wilson and the ministership to Haiti was also given to white politicians. The three used to constitute the juiciest of Negro political plums.

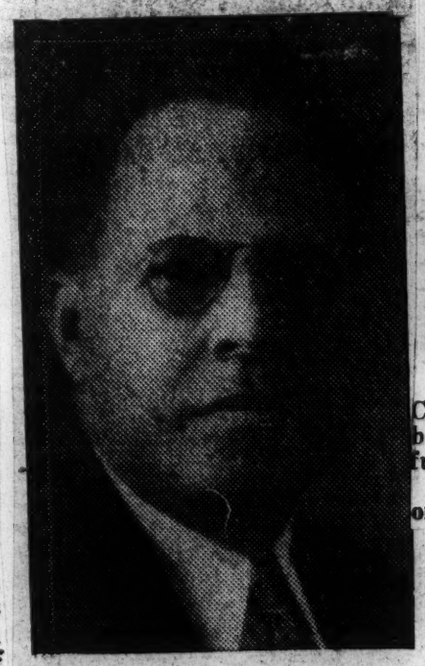
HAS WITHSTOOD ATTACKS

In recent years the Recorder of Deeds office has withstood numerous attacks to weaken or destroy it. A bill is expected to come up in the House this week transferring its function of handling automobile titles and liens to the District Traffic Department. The rush of legislation through both Houses for summer recess has strengthened race fears that the bills affecting the Deeds office will go through and that the plum will be lost.

SENATE CONFIRMS JUDGE A. W. SCOTT

The Senate, Monday, unanimously confirmed the reappointment of Judge Armond W. Scott to the Municipal Court bench for another four years.

Judge Scott was renominated last week by President Roosevelt. He was first named four years ago



JUDGE ARMOND W. SCOTT

to succeed Judge James A. Cobb, a Republican. That choice caused a storm of criticism, which abated in due time.

Judge Scott, who is 62, has been a member of the District bar for 34 years and is a former head of the local Elks. He was educated in the public schools in Wilmington, N.C., and holds a bachelor of arts degree from Biddle University and a law degree from Shaw University.

Faces Loss of Office Through District Reorganization Plan

DR. WM. J. THOMPKINS, recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia, whose office this week is being threatened with abolishment by a bill to reorganize the District government and transfer the functions of the office under the District Department of Revenue.

Dr. Thompkins is shown above looking through the files in his office.

POLITICAL- 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

EUROPE

Roosevelt Would Promote Diplomat

WASHINGTON

President Roosevelt sent to the Senate on Monday the nomination of James G. Carter of Brunswick, Ga., to be a foreign service officer of class 4.

This is a promotion from class 5. Mr. Carter is the American consul at Calais, French seaport on the English Channel.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

FEDERAL EMERGENCY ADMINISTRATION

At least eight Negro engineers have been appointed as inspectors or examiners on WPA construction jobs throughout the country, according to a report to Public Works Administrator Harold L. Ickes by W. J. Trent, Jr., Advisor on Negro Affairs. These men are on the staff of engineers which is maintained by WPA for the purpose of seeing to it that the requirements and specifications of the contracts are met. Most of the Negro engineers were certified to the office of the Director of Region II at Chicago, Ill. They were in turn assigned as Engineer Inspectors to construction jobs in the states comprising Region II. One, however, has been assigned in Region I, and one is located in the Central Office of the Power Division of PWA, engaged in the task of examining power project plans and proposals.

These men are assigned specific phases of the supervision, inspection and preparation of reports upon construction work. At times they are in charge of supervision and inspection of projects of less than average size under the general direction of the Reginal Engineer. Some of the specific duties are to verify referral and employment of labor; to review and certify all requests for payment to contractors as to work performed and materials employed; to require of all parties concerned honest and faithful compliance with terms and conditions of loans and, or grants; and on special occasion to attend bid openings.

Those appointed and on duty are as follows:

Walter H. Dabney, Indianapolis, Ind., on duty at Fort Wayne, Ind.

Woodrow B. Dolphin, Detroit, Mich., on duty at Chicago, Ill.

James R. Gray, Gary, Ind., on duty at Goshen, Ind.

Russell P. Jackson, Ames, Iowa, on duty at Davenport, Iowa.

George R. Jordan, Boston, Mass., on duty at Pittsfield, Mass.

Erskine G. Roberts, Washington, D.C., on duty at Power Division of PWA, Washington, D.C.

W. F. Thornton, Chicago, Ill., on duty at Chicago, Ill.

Donald F. White, Detroit, Mich., on duty at Detroit, Mich.

In addition, several other Negro engineers have been certified by PWA but have not as yet been assigned by the regional offices.

Miami, Fla. Herald
November 20, 1939

NEGROES SEEK SEAT ON COURT

Ask President To Make Supreme Bench Appointment

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19. (AP)—The United Government Employes, national organization of negro government workers, asked President Roosevelt Sunday to appoint a member of their race to the Supreme court vacancy caused by the death of Justice Pierce Butler.

A resolution adopted at the UGE's third anniversary meeting, proposed Charles H. Houston, chief counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, former dean of the Howard University law school, alumnus of the Harvard law school and member of the District of Columbia Board of Education.

Murfreesboro, Tenn., News-Journal
November 20, 1939

President Asked To Name Negro To Court

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A resolution adopted by the U. G. E.'s third anniversary meeting proposed Charles H. Houston, chief counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, former dean of the Howard university law school, alumnus of the Harvard law school and member of the District of Columbia board of education.

The resolution said that "all classes of the American citizenry have received recognition" in President Roosevelt's supreme court appointments and "the Negro citizenry constitutes one-tenth of the total population of the country and the supreme court has a membership of nine justices."

GENERAL

A Memo to F. D.

And this reminds us that we are indebted, also, to President Roosevelt, who last week sent the name of Herman E. Moore, Howard graduate and Chicago attorney, to the Senate for a Virgin Islands judgeship to succeed Judge William H. Hastie, who has resigned to accept a post as dean of the Howard University Law School.

At the same time, we would direct the President's attention to New York City and Mayor LaGuardia. We like Federal judges in the Virgin Islands. We like them better here where we can see them.

Why not a Federal judge in Pennsylvania, New Jersey or New York, Mr. President?

Delegates to Negro Bar Parley

—Sunday Worker Photo

Seated left to right: Miss Eunice Hunter Carter, Ass't District Attorney, New York; William L. Houston, U. S. District Attorney and president of the NBA; Mrs. Mary McCloud Bethune, NYA, and William J. Tompkins, Recorder of Deeds, Washington, D. C.

Standing left to right: Albert C. Gilbert, member of the Board of Directors of the National Lawyers Guild, New York Chapter; Raymond Pace Alexander, prominent Philadelphia attorney, and Charles H. Houston, chief defense counsel of the NAACP.

POLITICAL- 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

GENERAL

"Unwritten Law" In Politics Works Overtime To Keep The Qualified Race Men Out Of 'Big Time' Federal Jobs

At Present There Are Only Four Negroes Holding Federal Offices Requiring Presidential Nomination and Senatorial Confirmation—Both Major Parties Have Been Responsible.

(Special to The Courier)
By Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 19—Notwithstanding the increase in the number o statutory positions in the executive branch of the Federal Government, the number of colored persons appointed to such positions remains fixed.

There are at present only four colored persons holding Federal offices requiring nomination by the President and confirmation by the Senate with the exception of a postmastership or two.

Those holding such offices are Lester Walton, the United States Minister to Liberia; Judge William H. Hastie of the United States District Court of the Virginia Islands; Judge Armond W. Scott of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia, and Dr. William J. Thompkins, recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia.

HASTIE APPOINTMENT WAS FIRST OF ITS KIND

The appointment of Judge Hastie marked a forward step in the recognition of colored Americans No other colored man had ever been appointed to a Federal judgeship. The nearest approach to such recognition was that given William H. Lewis, the Boston lawyer, who served as an assistant attorney general under the Taft administration. No other little cabinet post has since been given to a colored person.

Colored people now believe, however, that there is enough legal talent among them to fill any judicial or legal position in the government. Colored lawyers aspire to appointment even to the Supreme Court.

OTHER MINORITY GROUPS RECOGNIZED

Other minority groups are getting larger recognition. There are the Jews.

They have two places on the Supreme Court bench—the one filled by Justice Louis D. Brandeis, who was appointed by President Wilson, and the vacancy caused by the death of Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo. Felix Frankfurter, dean of the Harvard Law School, has been nominated to fill this vacancy.

The ministership to Haiti was a position that traditionally went to a colored man for his party services. The practive of appointing colored men to this post was followed from 1877 to 1913 when President Wilson appointed a white man. During the American occupation of Haiti an army officer was appointed as American high commissioner and when this government decided in 1930 to have a diplomatic representative at Port-au-Prince, President Hoover sent Dan G. Munro, a white man, there.

LATE ANDREW MELLON STOPPED TREASURY POST

The register of the treasury was another one of those jobs with which colored men were rewarded for their party services until the Wilson administration.

But when the Republicans returned to power in 1921, the late Andrew W Mellon, the secretary of the treasury under Harding, blocked the appointment of Charles Cottrell, who had served as collector of customs at Honolulu. This job has been filled ever since by white men.

These are only some of the jobs filled by colored men in what may be termed the good old days. Lessening of recognition by appointment to statutory positions began under the Taft administration and continued under the Wilson administration.

Under the Harding administration the office of the recorder of deeds was filled by the appointment of Arthur G. Froe, of West Virginia, and Charles W. Anderson was appointed collector of internal revenue in New York and Walter L. Cohen collector of customs at New Orleans. But the ground lost under the Tafe and Wilson administrations has never been regained.

CREATION OF BUREAUS BEGAN UNDER HOOVER

The creation of numerous bureaus and establishments was begun under President Hoover. Such bureaus and establishments added to the total number of appointments at the disposal of the President, but in filling offices requiring confirmation by the Senate colored persons have been passed over.

On the United States Civil Service Commission, which holds compatitive examinations for testing the fitness of applicants for the classified service, colored people are not represented.

The commission consists of three commissioners, two Democrats and one Republican. It has a chief examiner, two assistant chief examiners, an executive assistant to the commissioners, personnel officer, director of research, medical officer, chief examination division, chief of application division, and chief of certification division. In fact, it has about 1,050 employees in Washington and 382 in the field But the only jobs filled by colored are messenger.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION AN EXAMPLE

There is the Interstate Commerce Commission. It has 11 members, a secretary, an assistant secretary, a chief counsel and a number of attorneys, examiners, special agents and clerks. But none of them is colored.

In the United States Housing Authority under the Interior Department, Robert C. Weaver, who was advisor to the Secretary of the Interior on Negro Affairs, became a special assistant to the administrator a year ago at a salary of $5,300 a year. This is not a statutory position.

The budget for the Federal Government for the next fiscal year carries the additional position assistant adviser, Negro relations at a salary of $4,200 a year.

Federal Appointive Positions Scarce

Staff Correspondent

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GROUND LOST

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CIVIL SERVICE BODY

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HOUSING AUTHORITY

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The Budget for the Federal Government for the next fiscal year carries the additional position of assistant adviser, Negro Relations at a salary of $4,200 a year.

A Negro Supreme Court Justice?

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT will soon make his fourth appointment to the United States Supreme Court to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Justice Louis D. Brandeis.

Of late there has been talk about the appointment of a Negro justice to the Supreme Court. Some have wondered if the time is ripe for such an appointment. Let us look into the situation objectively.

A Supreme Court Justice should be a citizen, a man with a judicial temperament, well learned in the science of jurisprudence with a character well becoming the dignity of that office.

There are many colored lawyers who will pass that test magna cum laude.

The Negro is a citizen of this country. The constitution gives him equal potential rights. There are some twelve or thirteen million Negroes in this country. Many cases are appealed to the Supreme Court involving the rights of colored people. A goodly number the court refuses to review. Others are reviewed and narrow margins often result when decisions are close.

There are nine men on the bench. The Negro constitutes one-twelfth of the population. There have been many turnovers on the bench since the advent of the "freedman"; but there have been no Negroes among the appointed ones.

Is it not reasonable therefore, to request that, inasmuch as there are more cases taken to the Supreme Court involving the rights of Negroes than any other race, that we should be represented on that body?

Is it not reasonable, therefore, that since the Negro constitutes a twelfth of the population he should have a representative on that body?

We answer in the affirmative We say the time is ripe. Brandeis ascended to the court in 1916. He was the first Jew ever appointed there. There was strong opposition to the appointment. There are almost twice as many Negroes in the United States as there are Jews.

Since Brandeis was appointed the times have changed. There has been a liberalizing tendency that has swept the country. Worthy Negroes now have positions of authority in most all branches of the government of the United States. There is one Negro Federal Judge. There are Negro judges in many states. There are Negro Commissioners and Prosecutors.

We believe, therefore, that the time is ripe for the appointment of a colored man to the Supreme Court to fill the vacancy left by Justice Brandeis retirement.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

GENERAL

Negro Achievements In Gov. And Politics

Friends of the Radio audience
The Omega Psi Phi fraternity ha
selected for its annual observanc
of National Negro Acheivement
Week the theme "NEGRO A-
CHIEVEMENT IN GOVERN-
MENT AND POLITICS."

Four centries ago the Africar
was captured and transplanted t
the Western World. Acording t
the prevailing ethics and Chris-
tian conscience of that day, the
heathen Negro did not posess a
mind to be enlighteded, nor a soul
to be saved in the world to come,
and of course, was not to be
thought of as a part of the body
politic or of the Christian dispen-
sation. 11-25-39

The Negro was introduced in
this country in 1607 as an inferior
creature; he was no fixed legal
status but was treated by the same
formula which had been developed
by the Spanish Countries during
the long years of contact between
the Africian and European. At
first he was regarded as a servant,
not very different from the white
indentured servants who were
bound out to servitude for a term
of years. The vital difference con-
sisted in the fact that the Negro's
offsprings inherited the status of
the slave mother. This established
slavery as a caste based on race
and inheritance.

During the one hundred eighty-
two years between the introduc-
tion of the Negro in 1607 and the
adoption of the Constitution, 1879,
his adjustment to society was ac-
complished by association, fami-
liarity, and usuage, which had cry-
stalized into a tolerably uniform
code of procedure throughout
the Thirteen Original Colonies
The differentiated attitudes on the
question of slavery between the
northern and southern colonies
was dictated by geographical, cli-
matic and economic differentials,
and was not due to the love of God
or the love of man as is sometimes
supposed.

The Negro was looked upon as
a nonentity in the body politic and
fell outside the purview of its con-
templation. Like the Helots of
Greece, and the Jews of Hitler's
Reich, the Negro was not con-
sidered a part of the social and
political order which controlled and
exploited him. If Chief Justic Tan-
ey correctly interpreted the senti-
ment of that day, the Negro had
no rights which the white man
was bound to respect.

The Declaration of Independence
released to the world the doctrine
of the inalienability of human
rights. Was this intended to in-
clude the Negro? The framers of
the Constitution dared not formal-
ly recognize the institution of sla-
very for this would clearly belie
the Doctrine of the Declaration of
the Independence. The words
"slave" and "Negro" were careful-
ly omitted by cunning circumlocu-
tion and devious phraseology. For
purposes of apportionment and
taxation, the slave under the guise
of "other persons" was given
three-fifths of the representative
potentiality of a free person, which
represented the ultimate unit of
the new nation. This passive rec-
ognition in the body politic was
accorded not in appreciation of the
Negro's capacities as a human per-
sonality, but because of his utility
as a tool and his value as an eco-
nomic asset. This fractional poli-
tical potentiality accorded the Ne-
gro was manipulated to increase
the power of those states which
profiteered upon his inferior po-
litical status.

The first ten Amendments were
intended to secure the individual
rights and liberties of the people.
These rights were not conferred
by the Bill of rights, but merely
asserted and re-affirmed. They
were the result of long centuries
range of the Bill of Rights. Free-
dom of speech, freedom of assem-
by, freedom of petition, freedom of
search and the right to bear arms,
could hardly be predicated of a
slave devoid of political personali-
ty. No one ever thought of the
slave or free Negro, for that mat-
ter, while asserting the inviolabi-
lity of the Bill of Rights.

At the time of the foundation of
the government there were nearly
sixty thousand free prsons of col-
or contributing one-twelth of the
Negro population. The proportion
of the slave and free Negroes was
practically the same in 1860 as in
1790. Free persons of color had
gained their freedom in many
ways. The constitution recognizes
four classes of persons-free per-
sons, indentured servants. Indians
not taxed, "other persons," mean-
ing slaves. Free persons of color
as far as the Constitution was
concerned had all the rights and
privileges of free white persons,
including those contained in the
Bill of Rights. The Constitution
of struggles of the Anglo-Saxon
folk for individual liberty and per-
sonal freedom, and were taken for
granted and accepted as a recog-
nized coefficient of Anglo-Saxon
citizenship. The slave in the very
nature of the case was not con-
templated as falling within the
does not confer in expressed terms
the rights to vote upon any class
of persons. 11-25-39

The only qualification of elect-
ors is set fourth in Article 1, sec-
tion 2. "The House of Represent-
atives shall be composed of mem-
bers chosen every second year by
the people of the several states, and
the electors in each state shall
have the qualifications requisite
for electors of the most numerous
branch of the state legislature.
The specific qualification of voters
is left in the hands of the several
states. Discrimination on account
of race and color fell clearly with-
in their Constitutional rights. The
Negro race as a whole, including
former slaves and free persons of
color, derives its present status
both as citizens and electors
from the Fourteenth and Fif-
teenth Amendments, rather than
from the original Constitution.
The civil and political equality of
all citizens without regard to
race, color or previous condition
of servitude has been more or less
violently contested by the former
slave states from the adoption of
the Fourteenth Amendment down
to the present day. The Negro's
right to vote is undisputed in
thirty-six states of the Union,
where there is no local opposition,
but is effectually denied in twelve
states counter to the plain letter
and spirit of the Constitution.

In those states where the right
to franchise is restricted by stat-
ues, the eligible Negro too often
fails to qualify and vote under ex-
isting limitations, largely by rea-
son of his own political inepti-
tude. Although the Supreme
Court by unanimous decision has
outlawed the grandfather clauses,
the decision has in no wise af-
fected the exclusion of the Negro
from the polls.

The Negro voter, naturally
enough, followed the fortunes of
the Republican party, which was
the chief instrument in appending
to the Constitution the Thirteenth,
Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amend-
ments. Frederick Douglass' fa-
mous aphorism "the Republican
Party is the ship; all else is the
sea," has remained the basic creed
of the Negro voter until compar-
atively recent years. The shift of
the Negro population from the
South to the North and the spirit
of segregation which pens him up
into residential districts and areas
gives the race control over certain
political units in several large
cities. In this way the race has
been able to send Negroes to Con-
gress, to state legislatures and to
city councils, and also to gain rec-
ognition through appointive posi-
tions in city, state and national
governments.

George H. White of North Ca-
rolina was the last member of his
race to be elected to Congress
from the South, in 1902. In his
swan song on the floor of Con-
gress, he predicted that the Ne-
gro would return to political pow-
er with renewed strength and vi-
gor. It could not possibly have
entered the remotest recesses of
his political consciousness, that
the race would regain its political
foothold in the North rather than
in the South. But strange to re-
late the prophesy of this swan
song has been fulfilled in the elec-
tion of two Negro congressmen
from Illinois.

Incidentally the shift of the ef-
fective Negro vote from the
South to the North is coincidental
with the shift of allegiance from
the Republican to the Democratic
fold. Congressman Arthur W.
Mitchell, a Negro Democrat, is a
symbol of the transfer of allegi-
ance. He has twice won over ex-
Congressman Oscar DePriest from
a district in the heart of Chica-
go. President Franklin Delano
Roosevelt has made many ap-
pointments of Negroes to posi-
tions of strategic importance to
the Negro's general welfare as s
able among these appointments is
citizen of the United States; not
that of Mary McCleod Bethune, a
native of Mayesville, South Caro-
lina, as Director, Division of Ne-
gro Affairs, in the National Youth
Administration.

The Omega Psi Phi fraternity
hopes that its observance of Nat-
ional Negro Achievement Week
have its effect in bringing about a
greater degree of understanding a
mong all the components of A-
merica's citizenry. The Negro as
well as anybody else wants to be
a good American, and is deter-
mined to wear the benefits, as
well as bear the burdens of Amer-
ican citizenship. Unless he is suc-
cessful in the achievement of
these legitimate aims, democracy
in America is but a dismal fail-
ure, and democracy in America
will ultimately emerge trium-
phant.

Johnson City, Tenn. Chronicle
November 14, 1939

Great Game of Politics...

By Frank Kent

While no Federal and few State offices were filled in the elections last week, the returns in a number of places were not without importance. For example, there is the Philadelphia vote. So far as 1940 is concerned, practical politicians see more in that than in any other—not because the Republicans won against a strong Democratic-Independent-Fusion ticket but because a single basic political fact significantly sticks out. It can be briefly expressed—the Negroes have shifted back.

It is the unmistakable nature of this which makes it logical to believe that Pennsylvania will go Republican next year and that Senator Joseph Guffey, who more blatantly than any other in the past seven years has demagogued on labor and racial lines, will not be reelected i renominated. Only those who know the rea story of the New Deal and the Negro and understand how much of the Democratic 1934 and 1936 victories were due to Negro support will appreciate the feeling of Republican national leaders at the Philadelphia figures, which show the Negro voter, who started returning "home" last year, continuing in that direction at increased speed.

For example, in the four great Negro wards in Philadelphia, the Republicans carried the Twentieth, the Thirtieth and the Forty-fourth by small margins and lost the Twenty-fourth by 92. But— in 1936 Mr. Roosevelt carried the Twentieth and Thirtieth by more than 5,000 each and the Twenty-fourth and Forty-fourth by more than 6,000 each. Last year, although the trend was Republican and a proportion of the Negroes swung back, all four of these wards stayed in the Democratic column. That they should now definitely have swung farther toward the Republicans is something not to be politically ignored.

It was in 1933 that Senator Guffey and Chairman Farley, with the hearty cooperation of Mr Roosevelt, started out to wean the Negro vote away from the Republican party, to which in the big debatable States it had been a basic asset for more than seventy years. The success of the Messrs. Farley and Guffey in this business was senational and unprecedented. It cul-

minated in swinging to Mr. Roosevelt in 193 more than two million heretofore solidly Republican Negro votes in New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Missouri, Indinana, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan.

It is too much to say that without these vote Mr. Roosevelt would not have won that year but any analysis will prove that but for then he would have carried few of these States. I has been estimated by Democrats—and conceded by Republicans—that Mr. Roosevelt in 193 got better than ninety-six per cent. of the tota Negro vote in the Northern and border States When, early in September, the more astute Republican leaders grasped the fact that the Negroes had really swung over, they gave up hope Their chagrin was only matched by the jubilation of the Democratic managers. Neither made any public demonstration—the Republicans because to do so would merely have accentuated a desperate situation; the Democrats because with the Negro prejudice in the Solid Democratic South, they were playing both ends against the middle.

By many this mass swinging of the Negro vote is held to be the most skillful piece of politics ever executed in this country. Certainly, although the public generally never fully grasped the facts, it was sensationally successful. There is no space here again to tell the story of how the thing was done. It is ironic that Mr. Guffey, against whom they are now turning, conceived the scheme. Partly it was accomplished through Federal patronage; partly through the organization; partly by employing a great number of traveling Negro teachers, preachers and speakers, who, in campaigns and out, went about among the Negroes preaching Roosevelt doctrines and telling what Mr. Roosevelt had done for the Negroes.

The Rev. Stanley High with his "Good Neighbor League" helped; the President helped and so did Mrs. Roosevelt—very much, indeed, by having her picture taken surrounded by Negroes, a million copies of which were distributed among the Northern Negroes during the campaign. However, there is complete agreement among politicians that the trick could not have been turned but for relief money. No secret is made of that. That was basic. Without the relief rolls upon which great masses of Negroes were —and still are—it could not have been done. That started them toward the Democrats; the other things just helped make it complete.

The amazing thing is that they have shifted again. The swing back started in 1938. Republicans estimate that in that election about 50 per cent. were recovered. It was this shift that really accounted for the Republican victories of that year. Partly they came back because the Republicans went after them with determination and skill; partly, bcause they do not—and never will—feel really at home in the Democratic party. The Philadelphia vote shows that the swing back, still on, has gone far enough to justify Republican hope of a 100 per cent, recovery in 1940. No clear-headed politician will minimize the importance of that.

POLITICAL-1939
OFFICE HOLDING

Mitchell Has Introduced Six New Bills

WASHINGTON

Six bills were introduced in the House, last week, by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell (Dem., Ill.) among them a bill to amend the transportation act so as to prohibit the segregation of interstate passengers on account of race, color, or religion.

The Illinois Congressman has also introduced three bills to amend the Civil Service Act. One of these bars changes in sex or other designations of persons certified to Civil Service jobs, another denies to appointing officers power to pass over the person making the highest grade in Civil Service examinations.

Outlaws Photographs

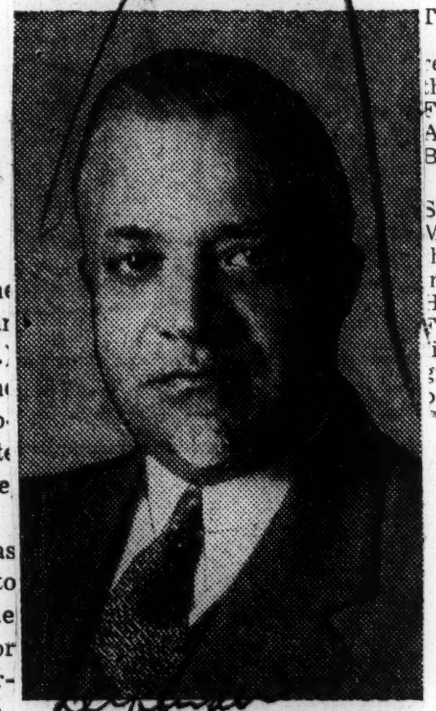
The third bill seeking to amend the Civil Service laws, prohibits the President or the Civil Service Commission, or any branch thereof, from requiring as a condition precedent to the taking of an examination for a position in the classified service or to an appointment in the same.

Antilynching Bill

Another bill introduced by the Congressman is designed to "assure persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws and to punish the crime of lynching."

Provisions for the creation of "an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs, composed of five members, at least three of whom shall be members of the colored race, to be appointed by the President of the United States," for six-year terms, are made in another bill.

Appointed



DR. M. O. BOUSFIELD

Medical director of the Julius Rosenwald fund and president of the Chicago Urban League, who was one of seven prominent citizens named Thursday to Mayor Kelly's new advisory committee that is to pass on future appointments to the board of education and guide the executive and the board in matters of school policy.

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 17—Edward B. Toles of Chicago, was appointed recently to the legal staff of the U. S. Housing Authority. He is the second Negro lawyer so honored, Edward P. Lovett of this city being the first. Mr. Toles received his B. A. degree from the University of Illinoise and was graduated from Loyola law school in Chicago in 1936. He was associated for two years with the firm of Cashin and Morris where he gained considerable experience in condemnation proceedings and suits for injunctions in labor union cases. He is 29 years old.

Birmingham, Ala. News
March 9, 1939

NEGROES IN CONGRESS

To the Editor The News:

A news item appearing in a recent issue reads: "Arthur W. Mitchell, now a member of the United States Senate, will deliver the Founders Day address at Tuskegee Institute April 2, the closest day to the birthday of Booker T. Washington."

According to the Congressional Directory Seventy-Sixth Congress, first session, Arthur W Mitchell represents the First Illinois District in the Congress of the United States. He was born in Chambers County, Alabama, Dec. 22, 1883 He was elected to the Seventy-Fourth, Seventy-Fifth and Seventy-Sixth Congresses and the first Negro Democrat ever to be elected to Congress. No Negro has ever been elected a member of the United States Senate.

Montgomery, Ala. J. N. FLOWERS.

L. B. MOORE GETS ATTY. GEN'L POST

Atty. Loring B. Moore, prominent southside attorney, who for more than 15 years has been actively engaged in civic and political affairs in the community, was appointed Assistant Attorney General to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Alderman Earl B. Dickerson, it was disclosed late Wednesday.

Attorney Moore's appointment is being lauded by community leaders, civic, religious and welfare organizations who actively supported him to fill the post which Alderman Dickerson held over a period of six and a half years.

The new attorney general is a graduate of Atlanta university and received his Ph. B. and J. D from the University of Chicago He is chairman of the Legal Redress committee of the State Conference of the NAACP branch and is also a member of the executive committee of the association's Chicago branch.

Negro Named Foreman in Chicago Post Office

Black Dispatch

CHICAGO.—(ANP) — Postmaster Ernest J. Kruetgen of Chicago, announced Monday, through President Norval E. Perkins of the Chicago branch of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, and J. Wesley Jones, of the advisory committee of the organization that Charles T. Dotson, 29-year veteran employee of the local post office, was being promoted to foreman, effective as of July 16.

7-29-39

Dotson has been a special clerk for several years and has an outstanding record of service with the government. His promotion is regarded as a result of efforts of the alliance to secure more recognition for colored employees in the postal service here. The matter of more supervisory positions was taken up with Postmaster Kruetgen last month by O. Grady Gregory, welfare chairman of the Chicago branch of the alliance.

Newly-Appointed Judge Takes Oath of Office

8-19-39

Norfolk, Va

CHICAGO—(ANP)—In the presence of judges, public officials, and a number of friends assembled in the federal building office of U. S. District Attorney William J. Campbell, Atty. Herman E. Moore, newly-appointed federal judge in the Virgin Islands, took oath of office, on August 10. He was sworn in by District Attorney Campbell.

U. S. Senator James M. Stattery, who was among Moore's sponsors for the post, was present at the ceremonies. Previously, a luncheon honoring Judge Moore and attended by 200 persons was held at Hotel LaSalle.

He has not decided when he will sail for his Virgin Islands post.

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ILLINOIS

TAKES OATH OF OFFICE

DR. MIDIAN O. BOUSFIELD receives the congratulations of City Clerk Ludwig Schrieber following induction ceremonies in City Hall Wednesday morning, when he was sworn in as a member of Chicago's school board.—Photo by Gushiniere.

DR. BOUSFIELD, NEW SCHOOL BOARD APPOINTEE, SWORN IN

10-29-39

Leaders in the city's civic, political, social welfare and professional circles crowded the office of the City Clerk Wednesday morning when Dr. Midian O. Bousfield, newly appointed member of Chicago's school board, took oath of office. Dr. Bousfield was sworn in by City Clerk Ludwig D. Schrieber.

Following the induction ceremonies, a delegation of outstanding members of the southside's political, business and civic organizations gathered in Mayor Edward J. Kelly's office to express the gratitude of the city's Negro citizens in the appointment of Dr. Bousfield.

End 25-Year Fight

They termed his appointment the culmination of a "quarter of a century" fight to get a Negro on the school board and lauded Mayor Kelly's action as establishing a precedent which only Chicago can boast, that of having a Negro on its school board.

Mayor Kelly in accepting the expressions of the several speakers, among whom were Aldermen Earl B. Dickerson, 2nd Ward, and Benjamin A. Grant, 3rd Ward; Patrick B. Prescott, Miss Amelia Sears, president of the Parent-Teachers association; Miss Charlotte Carr, of Hull House, stated that Dr. Bousfield's appointment was one of merit and was not influenced by color.

Lauds Civil Service Commissioner

He cited the work of Wendell E. Green, whose name he did not mention, on the Civil Service Commission and stated he held him in affectionate regard, not because he was colored but because he was one of the best men ever employed by the city of Chicago. Mayor Kelly also praised County Commissioner Edward M. Sneed as an American citien who has achieved through ability and not because of special concessions made him on account of color.

Leaders Attend Meeting

Among those present in the Mayor's office were Ira W. Williams, president of the Chicago branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; George Hutchins, Chicago Council of Negro Organiations; Alderman Benjamin A. Grant, 3rd Ward; County Commissioner Edward M. Sneed; Miss Olive M. Diggs, editor of the Chicago Bee; Sherman Briscoe, assistant city editor of the Chicago Defender; A. N. Fields, managing editor of the Chicago edition of the Pittsburgh Courier; F. T. Lane, Chicago Urban League; Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines, Mrs. Ida Wells, George R. Arthur, secretary of the YMCA; A. L. Foster, Chicago Urban League;

Corneal Davis, T. K. Gibson, Sr.; Dr. Lloyd A. Hall, Harry Gibson, Charles Browning, NYA director; Wendell E. Greene, Civil Service Commissioner; Dr. Chas. Thompson, Dr. A. G. Falls and Mrs. F. Carter of the Chicago Northern District association.

OUR SHAME

(AN EDITORIAL) 10-29-39

CHICAGO'S 250,000 Negro citizens, represented by self-designated leaders committed a fauxpas Wednesday morning which should leave them smarting and blushing in shame for many months to come.

They were represented—by these leaders—at induction ceremonies for Dr. Midian O. Bousfield, who was sworn in as a member of Chicago's school board Wednesday morning in City Hall. Bee-Chicago, Ill.

After the ceremonies, a delegation of hand-picked representative Negroes crowded Mayor Kelly's office to THANK him for appointing a NEGRO to the school board.

They came to express their "gratitude" and the gratitude of Chicago's colored citizens for the "honor" accorded a Negro.

"But I didn't appoint Dr. Bousfield BECAUSE he was a Negro," Mayor Kelly rebuked them. "Dr. Bousfield was selected by my advisory committee becaus he was the ONLY man, irregardless of race or color, QUALIFIED to fill the vacancy. His color didn't influence his selection in the least. His qualifications MERITED the post."

A DREAM COMES TRUE; DR. BOUSFIELD SWORN IN

The materialization of more than 25 years of effort on the part of members of the Race to have one of their group placed on the Chicago Board of Education is shown above. Dr. M. O. Bousfield, prominent physician, is pictured at left as Ludwig D. Schrieber, city clerk, swore him in as a member of the school board [illegible] ing in the City hall. Following the induction ceremonies, a committee numbering nearly a hundred persons from both races, called on Mayor Kelly and thanked him for making the appointment. Earl B. Dickerson, alderman of the Second Ward, acted as chairman of the committee.—Gushiniere photo.

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POSTMASTER KREUTGEN APPOINTS SUPERVISOR

Defender 07-29-39

Charles T. Dodson, 5829 Calumet avenue, for 29 years a postal employee, was rewarded for faithful service this week when Ernest T. Kruetgen, postmaster, appointed him a supervisor. He has been assigned to the watch service in the mailing division. The appointment of Dodson to his new post marks the third member of the Race to be so honored by Mr. Kruetgen. Photo shows Dodson receiving his appointment and a handshake as Supervisor J. Wesley Jones looks on. The government seal shown in the photo was drawn and presented to the postmaster by Dodson.—Gushin iere photo.

The New Judge

8-13-39

THE APPOINTMENT of Attorney Herman E. Moore of this city as federal judge of the Virgin Islands by President Roosevelt, and his subsequent confirmation by the Senate, is a signal honor to a deserving and capable man who has been a credit to his race, to his profession, and to the nation as a citizen. It is an instance where one, out of many capable Negroes in this country, has been recognized for his capability as a man fit to fill the higher offices in the government service. His colleagues, and the citizens of this city, especially, rejoice over this signal recognition that has come to him; and it is our belief that no better choice for the important post could have been made by the president.

Attorney Moore has not only been a real lawyer, but he has also been an active citizen, always ready to take part in any civic movement looking toward the betterment of the citizens of his community. He is also gifted with rare ability as a barrister, and those who have been fortunate enough to have him as their advocate in legal matters have always felt assured that their cause would be well presented before the bar because of his unswerving studiousness in his work. In this assurance they have not been disappointed. His record in the courts here in this city and wherever he has practiced, speaks volumes where words would avail nothing. For this reason, and more, we predict for Judge Moore a brilliant and successful career in his federal post, and certainly he carries with him the best wishes of us all.

The fight of the Negro for recognition of his capabilities, all through the past three quarters of a century and more, has been an arduous one. He is kept down by the powerful pressure of those who fear loss of prestige and opportunities as a result of his capabilities—not because of his inefficiency. But, occasionally, here and there, those in authority step over the barriers and extend the hand of recognition to him in spite of this pressure. In every instance wherein he makes a record for himself, it serves as a boomerang against those who decry the ability of the Negro to measure up to the full stature of an American and a man. Judge Moore will, in all probability, continue, in the Virgin Islands, the good record set by the few Negroes who have been so recognized. He will, therefore, make a name for himself and his race.

Dr. Bousfield on School Board

Mayor Kelly's appointment of Dr. Midian O. Bousfield, prominent physician and civic leader, as member of the board of education was approved late Wednesday by the City Council. Dr. Bousfield will fill the vacancy caused by the withdrawal June 14 of John B. Allen, who had been named to fill the position. His appointment climaxes a 20-year fight for a Negro on the board, and is being hailed by southsiders as a significant step toward the recognition of members of the race.

M. O. BOUSFIELD

Defender 10-22-39

Dr. Bousfield is 53 and resides at 9323 So. Michigan avenue. Until this year he was president of the Urban League and served on Mayor Kelly's super school board. He is also in charge of Negro funds for the Rosenwald Foundation. Dr. Bousfield is a graduate of Kansas university and studied medicine at Northwestern university. His wife, Mrs. M. B. Bousfield, si principal f Wendell Phillips high school. His daughter, Maudelle, is a teacher at Du Sable high school.

Atty. S. Jones Gets Dept. of Labor Post

Attorney Sidney A. Jones, Jr., of Chicago has been appointed Assistant Attorney for the Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor. He has been assigned to the Chicago office in the Merchandise Mart.

ATTY. SIDNEY A. JONES

Attorney Jones is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney A. Jones of Savannah, Georgia. He is a graduate of Atlanta University and Northwestern University Law School, where he was an honor student.

He was admitted to the Illinois Bar in 1931 and has been in general practice since. He is vice president of the Cook County Bar Association, former National Vice President of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, member of the Executive Committee of the Chicago Branch of the National Negro Congress.

He has been active on the Legal Redress Committee of the Chicago Branch of the NAACP, and is a trustee of Coppin AME Church. His wife is Roma Lawson Jones, a Chicago Public School teacher, and they have one daughter, Roma Eunice, age three.

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NAMED TO SCHOOL BOARD

Defender DR. M. O. BOUSFIELD 10-28-39

Whose appointment to the Chicago Board of Education was approved Wednesday by the city council, making him the first member of the Race to ever hold that position here. He is medical director of the Rosenwald foundation and Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company

DR. BOUSFIELD IS PLACED ON SCHOOL BOARD

Defender

Culminates 25-Year Fight Launched By Editor Robert S. Abbott

10-28-39

Over 25 years ago when Carter H. Harrison was mayor of Chicago, a campaign was launched by the Chicago Defender to secure appointment of a Race member to the Board of Education. On down through succeeding years, each mayor in turn was petitioned and visited by delegations of leading citizens who urged such representation in the city's school system. The wait was long and tiresome, but victory has come at last.

Editor Abbott Starts Fight

Wednesday, Mayor Edward J. Kelly sent the name of Dr. Midian O. Bousfield to the city council for approval as a member of the Board of Education. The mayor's wish was granted and Dr. Bousfield became the first member of his race to hold that honored office in the city of Chicago. He is medical director of the Rosenwald Foundation and Supreme Liberty Life Insurance company. Prior to his appointment, he was a member of the mayor's school advisory committee.

The fight to gain membership on the Board of Education in Chicago has been waged since the editor of the Chicago Defender, Robert S. Abbott, held conference with Miss Ella Flagg Young, once a pioneer educator here and at that time superintendent of the Chicago public school system. Mrs. Young gave her moral support to the issue and arranged for the delegation to see the mayor, who took the matter "under advisement." Nothing ever came of it, save promises, but the campaign continued.

Hope Renewed

When William Hale Thompson came into the mayor's chair, hope was renewed in this direction, but "Big Bill" served some 16 years in the city hall office without giving the matter serious consideration. He did almost everything else in giving the Race representation, but his closest political advisors were unable to get him to "come across" with a Board of Education appointment. He declared the opposition was too strong against it. Mayor Dever was rather lukewarm on the issue, but promised to do something when the opportunity arose. It never arose. He did say, however, that George Brennen, Democratic boss at the time, was unalterably opposed to such a move.

Cermak Forgot

Then came Mayor Anton J. Cermak with a few promises during campaign time along this line. When Cermak took his seat, he forgot his promises and once stated that if "Bill Thompson didn't appoint a Negro, how in the world do they expect me to appoint one." It was pointed out to Mayor Cermak that almost every race dwelling in Chicago had at some time been represented on the school board. When Mayor Cermak died the battle was shifted to Mayor Kelly, his successor, who stated that when he became mayor in his own right he would give the matter serious consideration. He kept his word. The record proves it.

Dr. Bousfield is 53 years old and a graduate of the University of Kansas and Northwestern university. He resides with his family at 9323 South Michigan avenue.

The new board member is a native of Tipton, Mo., and received his early education in the public schools of Kansas City, Kans. Following his internship at Freedmen's hospital in Washington, D. C., he traveled abroad and started to settle in Brazil and begin practice.

His wife, Mrs. Maudelle Bousfield, was recently named principal of Wendell Phillips high school, the first woman of the Race to hold such a position. His daughter, Maudelle, is a teacher at Du Sable high school.

No other fight, unless it be that for better housing, has had as wide support as the campaign for a school board member. Practically every organization in Chicago at one time or another has actively supported the drive.

Some of the outstanding organizations which in recent years have backed the Defender campaign are the Chicago Urban League, The Chicago Council of Negro Organizations, The National Negro Congress, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The Chicago Northern District Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, The Negro Chamber of Commerce, The Baptist Ministerial Alliance, The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance and others.

Dr. Bousfield left Chicago Tuesday before announcement of the confirmation and could not be reached Thursday for a statement. He is expected to return home Friday.

DR. BOUSFIELD APPROVED FOR SCHOOL BOARD

Journal

10-19-39

The city council yesterday concurred in Mayor Kelly's appointment of Dr. Midian O. Bousfield, colored physician, as a member of the board of education. Dr. Bousfield will fill the vacancy caused by the withdrawal June 14 of John B. Allen after he was named to fill the position.

Dr. Bousfield is 53 years old and resides at 9323 South Michigan avenue. He is a graduate of Kansas university and studied medicine at Northwestern university. He is medical director of the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance company, and a board member and former president of the Urban league. He is medical director of the Rosenwald Foundation and has served as a member of the mayor's school advisory committee.

Dr. Bousfield's wife is principal of Wendell Phillips High school, one of the colored schools, and his daughter, Maudelle, is a teacher at Du Sable High school, which also has a colored student body

POLITICAL TONGUES WAG AS DAWSON MADE 2ND WARD BOSS

Predict Dickerson - Dawson Alliance May Defeat Mitchell in 1940

Chicago's famous southside colored district, called the political stronghold of the nation and which, 12 years ago, attained national prominence by sending the first Negro to the U. S. Congress in 25 years (Oscar DePriest), last week again buzzed with excitement when it was learned that William L. Dawson, former Republican alderman of the potent Second Ward and last year's GOP candidate for Congress, had been appointed Democraitc committeeman of that ward by Mayor Edward J. Kelly.

Observers, who for the past quarter-century, have watched the attacks and counter-attacks of the two major parties and the political strategy of recent years which has lured countless thousands of Negroes New Deal-ward, see in the Dawson appointment a possible threat to the Congress seat of Arthur W. Mitchell, Democratic representative from Chicago's First District. That is, unless the GOP reawakening, develops from its present rumble into a tidal wave whose ripples will end on the White House steps.

These political doopsters pick Earl B. Dickerson, Democratic 2nd Ward alderman, as the party's probable choice for the nomination for Congressman at the 1940 primary. Basis of their prediction is the fact that Dawson, by succeeding the former white committeeman, Joseph Tittinger, has united the district's Negro democratic vote, and the added fact that the Dawson-Dickerson hookup (with Dickerson-for-Congress slogan) would find favor in the City Hall and with the Democratic county central committee.

Dickerson Wins Council Seat

Dawson was succeeded in the City council by Dickerson, former assistant attorney general. The aldermanic campaign, waged last Spring, was a hotly contested three-corned fight between Dawson, Dickerson and William E King, Republican 23rd ward committeeman and former member of the Illinois state senate.

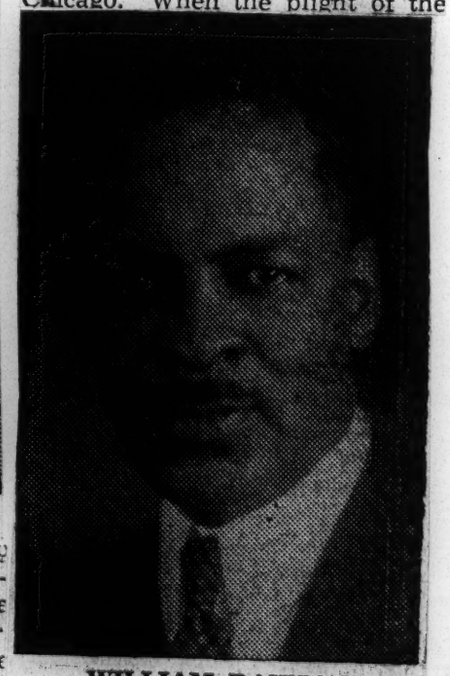
Dickerson was successful in the run-off between himself and King mainly because of the efficient aid he received from Dawson, experienced political strategist.

EARL B. DICKERSON

Upon Dickerson's election to the council a difference soon developed between him and the white committeeman, Tittinger. This, reports indicate, was due primarily to the differences in personalities and interests of the two men. Dickerson is a trained lawyer, president of the Chicago Urban League, president of the Cook County Bar association, member of the board of directors of the National Lawyers' Guild, member of the board of directors of the Chicago Branch NAACP, vice president and chief counsel of the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance company, and former member of the attorney general's staff, representing the state of Illinois in several important legal matters. His interests, both before and after election, his supporters state, have been mainly concerned with improving the status of the Negro and attempting to integrate the colored man into all liberal movements.

Tittinger on the other hand was a hold-over white committeeman opposed by a large segment of the Negro electorate who declared lustily that a Negro should represent them. It was therefore natural that Dickerson and Tittinger would be unable to see eye to eye on matters affecting the thousands of colored men and women in the second ward. It was also natural, in view of the able support rendered by Dawson in the campaign, that Dickerson would more and more draw on the knowledge and experience of his predecessor, Dawson.

During Dawson's two terms, Dawson, a popular councilman as alderman, his conduct and interest in the welfare of his people commanded the respect of the Council, as well as the mayor of Chicago. When the plight of the



WILLIAM DAWSON

people in the second ward was directed to the attention of the leaders of the city administration, ward leaders say it was decided that the affairs of the ward should be turned over to Dawson. They declared that Dawson and Dickerson, both trained lawyers and experienced politically could work in harmony and produce a unified new deal organization.

On November 3, Tittinger formally turned his organization over to Dawson and resigned as ward committeeman. In his acceptance speech Dawson stated that he played not party politics, but race politics. His friends say he amazed many members of the audience by strongly urging an adherence to political groups, irrespective of party, that were interested in advancing the political, civic and economic rights of the Negro.

He stated that the present Democratic party, in his opinion, measured up in every respect to the test; he laid down for any political group seeking Negro support. He welcomed all Democrats back to the fold, expressing particular pleasure at seeing in the audience C. C. Wimbish, former assistant state's attorney, and an implacable foe of white dominance over the second ward.

See New Day for Negro

Political observers forecast a new day for the Negro politically with strong organizations in both Republican and Democratic camps. The present administration in Cook county, they point out has aided in the election of a Democratic county commissioner, the long-sought appointment of a Negro as a member of the board of education, the election of two Negro aldermen, the appointment of a United States district judge of the Virgin Islands the appointment of an assistant attorney general for the state of Illinois, and numerous other positions thus setting a high mark for comparison with the recognition heretofore accorded the Negro in Chicago politics.

Years ago—from the turn of the century until 1932, when the Republicans were in power, Chicago's colored political leaders wielded an influence in City, county, state and national affairs never equalled before or since. Names such as Edward H. Wright, Major John R Lynch, F. L. Barnett, Louis B. Anderson, Major R. R. Jackson, Dan Jackson and John B. French, just to mention a few, made political history for the Negroes of Chicago.

Atlanta Ga Constitution
December 5, 1939

BRUNSWICK NEGRO GETS ILLINOIS POST

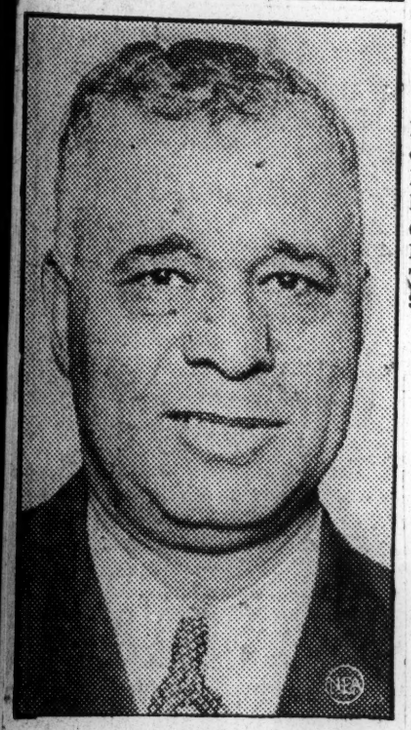
BRUNSWICK, Ga., Dec. 4.—(AP) Loring B. Moore, a former resident of Brunswick, has been appointed an assistant attorney general for Illinois. Moore is the son of the late D. D. Moore, widely known Brunswick negro, and a nephew of the late Charlie Clark, for years a leader among the negroes here. Moore is a graduate of the Atlanta University and the University of Chicago. Friends here learned of his appointment through a clipping from a negro daily newspaper.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

ILLINOIS
CONGRESSMAN ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

Wilmington, N. C. Morning Star
April 15, 1939

Negro Solon To Speak Here



Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, of the First Illinois district, only negro member of the United States congress, will speak at the Williston High school next Friday night.

He comes under the auspices of the school and of the Colored Citizens' League.

The address will be delivered before members of both races.

Mitchell's visit, it was announced yesterday will be in the interest of "strengthening the bonds of friendship between the races and to secure for the negro a greater recognition of his rights as an American citizen."

Mitchell, a democrat, won his seat by defeating Oscar De Priest, negro republican.

Tampa, Fla. Tribune
April 17, 1939

Negro Congressman Will Speak at Florida A. & M.

WASHINGTON, April 16.—(A.P.)—Representative Mitchell, of Illinois, only negro congressman, said tonight he had accepted an invitation to deliver a founders' day and dedication day speech at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical college, Tallahassee, May 7, commemorating the completion of a $1,000,000 building program there.

Durham, N. C., Morning Herald
April 18, 1939

ILLINOIS CONGRESSMAN WILL VISIT IN DURHAM

As a part of a "good will" tour of North Carolina, Arthur W. Mitchell, Illinois Negro congressman, will visit Durham Wednesday April 26 Congressman Mitchell started from Washington, N. C. yesterday, accompanied by Dr. James E. Shepard president of the North Carolina College for Negroes here. The tour is designed to increase better understanding between the races.

Cities other than the two named above, which the Negro congressman will visit are:

New Bern, April 18; Goldsboro and Wilson, April 19; Wilmington, April 21; Winston-Salem, April 22; Charlotte, April 23; Salisbury, April 24; and Greensboro, April 25.

To Close Schools As Part of Celebration When Mitchell Talks

LAWRENCEVILLE, Va.—(ANP)—All colored schools in the county will be closed as Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell of Chicago speaks at St. Paul's Normal and Industrial School Monday afternoon, October 30, before a crowd expected to total 5,000, it was announced this week by President J. Alvin Russell.

Both county and state are cooperating to make this one of the year's biggest events. A local county and a statewide committee have worked together on the program. Dr. Robert W. Patten, director of the American Church Institute board, New York, and many other friends of racial advancement have accepted invitations to be present, President Russell said.

The institute board sent its field secretary, Dr. Wallace A. Battle, here in advance to make all necessary arrangements for a successful program. Several newspapermen of both races have been specially invited. A banquet has been scheduled for the evening.

Mrs. Mitchell is expected to accompany her husband here and on the following day will join him in an automobile tour of the county to inspect Negro progress.

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Mitchell's Speech Inspires Students

Congressman Advises High School Pupils

By S. GRACE BRADLEY

One reaps success through ambition, courage and perseverance, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell said Tuesday morning in his address to students and faculty of Booker T. Washington high school.

Presented to the vast audience by President W. A. Fountain of Morris Brown college, the congressman stated that he was glad to speak to the girls and boys of Atlanta, particularly of Washington high school.

Eloquently pointing out the advantages which are afforded the students of today, Congressman Mitchell said, "No one makes you stay back. I lose patience with any one who blames his failure on some one else rather than acknowledge the fact that he failed because he is not fit and not willing to pay the price."

In his final appeal to the students to get as much practical education as they can, to have courage to carry on in spite of knocks, he brought out that Joe Louis had been knocked down many times, but it took courage to get up and try it again.

MOVE FORWARD

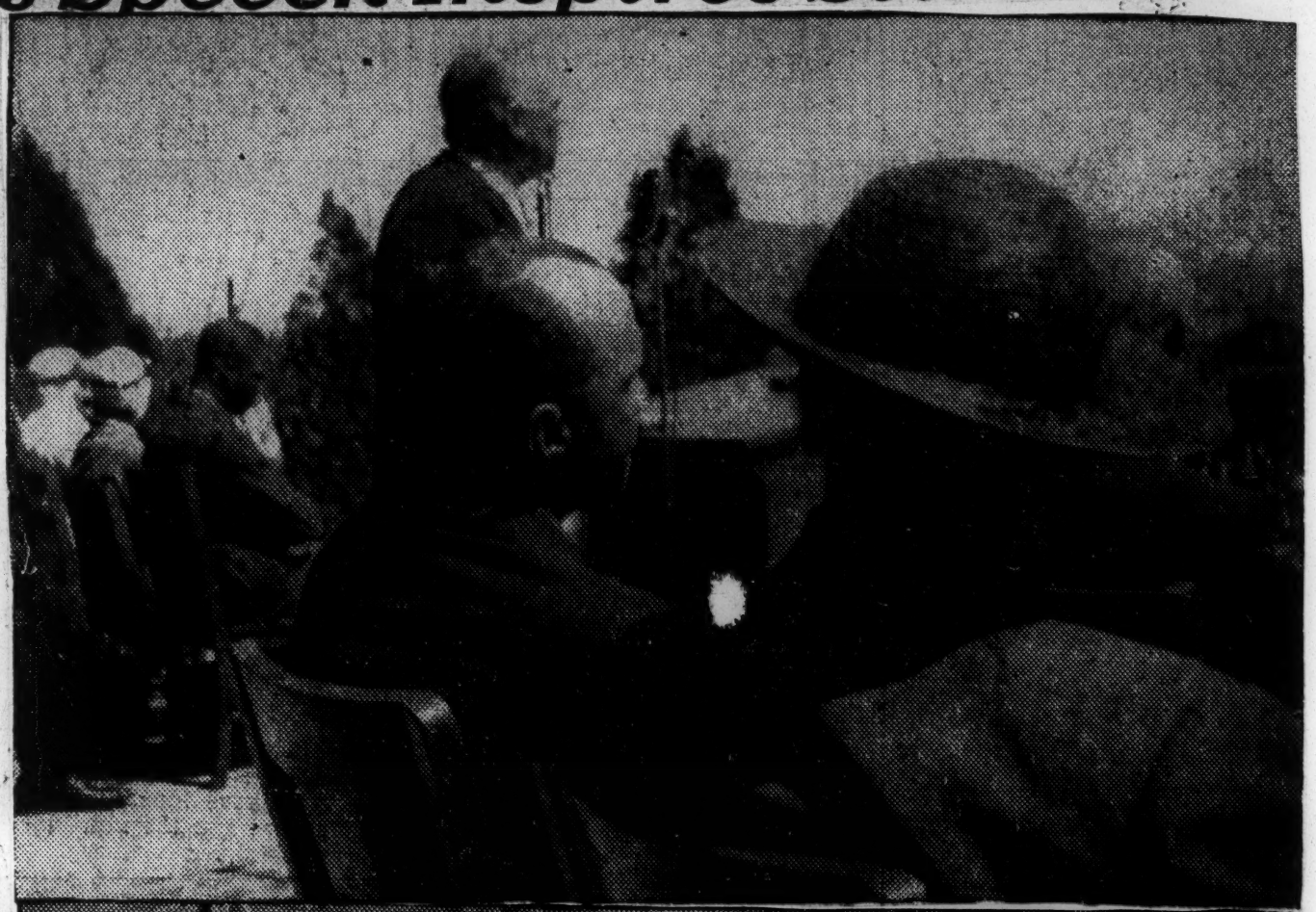
Concluding his forceful address, he admonished the students against allowing struggles, opposition and other handicaps, to prevent them from obtaining their ultimate triumph.

Accompanying Congressman Mitchell was Mrs. Mitchell, his wife, who was introduced by Principal C. L. Harper. Mrs. Mitchell emphasized the necessity of every girl feeling it her responsibility to be prepared to meet the challenge which awaits her by forming habits of thriftiness, self-reliance and by developing the power to cooperate with her mate. "Learn to pull together," she stated.

Among other visitors on the platform was Miss Dorothy Darby, licensed pilot, who will jump from a parachute Monday afternoon at the New Lincoln club. Miss Darby greeted the students and urged them to enter the field of aviation.

The 92-piece band, directed by Graham W. Jackson, rendered the music for the occasion.

Patrolmen, boy scouts and other student officers held the massive audience in tact during the impressive program.



Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois is shown as he addressed the 4,000 students of Washington High School Tuesday at an open air assembly in front of the Atlanta school building. In the foreground of the top photo are shown (with backs to camera) President Fountain of Morris Brown College and Mrs. A. W. Mitchell, who accompanied her husband to the city. A portion of the huge audience which heard the congressman is pictured in bottom photo which shows the replica of the famed Booker T. Washington monument in the center. (SNS staff photos.)

Chicago Group Attacks Congressman Mitchell's "Vote-or-Your-Job" Policy

Illinois Representative's Letter Cited As Proof of Politics in Relief Set-up

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

When the New Deal is charged with "Playing Politics with Relief" vehement, mock-serious and "righteous" denials are indignantly expressed by the Democratic High Command. "Such a charge," it replies, "is without foundation and a gross reflection on the humane purposes of the Administration."

Confirmation of these charges, however, has come from all parts of the country and from so many sources, including the report of Senator Sheppard to the U. S. Senate in the Kentucky investigation, and the findings of the House WPA Committee that denial now is only faintly made and contradictions usually waived.

The latest, and probably the most flagrant, of this miserable use of WPA work-relief for political ends is exposed by the Better Government Association of Illinois wwich has supplied a photostat copy of a letter written by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, only Negro Democrat in Congress from the First Congressional District of Illinois, to a petitioner of his District. The said petitioner is advised that, in his desperate need of employment, he stands no chance unless his Democratic Ward Committeeman gives the approving word.

Draws Instant Rebuke

The publication of Congressman Mitchell's letter drew instant rebukes from the Better Government Association and from Carrington Gill, Acting WPA Administrator, at Washington.

"This letter proves," the Better Government Association said, "that politics is being played with human misery systematically and ruthlessly," and that, also, it plainly shows that the taxes paid by citizens of Illinois and of the country, "to bring relief to the needy are being used to build and maintain an impregnable political organization."

Fraudulent Voting and Relief

"It also shows," the statement continues, "why the relief areas in Chicago have such a high percentage of Democratic votes. It explains why fraudulent voting is so easy and so prevalent in relief cases."

The "victim of this political blackjacking," says the association, "is an American citizen of middle age with a family, a skilled workman, able and anxious to work, but destitute and facing eviction. He asked only a letter to help him get back to a WPA job from which he had been laid off."

WPA Administrator Cracks Down

Acting Admnistrator Gill in comment upon the Mitchell letter said: "The Works Progress Administration is powerless to prevent members of Congress or local polticians anywhere from appearing to represent themselves as having the power to place persons on WPA rolls or take them off. The fact is that they have no such power of authority."

"The Relief laws and WPA regulations," Mr. Gill said, "are perfectly clear. No applicant need see a politician. It does him no good. He should visit his local relief office, not a committeeman."

Same Conditions in Philadelphia

Similarly, from Philadelphia have come reports of political exploitation and oppression of colored workers by WPA officials. Robert A. Callahan, of 1538 South New Street, during the recent Philadelphia City Campaign, said:

"WPA was started by the Roosevelt Administration to provide temporary employment to American citizens during the depression. Your writer was connected for a long time with the Placement Service and in a position to see how Democratic politicians in this State used their influence to get jobs for favored individuals in preference to others in need. I know that orders were also given to discriminate against colored applicants. Although fit for white colar jobs, they were given the pick and shovel.

"Most of the discmimination was in favor of persons closely allied with the present so-called Democratic leadership in Philadelphia. In many cases men and women were placed on rolls without appearing to be in actural need for such employment, thereby excluding more needy cases from work-relief. Like other real Democrats, the writer has suffered from selfishness of such leaders, when he was dismissed at their instance because he refused to place only those shown on their preferred poltical lists on jobs to which other citizens were entitled by reason of their relief status."

Roy Dixon, Democratic Committee, 44th Ward, in the same Philadelphia City Campaign, joined the ranks of thousands of former New Dealers in flocking to the victorious banners of the Republican ticket, and gave these reasons for abandoning the Pennsylvania "Little New Deal":

ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

"With the tide swinging definitely toward a Republican land-slide hundreds of active (Democratic) workers who had been led astray by the empty promises of the Kelly-McClosky machine, have had time to take stock of the actual situation, and are now actively supporting the whole Republican ticket. — I supported the Democratic Party in 1938 because I felt at that time it was beneficial to our people, and that through them the Negro would be given a chance to advance. During this period I have seen a few Negro leaders getting big positions under the Democrats, but I am convinced that the condition of the masses of our people has not improved, if they have not actually gotten worse."

Letter To Voter Is Printed

Possibility of Solon's Subpoena Being Weighed

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—Amazed at the sensational article of the Chicago Daily News in which the name of Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell figures prominently in a controversy over the political aspects of the WPA and the obtaining of jobs through congressional assistance, blase Washington waits the second act in this drama.

In the last session of Congress emphasis was placed upon political influences in WPA and a specific clause inserted, making the intercession of Congressman or any other officials in the appointments to WPA a felony, punishable by a fine or an imprisonment or both.

LETTER QUOTED

Addressed to a white voter in the first ward of Chicago, Mr. Mitchell's own district, the letter as published in the Chicago daily follows:

"I am in receipt of your letter of November 1 and in reply I write to say that I shall be very glad to take your case up with the WPA if you will get a letter from your ward committeeman, requesting me to handle this matter for you.

"It is an unbroken rule of the Democratic organization in Chicago that each person seeking help from his congressman must first get a letter from his ward committman requesting the congressman to take care of the matter. I must, therefore, insist that you get a letter from your committeeman first, and then I shall be very glad to do everything in my power to help you.

(Signed) Arthur W. Mitchell"

Written on official stationery the letter is being offered as evidence that politics is rife in the WPA setup in Illinois.

Conjecture is rife as to whether Mr. Mitchell will be called before the congressional committee investigating WPA activities in certain states, including Illinois.

An attempt to contact Col. Harrington and Howard W. Hunter, his assistant administrator of the WPA, on Saturday for an opinion in the matter were futile, although Alfred W. Smith of the race relations division made several attempts to obtain such an appointment.

It has been rumored, however, that a subpoena will be issued by the congressional committee on WPA for Congressman Mitchell to appear before it early in January.

NO DENIAL OFFERED

According to information, Mr. Mitchell has made no effort to deny the charges against him, most of which have been given full publicity in the Chicago press, as far back as November 17 and even later on November 24, when editorials on the subject were printed.

One representative of the governmental agencies in discussing the situation declared:

"Mr. Mitchell's action has put the whole Democratic administration on the spot. To think that we should have a man who would do such a thing is unthinkable and places a mark upon him."

In discussing the situation with the department of justice and the FBI, spokesmen for those two organizations indicated they had no official information in the matter and were unprepared to make a statement.

COERCION TABOO

In discussing the situation with Alfred E. Smith, he said:

"The WPA has an express policy of not interferring with workers voting. The workers vote as they feel, but coercion on the part of any employer, seeking to influence a worker's vote, means instant dismissal if brought to the attention of the WPA authorities."

Variously reported as being out of the city in a sanitarium in Nashville, Tenn., and as being in the city, Mr. Mitchell could not be contacted at the time this story was released for a statement.

Letter That Caused Tempest in Windy City

Tribune Washington D.C.
12-23-39

ARTHUR W. MITCHELL
1ST DIST. ILLINOIS

CHICAGO ADDRESS:
817 EAST 47TH STREET

COMMITTEES
POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Nov. 3, 1939

Mr. Joseph Parvis,
2600 Calumet Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Parvis:

I am in receipt of your letter of November 1st, and in reply I write to say that I shall be very glad to take your case up with the Work Projects Administration if you will get a letter from your Ward Committeeman requesting me to handle this matter for you.

It is an unbroken rule of the Democratic Organization in Chicago, that each person seeking help from his Congressman must first get a letter from his Ward Committeeman requesting the Congressman to take care of the matter. I must, therefore, insist that you get a letter from your Committeeman first, and then I shall be very glad to do every thing in my power to help you.

With very best wishes, I am,

Cordially and sincerely yours,

Arthur W. Mitchell

ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

ILLINOIS
CONGRESSMAN ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

News Men Rapped By Race Solon

Doesn't Want To Move Folks Back Down South

4-5-39

By CLIFF MACKAY

(World Managing Editor)

Angrily charging that newspapermen had as usual misinterpreted his farm resettlement proposal, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, (D) of Illinois, vehemently denied that his plan called for a wholesale shifting of Negroes from Northern urban centers back to the rural sections of the South.

"Why can't you fellows ever get anything right?" he asked, an irritated expression on his face. "I've never proposed anything like moving those people back down here. Such a thing wouldn't work anyway. No matter if they are out of work, they wouldn't be willing now to trade the bright lights of the city, for Southern rural life."

SPEAKS IN ATLANTA

America's lone Negro Congressman paused in Atlanta Monday and Tuesday after a trip from Washington to Tuskegee Institute where on Sunday he delivered the 58th annual Founder's Day address. He was a guest at a luncheon in the cafeteria of the Booker T. Washington High School Monday and Tuesday morning addressed the students of the school at an open-air assembly.

Explaining his plan, which he had talked over with President Roosevelt in Washington on March 28, Mr. Mitchell asserted that his chief interest was not in urban residents, but those now suffering in economic want in the poor rural sections of the deep South.

"Something must be done for the sharecropper and the impoverished tenant farmer. Those were the people I am seeking to help. Many in the cities are in equal pitiful condition, but I can't see now much can be done for them now."

WOULD SEEK 10,000

The Illinois legislator said his plan would call for possibly 10,000 farm resettlement projects similar to the one the government has set up near Montgomery, Alabama, which he inspected Monday morning.

"Those people are really achieving economic independence," he declared, referring to occupants of the Alabama project. "Their children are well fed and clean, their larders are full, the stock sleek and fat. That, it seems to me, will be our eventual economic salvation."

Taking issue with the Administration's urban housing program for Negroes, Mr. Mitchell asserted "They may be all right for people, who have jobs. But no matter how low the rent is a man can't move his family in there unless he has a source of income to pay it."

HOUSING PROJECT EMPTY

He told how he had inspected the slum clearance project at Nashville, and found it more than half empty after it had been opened for more than a year, as an example to illustrate his point.

"Yes," he concluded, "something must be done to aid our people along these lines and as I see it, the fram offers the best opportunity."

He revealed that his plans call for introduction of an appropriation bill in the next session of Congress seeking federal funds for resettlement projects in various sections of the Southland, where with which to set up his proposed, he said, "It seems to me the Negro must work out his destiny."

NEGROES' RETURN TO FARM URGED

Representative Mitchel Seeks Resettlement In Rural South

(From Yesterday's Final Edition)

ATLANTA, April 3—(AP)—Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, of Illinois, only Negro member of Congress, Monday night urged members of his race to avail themselves of opportunities offered by the present administration to settle upon farms of the South.

Mitchell, who addressed students of Booker T. Washington High School here, recently announced he would introduce legislation looking toward federal aid for a "vast" program to resettle destitute city-dwelling Negroes on Southern farms.

4-5-39

Drawing a dismal picture of conditions among Negroes who have left rural areas for the cities—"lured by promises of high wages during the boom era and by desperation later on when depression struck"—Mitchell discouraged migration of his race from the South.

In extensive trips about the country, Mitchell said, "the only really happy Negroes I have found" are those who through "fortunate chance" are able to make a satisfactory living in rural communities.

Pointing out that the government is spending money to construct housing projects for Negroes in cities, Mitchell said:

"I have no quarrel with any plan to better living conditions of the Negro race, but I believe the money could be spent to better advantage settling them in rural communities, where they can be in their natural environment."

Mitchell noted a change in the South to more tolerance toward the Negro, but added he still wanted to emphasize the importance of people of the South being fair to the Negro and giving him justice in the courts.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
March 31, 1939

But Why in the South?

The proposal of Arthur Mitchell, negro, Democratic congressman of Chicago, made public after conference with President Roosevelt, for a "mass return of negroes (those in the Northern cities) to the South in a vast resettlement program" is astonishing.

It is in substance a declaration by a negro for negro segregation, commonly called "jimcrowism," on a great scale. The congressman reports that President Roosevelt "is interested."

That segregation is contemplated by the congressman inheres in his saying that "such negro communities"—(for the establishment of them he would ask financial aid from government)—"would afford negroes new opportunities for entering trade and commerce instead of menial occupations."

The colonization of American negroes is not a novel suggestion. It had its advocates long before the Emancipation proclamation. Mr. Lincoln would have looked favorably upon it. Many books have been written on the subject.

The reasons set forth by the only negro congressman are incredible. One cannot accept or understand them. Being himself a congressman, he must perceive the immense advantages that negroes have for preferment in the North. No negro could be elected to congress from a Southern state unless from a district composed of negro citizens. Districts of that kind the congressman perhaps has in mind. There is no such district now.

This man "denies that there is any true equality for his race in the cities." Can you believe it? If you can, you must reject the assertions that have come from the Northern politicians the last seventy-five years. Have they not described the South as the "lynching belt"? Have not the "Liberal" magazines sobbed audibly and copiously the last five or six years for the "Scottsboro boys"? Is it not in effect constantly said by the Wagners, Vanns, Guffeys, that a negro sharecropper or tenant in the South is still a serf, hounded by bloody-minded landlords who exploit and rob him?

The News and Courier cannot approve Congressman Mitchell's proposal even though it interest President Roosevelt. If government is to provide money for farm settlement in the South, it should not discriminate against white people. We would welcome from the Northern cities 100,000 white families to the unoccupied lands of South Carolina—or 200,000—Irish, Italians, Greeks, Czechs, Dutch, German "Aryan" and German Jews, English, Scots. (We are strong for the Scots.)

Were the scheme of Congressman Mitchell seriously considered, why should the negroes be segregated "in the South," or "Southern farm lands"? Is not the government reclaiming wide and fertile acres in the states of Washington, Oregon, Nebraska, California?

What would be more desirable than vast negro farm colonies on the lands about Grand Coulee, Bonnville, Shasta and Hoover dams?

In those Western states, warmed by the breezes from the Pacific, negroes would be far happier than in Texas or Alabama. "Race prejudice" is foreign to them. They would be glad to have myriads of colored farmers. All the colleges would be wide open to negroes.

A year or two ago when a C. I. O. union sent four negro delegates to a convention in Lansing, Michigan, they were received and entertained by the principal hotel. Were a great negro district, comprising two or three counties, founded in Texas or Mississippi, its members of the legislature would not be admitted to the hotels of Austin and Jackson.

If the president be interested in negro farm colonies and shall recommend financial aid from the treasury for them, they should be in Northern states. Farm lands should be purchased for negroes on the Hudson, even as Father Divine has purchased a large place for them on the bank of that noble stream. In those states they would be made to feel at home in the Democratic, Communist, and Republican parties, but in the South even a segregated negro colony might encounter a degree of prejudice.

The negro's right is as good in one state of the republic as in another, the South is no more his homeland than New Jersey or Massachusetts is; four million of "the race" dwell in the North and have shattered the superstition that they must live in a warm climate.

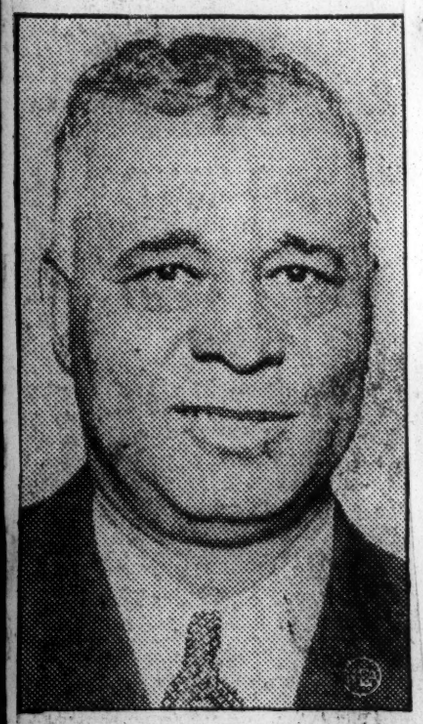
If negroes in the Northern cities wish to come back to the South, no one is hindering them. Negroes, like white folks, can go anywhere, but the North is beckoning to the Southern negroes, offering them higher WPA wages, greater social security, greater safety from lynching—albeit several times as many negroes were massacred in one

"riot" in Chicago than have been lynched in the Southern states in the last twenty years.

However, if Congressman Mitchell cares to return to Alabama, he can resign and return. From all that we have read about him we believe that he is a good colored man and could help his people more in "the old home state" than in congress.

Wilmington N. C. News
April 14, 1939

Negro Solon To Speak Here



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Mitchell, a democrat, won his seat by defeating Oscar De Priest, negro republican.

De Priest addressed a mixed audience at Thalian Hall several years ago, while a member of congress.

While in North Carolina, Representative Mitchell will speak at Washington, New Bern, Goldsboro, Wilson, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Salisbury, Greensboro and Durham.

Charlotte N. C. Observer
April 16, 1939

NEGRO SOLON LEADING TOUR

Arthur W. Mitchell, Democratic Congressman, to Give Program Here April 23.

Arthur W. Mitchell of Chicago, first negro Democrat ever to be elected to Congress, will head the negro good-will tour which will arrive in Charlotte April 23 for a program at the Armory-Auditorium designed to strengthen bonds of friendship bewteen white people and negroes in the South.

Mitchell, who was prominent in negro educational fields before entering politics, once served as office boy to the late Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute at Tuskegee, Ala. There he met and was influenced by many outstanding Americans, who visited the famed negro school.

Mitchell is said to be deeply interested in gaining a better place in the community for the negro and is understood to be footing expenses of the tour ,which will cover principal southern cities. He will make the main address, which is expected to be on some phase of the problem of improving relations between the two races. There will be no charge for the meeting, it was explained.

The meeting will be held under the sponsorship of Second Ward High school. Prof. J. E. Grigsby, principal will preside.

Other North Carolina cities on the tour and time of their meetings are Washington, April 17; New Bern, April 18; Goldsboro, April 19 (afternoon); Wilson, April 19 (night); Wilmington, April 21; Winston-Salem, April 22; Charlotte, April 23; Salisbury, April 24; Greensboro, April 25; and Durham, April 26.

Press Twisted My Plan, Cong. Mitchell Claims

Doesn't Want To Move Folks Back Down South

By CLIFF MACKAY
(World Managing Editor)

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POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

ILLINOIS
CONGRESSMAN ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

Congressman Mitchell, Wife In City

Mrs. Mitchell Ill; Unable To Attend Banquet

By S. GRACE BRADLEY

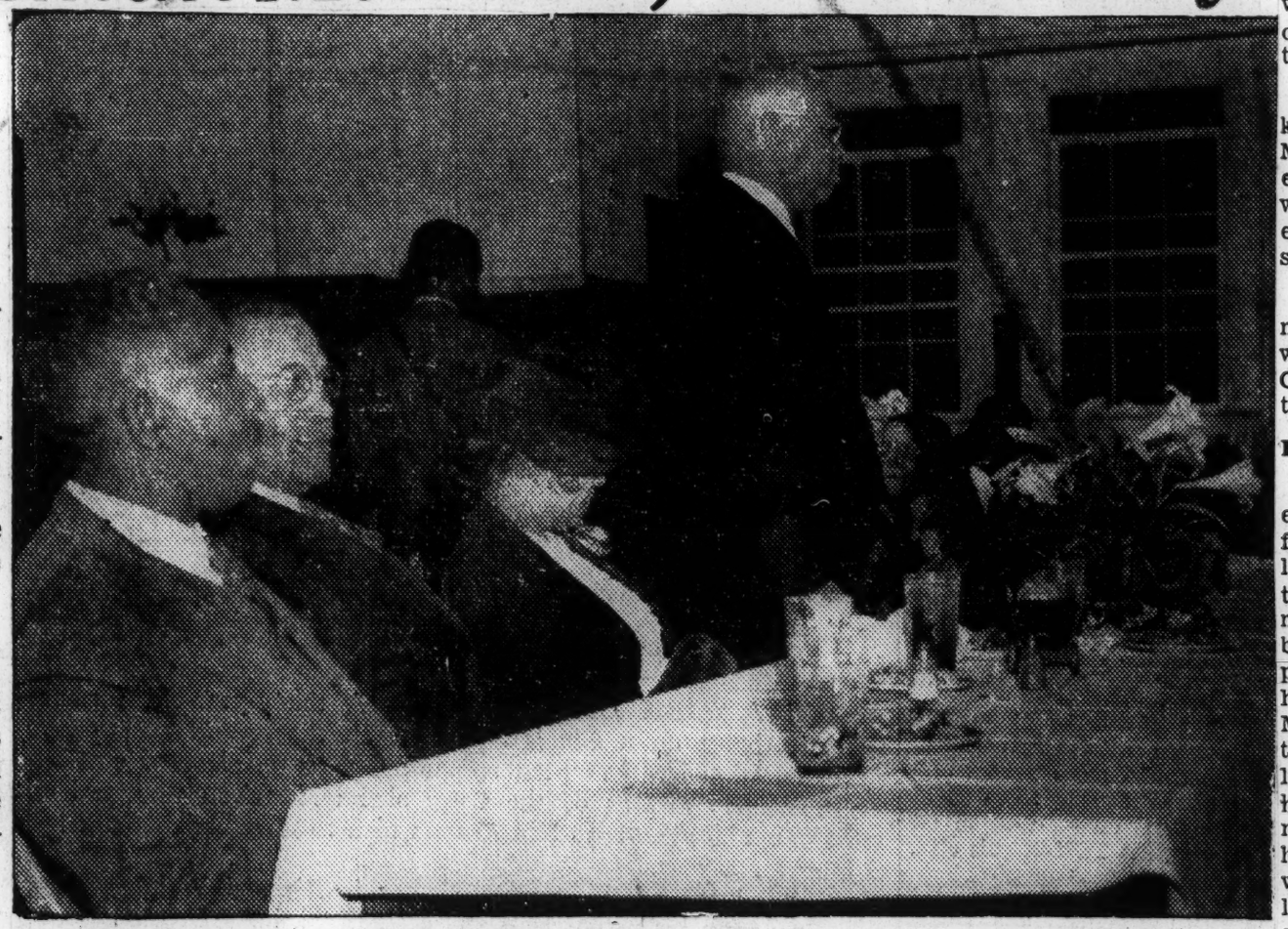
Congressman Arthur Mitchell will address students of Booker T. Washington high school this morning at 10 o'clock. Over 4,000 eager pupils will gather around the monument of Booker T. Washington in front of the school to listen to the lone colored U. S. Congressman.

Congressman Mitchell and his wife arrived in Atlanta late Monday afternoon, but due to illness the latter was unable to attend a luncheon given in their honor at the high school by faculty members and Atlanta citizens.

Of unusual interest was the impressive banquet program, with C. N. Cornell, assistant principal of Washington high school, as toastmaster.

Speakers for the occasion were Mrs. W. A. Scott, Sr., representing the citizenry; Dean E. C. Mitchell of Morris Brown, speaker for Atlanta colleges; Raphael McIver, Atlanta public school representative; Dr. M. S. Davage, president of Clark university, who spoke for fraternal organizations and clubs, and Principal C. L. Harper, of Booker T. Washington high school.

Guests included college presidents, insurance company officials, representatives from the medical profession, filling station promoters, principals of elementary and junior high schools, fraternal groups, ministers, bishops, P.-T.A. workers, civic and welfare workers, newspapermen, politicians, teachers, laborers and representative citizens, who joined with the 100 teachers of the school in honoring the notables.



Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell of Chicago, is shown as he addressed a representative group of Atlantans Monday afternoon at a luncheon given in his honor in the new cafeteria of the Booker T. Washington High School. Pictured at table, left to right, were Dean E. C. Mitchell, Dr. M. S. Davage of Clark University, Mrs. C. L. Harper and Congressman Mitchell. More than 200 leaders attended the affair. —(SNS Staff Photo).

STANTON PFAISES

Introducing the guest of honor, Congressman Mitchell, Dr. D. H. Stanton, secretary of the American Bible Society, expressed his keen interest in the work which has been done by the leader.

Commenting upon the worthwhile things Atlanta boasts of, the divine stated that in presenting this man, he felt that the Negroes and whites recognized him as a political scholar, candid in his opinion, full of courage and dynamic in personality.

Congressman Mitchell, in responding to the introduction and the greetings, which had been extended him, expressed his sincere gratitude for the expressions, which had been made as to his service to the American people.

In a brief but forceful way, the political leader, emphasized the necessity of the Negroes in each city, county and everywhere, doing something worthwhile. Reviewing many cases, with which he has come in contact, Congressman Mitchell stated that the sooner the Negro would do something and stop feeling that there is an obstacle in the way, the better it would be for all of us.

REPRESENTS ALL

Expressing the attitude of others in regards to his activities in the White House, he plainly stated that he was not there to represent the Negro as a group but Americans, white and colored alike.

Urging the large number of teachers, who were in attendance to "teach" the students how to do something, rather than depend on their degrees getting them somewhere, he let fall many striking examples. "Degrees are all right in their places," he said, but referring to an address he made on the Founders' Day program at Tuskegee, he admonished them to learn the various trades, operate stores from which they could obtain anything they desired.

Pointing out with pride to the great scientist, he urged the citizenry, the professional men, the other representatives to include in their daily activities something which might inspire the young and old to wake up and do something to benefit themselves.

Erpressing his gratitude for the kind expression afforded him and Mrs. Mitchell, the eloquent speaker stated that he was happy to be with men and wome234 2345 45 4 endeavors held high a principle of service to their fellowmen.

A poem, expressing the sentiments of the faculty and citizens, which was composed by Miss S. Grace Bradley, was read by the toastmaster.

HARPER SPEAKS

Principal C. L. Harper, veteran educator, closed the elaborate -af fair, with the sentiments of the large faculty and citizens, urging that each one take heed to the many fine suggestions, which have been made by the speakers. Emphasizing the great work, which has been done by Congressman Mitchell, he reviewed the fact that it took courage, tenacity, valor to lead and, as he suggests to his corps of teachers, that one must have faith and courage, he hoped that the time would come when Atlanta and the country at large would appreciate the leaders, disregarding the color of the skin. He closed by offering further courtesies on the part of Washington high school—4,000 strong—stating that, if there was anything that could be done, "Washington high can do it."

Special music for the occasion consisted of instrumental selections by Floyd W. Sullivan, the Teachers Ensemble, directed by Mrs. E. M. Groves, and a duet, which was rendered by Miss Mahala Smith and John C. Long.

A scroll, bearing the autographs of nearly 200 guests, was presented Congressman Mitchell and a bouquet of Easter lilies was given him for Mrs. Mitchell, with a toy wagon, filled with bunnies and Easter eggs, carrying the colors of the school.

Congressmen Pledge Aid In Lynch Bill Figh

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Replies of Representatives and Senators are coming into the headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People here daily in response to a nation-wide letter campaign to Congressmen urging them to be in Washington at the opening of Congress and to be on the floor of the House when the anti-lynching bill comes.

Some eight Representatives have told the N. A. A. C. P. that they will support the bill, and twenty-eight Senators have indicated that they will give attention to the legislation, without committing themselves, officials of the organization said Friday. This has been the response in the first six days since letters were sent out.

Birmingham, Ala. News
November 27, 1939

ADVICE IS GIVEN NEGRO WORKERS

Congressman Mitchell, Of Illinois, Visits Here

Keep on friendly terms with employers and ignore transient agitators who disturb these relations is the advice of Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell to the Negroes of Alabama.

He is a native of Alabama and represents the First Illinois District (part of Chicago) in Congress. He was in Birmingham several days, visited Slossfield, Bethlehem House and Stockham branch of the Y. M. C. A., where he was guest of 80 Negro employes at a turkey dinner, and spoke there and at St. Luke's A. M. E. Church.

He addressed 1,200 school children and teachers in Tuscaloosa and spoke to a crowded court room in Greensboro with both white people and Negroes present.

Saturday he placed flowers on his mother's grave in a Birmingham cemetery and left for Huntsville where he was to speak before returning to Washington.

He says he will come back in the Spring for a tour of the state in the interest of better relations between the white and Negro races.

Greensboro, Ala., Watchman
November 30, 1939

Congressman Mitchell Speaks

Congressman Arthur Mitchell, representative of the first Illinois district in Congress, and the only Democratic Negro ever to serve in this body, delivered a speech in the Hale county court house last Friday afternoon, which was full of excellent advice to the members of the negro race. The main point in his speech was to impress upon the negroes that they should and must live in harmony with the white people—that their economic interests were one and the same.

Congressman Mitchell is a very fine orator and his words are not mere "sound and fury" but are words of wisdom. Some thirty-five years ago Congressman Mitchell was principal of the Negro school in Greensboro, and by his excellent conduct while here was held in esteem by all. When he left Greensboro he went to Harvard University where he graduated in law and practiced his profession in Washington, D. C., for a number of years and then went to Chicago, and from the first Congressional district of Illinois he has been elected to Congress on the Democratic ticket for the past three terms. Congressman Mitchell in his speech impressed upon the Negroes that the Republicans were never their friends. All in all, the speech was one from which much good should eminate.

Congressman Mitchell is held in esteem by the Democratic members of the House.

POLITICAL*- 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

ILLINOIS
CONGRESS ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

MITCHELL BLAMES SOUTH FOR NATION'S ECONOMIC PROBLEM

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 16—(Special to the BEE)—Declaring that the threat of lynching, disfranchisement, injustices and inequitable educational advantages in the South have been responsible for the nation's serious economic and industrial problem, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell (Democrat, Illinois) last week urged that Congress make a special study of a situation which has resulted in the migration of Negroes in large numbers from the south.

The dynamic solon, lone colored member of the House of Representatives, in a stirring address before the House on Feb. 9, urged that Congress lend its support in combatting and effecting a solution for a problem which has become a major factor in the existing unemployment and unrest throughout the nation.

Effect on Nation

In outlining the cause of the migration of Negroes from the south, Congressman Mitchell showed its effect on the the nation at large. He read a letter he had received from Dr. Kelly Miller former Dean of Howard university and his reply, which he stated gave a "rather dramatic picture of the Negro in the south and might be used as a basis to begin a study of the problem."

The Negro has been the backbone of agriculture in the south Congressman Mitchell pointed out. His migration from the farm in large numbers has worked to the detriment of both the permanent welfare of the Negro and of the south.

A. W. MITCHELL BOOSTS KELLY FOR PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, March 9 — A boom for Mayor Kelly of Chicago as the New Deal candidate for President was started here today by United States Representative Arthur W. Mitchell of Chicago.

Pointing out that Mayor Kelly has been an outstanding advocate of the policies of President Roosevelt, Congressman Mitchell said he interpreted the recent Chicago primary, which renominated Kelly by an overwhelming majority as definite evidence that the voters of the nation are "unwilling to give up" the New Deal program.

"If there are sections of the country that are growing lukewarm toward the President and his great program through the misrepresentation of a partisan press, they should take fresh courage from the hearty approval Chicago gave the President and the New Deal in last Tuesday's election," Mitchell declared.

"In this election the voters of Chicago said to the nation 'We not only appreciate the fact that the New Deal, through the leadership of our President, and our Mayor, Hon. Edward J. Kelly, has saved our government for which we are deeply grateful, but we say more than that. By our overwhelming vote we say we are unwilling to give up the program and to elect men to office who are pledged to pursue a course different from that which has been so successfully pursed by Mayor Kelly, a 100 percent New Dealer.'"

Congressman Mitchell pointed out that the New Deal was a major issue in the mayorality campaign, and that Mayor Kelly defended the New Deal in all his speeches "and took pride in the fact that he has been a New Dealer throughout his administration."

Mitchell pointed out that, the hearty endorsement which Chicago gave "Mayor Kelly would assure his carrying the large number of electoral votes that belong to Illinois," and pointed out that this was another factor in his favor.

"The Democratic party, while casting around for an outstanding statesman and New Dealer to head our national ticket in 1940, would do well to consider Mayor Kelly" he said. "He definitely is Presidential timber."

HAYNES VERSUS MITCHELL

In a special article for the Associated Negro Press, Dr George Edmund Haynes, secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, makes a veiled attack on Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, using the proposed Negro Commission as an excuse.

After puzzling his brain for some time in an effort to find some flaw in the Mitchell bill which is now before the Congress of the United States, it looks to us as though Dr Haynes proceeded to manufacture the most frivolous of excuses to oppose the bill that we have ever noticed coming from a man in a position such as his....from a man who is supposed to think. Undoubtedly Dr. Haynes was intoxicated with jealousy which caused him to miss the mark of his intentions by such a wide margin. After cataloging positions that Negroes now hold in the government and mentioning some other welfare agencies which have served the Negro in a less or greater degree, Dr. Haynes attack became real and its purpose came to the fore when he said: "What has Congressman Mitchell done to see that the many emergency and recovery laws contained provisions for the protection of Negro industrial workers?" That, of course, was a personal attack on the Congressman, unwarranted and unjustified. Dr. Haynes, is, we imagine, Mr. Mitchell's senior by about twelve years; he boasts of his education and college degrees and also takes great pride in telling how many years he has spent in public life, but the public would like to know what he has done. What has he accomplished for his race except draw a nice salary for himself through the grace of the Board of Directors of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America? Mr. Mitchell has been elected by the people to the highest law-making body of the nation for three consecutive terms and as a member of Congress he has served his race in a way in which Dr. Haynes will never be able to serve, especially as long as he serves as secretary of the organization mentioned above. It just cannot be done. To be sure, in Dr. Haynes position he is able to make a few speeches and write a few articles for public consumption regarding his work, but Dr. Haynes must, in the final analysis be governed by his bosses....the organization which pays his salary, or which owns his meal ticket.

If everything that Dr. Haynes said in his release about the difficulties Negroes have in getting equal treatment in governmental positions, that would only argue in favor of a commission. We, as a group, have tried nearly everything and every method and spent thousands of dollars in an attempt to find a solution of our so-called problem, but everybody will agree that we have made progress slowly. Somehow, because of past experience, we do not believe that George E. Haynes' holding a secretarial position in the church council, offers a solution for our problems. Even the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with all of its power and influence has been able to make only a dent in our problems. But Mr. Mitchell's provision offers something different....it offers a different method, a different approach to the matter, so why should other organizations throw fits of jealousy? Is there fear or jealousy that Mr. Mitchell's bill might give us, as a group, a lift or a boost? Let us think on these things.

Dr. George Haynes, who has been working in various fields in the interest of his race, may or may not have helped us as a group, but we do not come forward to picture him as being no good, nor do we rush into print to say that his work is no good, but when he makes an attack on a member of his own race who is in the foreground as is Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, then the people will begin to wonder what Dr. Haynes, himself, has done.

To be sure, he is not the only Negro in public life who has assayed to criticize Congressman Mitchell for having a mind of his own in carrying out his duties as he sees them as a public official. But the rather sad part about it is that a close observance of such criticisms bear the earmarks of the story which is told of the common crab in Booker Washington's philosophies.

It is quite easy to criticize. Any sort of jackass can kick the finest radio ever built, into pieces, but it takes a master mechanic to build one. Let the leaders of our race be less anxious to display their petty jealousies and ignorance and give more of their time and energy to building for a race.

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DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Mitchell Hit For Atlanta Statement

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—(ANP)—Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell of Chicago, who recently charged that reporters "as usual" had "grossly misinterpreted" his recent farm resettlement proposal, is likewise guilty of inaccuracy, according to William H. Fort, resident manager of the Andrew Jackson Courts, local federal housing project.

In telling Atlanta Daily World reporters why he favored rural resettlement projects instead of slum clearance projects, Mitchell siad he had been a recent visitor to the Nashville project and found more than half the apartments vacant, although the homes had been opened for a year.

Evidently the newspaper men are still quoting you inaccurately, because on your recent visit to Nashville, you did not visit Andrew Jackson Courts, and in my conversation with you on the evening of the discussion at the home of Dr. T. R. M. Howard, I stated very clearly that Andrew Jackson Courts was opened for occupancy on June 16, 1938, and at the time of our discussion was 88 per cent filled, having at that time approximately 350 families in residence and a total population of 980 Persons," Mr. Fort said in a letter to Mr. Mitchell.

"We indicated that although the program was slow, we had every reason to feel that all 398 of the apartments would be filled in due time. We hope this will keep the record clear and correct any misinformation."

Federal Judge H. E. Moore Takes Oath of Office

CHICAGO.—(ANP)—Last Thursday morning in the presence of judges, public officials and a number of friends assembled in the federal building office of U. S. District Attorney William J. Campbell, Attorney Herman E. Moore, newly-appointed federal judge in the Virgin Islands, took oath of office. He was sworn in by District Attorney Campbell.

U. S. Senator James M. Slattery, who was among Moore's sponsors for the post, was present at the ceremonies. Previously, a luncheon honoring Judge Moore and attended by 200 persons was held at Hotel LaSalle. Feature of the luncheon was presentation of a set of luggage to the jurist by former associates of the Illinois Commerce commission of which Judge Moore was formerly a member.

He has not decided when he will sail for his Virgin Islands post.

Mitchell Proposes Rural-Aid Plan

WASHINGTON—(SNS)— Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, Democrat, of Illinois, Tuesday explained to President Roosevelt legislation he has proposed for a Federal-aid program to resettle destitute urban colored people in Southern rural areas.

Mr. Mitchell said he told the President that the carrying out of such a rural resettlement plan for colored people would go a long way toward overcoming their economic plight.

The Illinois Representative, only colored member of the House of Representatives, said that in his extensive trips about the country the only really happy colored people he found were those who were able to make a satisfactory living in rural communities.

Asked how the President responded to his plan, Representative Mitchell said that Mr. Roosevelt "appeared interested."

Mr. Mitchell's Plan

THE FARM offers the best opportunity for solving the present precarious economic condition of the Negro in the South, according to Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell who, according to press releases, held a conference with President Roosevelt anent his farm colony plan some few days ago. He would, according to this plan, take destitute city-dwelling Negroes from urban centers and settle them upon farms where they might work out their own economic salvation, aided by government subsidies. The Negro, according to the Illinois solon, has only limited commercial opportunities, even in the large cities of the North, and, therefore, finds it almost impossible to become self-supporting and a stable factor in industry.

While we are of the opinion that many Negroes now dwelling in the large cities would be able to do far better for themselves than they are doing at the present time, were they engaged in farming under propitious conditions, yet we doubt that any plan to colonize large numbers of city-dwelling Negroes on farms in the South, would prove successful. In fact, such a plan would not prove successful even with whites in like circumstances. And to say that Negroes dwelling in northern cities would be willing to return to the South as farmers, would be to display a crass ignorance of the psychological effect of "northern freedom" upon these people late of the South. Most of them would rather wear rags, eat burnt bread crusts and sleep on straw, rather than to return to the Southland under the most roseate and promising auspices.

And though it is true that the Negro's commercial opportunities are strictly limited in the cities, even of the North, the Negro has, for centuries, been accustomed to limitations of various kinds and degrees. Somehow, he has come to feel that it is his lot to suffer limitations, and for the sake of a quasi-freedom from concomitant southern prejudices and persecutions, he is rather willing to forego the enjoyment of a full larder in the South. And, possibly, he is wise in such a choice. Philosophically, life is more than meat and bread. To eat only crumbs in peace and contentment, without fear of mobs or ku klux, is more to be desired than to feast upon the rarest of dainties while listening to the halloing of a mob approaching in the distance.

We, therefore, believe that Mr. Mitchell's plan is doomed to failure, so far as the northern city-dwelling destitute Negro is concerned.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 63

Selma, Ala., Times Journal
April 5, 1939

A NEW APPRECIATION OF THE SOUTH

In a speech at Atlanta, Representative Arthur Mitchell, only negro member of Congress, advised members of his race to ignore the siren song of Northern cities and settle on Southern farms.

The Illinois congressman said that "the only really happy negroes he had found on travels about the country were those making a satisfactory living in rural areas."

In comparison with the lot of negroes in the South, he painted a gloomy picture of conditions among those "who have been lured to large cities by the promise of high wages during boom times and by desperation during depression years", and revealed plans for legislation to resettle destitute city negroes on Southern farms to make them self-sustaining again.

Representative Mitchell's views are in conflict with the general belief among Northerners that the negro finds nothing but exploitation in the South, indicating that eventually the nation as a whole will reach the realization that this section is constantly striving for the betterment of its colored citizens with methods that have been proven by experience to gain the maximum of beneficial results.

Evidently Representative Mitchell has learned that special privileges granted the negro in the North do not compensate for the understanding and kindly supervision accorded as a matter of course in the South. It also appears that he is beginning to understand what the South has known all along—that advancement of his race is a matter of patient and persistent effort rather than summary bestowal of dubious privileges by legislative fiat. Leaders of the colored race in the South realize this and it is with their sympathetic cooperation that the Southern white man will eventually solve the more pressing phases of the negro problem.

Greenville S C Piedmon
March 29, 1939

Negro Solon Has Big Plan

Would Settle Blacks On Farms In Dixie; Sees The President

WASHINGTON, Mar. 28.—Following a White House conference today with President Roosevelt Representative Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois, announced that he will introduce legislation looking toward federal aid for a vast program to resettle destitute city-dwelling negroes on farmlands of the South.

The Chicago negro congressman said he explained the plan in detail to the President and that the chief executive "appeared interested." Mitchell said he told President Roosevelt that the carrying out of his rural resettlement program for negroes would go a long way toward overcoming their economic plight.

"A love of the soil is inherent in most negroes through the three hundred years which their forefathers spent in working it," Mitchell said. "It is their natural element and many of them desire to return to it, but are unable to do so because they have no means of getting back, and no jobs there if they do go back."

Mitchell said that in his extensive trips about the country, "the only really happy negroes I have found are those who through fortunate chance are able to make a satisfactory living in rural communities. For the most part, he pointed out the hundreds of thousands of negroes now in cities are from rural southern communities.

"Lured by promises of high wages during the boom era, and by desperation later on when the depression struck, they swarmed into cities literally by the hundreds of thousands," he said. "Unable to obtain jobs, they are now living in destitution without hope, in an unnatural environment. They constitute a serious economic problem. They are home-sick and they want to go home. But they can't go home. They have no money to get home on, and no jobs for them when they do get back."

Mitchell pointed out that these negroes now are an economic burden on the nation, because of the "relief" payments which they are extended.

"How much better spending this money to set them up on small farms back home, where they will be happy, where they will look toward the future with hope, and where they will be an economic asset rather than a burden."

Mitchell said that a change which has come about in the southern attitude toward negroes will speed progress of his plan. "The South is much more tolerant toward the negro than it used to be," he said. "By and large the southerner of today is in favor of giving the negro a 'break,' and would be glad to see him better himself."

Birmingham Ala. Age-Herald
April 4, 1939

NEGROES' RETURN TO FARM URGED

Representative Mitchell Seeks Resettlement In Rural South

ATLANTA, April 3—(AP)—Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, of Illinois, only Negro member of Congress, Monday night urged members of his race to avail themselves of opportunities offered by the present administration to settle upon farms of the South.

Mitchell, who addressed students of Booker T. Washington High School here, recently announced he would introduce legislation looking toward federal aid for a "vast" program to resettle destitute city-dwelling Negroes on Southern farms.

Drawing a dismal picture of conditions among Negroes who have left rural areas for the cities—"lured by promises of high wages during the boom era, and by desperation later on when depression struck"—Mitchell discouraged migration of his race from the South.

In extensive trips about the country, Mitchell said, "the only really happy Negroes I have found" are those who through "fortunate chance" are able to make a satisfactory living in rural communities.

Pointing out that the government is spending money to construct housing projects for Negroes in cities, Mitchell said:

"I have no quarrel with any plan to better living conditions of the Negro race, but I believe the money could be spent to better advantage settling them in rural communities, where they can be in their natural environment."

Mitchell noted a change in the South to more tolerance toward the Negro, but added he still wanted to emphasize the importance of people of the South being fair to the Negro and giving him justice in the courts.

Lynching, he said, had done more to disturb the Negro in his former peaceful relations with the South than any "single evil."

Dothan Ala Eagle
April 4, 1939

Migration Of Negroes From Dixie Discouraged

ATLANTA (AP)—Migration of Negroes from the South was discouraged in a speech here by Rep. Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois, only Negro member of Congress, who urged members of his race to settle on Southern farms.

In an address to Booker T. Washington High school students last night, Mitchell said "the only really happy Negroes" he had found on extensive travels throughout the country were those making a satisfactory living in rural communities.

He drew a dreary picture of social and economic conditions among Negroes who had left rural areas for urban centers, "lured by promise of high wages during the boom era, and by desperation later on when depression struck."

Recently Mitchell announced he planned to introduce legislation to seek Federal aid for a large-scale program to resettle destitute city-dwelling Negroes on Southern farms.

He said the South had become more tolerant toward the Negro, but added lynching had done more to disturb the Negro in his former peaceful relations with the South than any "single evil."

Atlanta Ga Journal
April 4, 1939

MITCHELL SPEAKS AT MEETING HERE

Discouraging migration of negroes from the south, Representative Arthur W. Mitchell, of Illinois, only negro member of Congress, Monday night urged members of his race to settle on southern farms.

Addressing students of Booker T. Washington High School here, he drew a dark picture of social and economic conditions among negroes who had left rural areas for urban centers, "lured by promise of high wages during the boom era, and by desperation later on when depression struck."

The Congressman recently announced his intention to introduce legislation seeking federal aid for a program to resettle destitute city-dwelling negroes on southern farms.

Atlanta Ga Constitution
April 4, 1939

Back to Farm, Advice Of Negro Congressman

Negroes were advised to start a "back-to-the-farm" movement by Arthur W. Mitchell, of Chicago, only negro member of Congress, in a speech Monday night to students of Booker T. Washington High School.

Mitchell said rural areas offer the best environment for members of his race and that the government would use its money better in setting up rural negro communities than in building metropolitan housing projects. He discouraged migration of negroes from the South to Northern cities.

Charleston S C News & Courier
April 8, 1939

Place Colony at Grand Coulee

The sorrowful thing said by Congressman Arthur Mitchell, the colored Democrat, of Chicago, in his statement to the press last week was that the negroes have not found equality of opportunity in Northern cities. While the congressman says this believing it, we cannot believe it, for all these years, full half a century, we have heard constantly railings against the white South for its treatment of the colored people; they are heard even now, and Senators Wagner, Van Nuys and others are pressing legislation aimed at the South in professed defence of the negroes. Impartial justice to the negro is the North's boast.

The News and Courier cannot take in the assertion that negroes are not accorded equality in Northern cities. Senator Wagner and his associates, advised by Walter White and the Society for the Advancement of the Colored People, should demand a congressional investigation of this damning indictment of themselves and all that they say brought by the only negro in congress, and the investigation should be had. It should be thoroughgoing. The great Northern cities should be vindicated against the charge.

Again, The News and Courier insists that Congressman Mitchell's proposal, in which

he says President Roosevelt is interested that the Northern negroes be colonized on Southern lands is inadvisable, inexpedient and wholly unwise. The South is no place for them. Southern colonies thus established might be surrounded by hostile Southern white communities, in which there is said to be "race prejudice", in which the negroes are oppressed.

We have no objection to the colonization plan, but the colonies should be in Northern states where they would not be resented. In the state of Washington, in a part warmed by the Pacific winds, the government is constructing the Grand Coulee dam and electric power development. A great area of lands, fertile save that they are dry, is to be irrigated. What choicer place for a negro colony could be thought of? It would be a deal. Farmers from other parts of the country are to move to that region; why not negro farmers? The News and Courier would approve that expenditure of government's money. The government is bent on spending it anyway. In the state of Washington a negro colony would encounter no race prejudice. The C. I. O. is powerful in that state. The negro legislators of the negro counties would be entertained in the best hotels in Olympia, the capital.

Once a colony of negroes were settled at Grand Coulee others would be placed in Western states. There the population is sparse. The state of Wyoming, having three times the area of South Carolina, has a population of only 225,565. All of the Southern states are far more densely populated than the states of the Far West, except perhaps California. If negro colonization, or segregation, is to be instituted on a great scale, the Far West is the desirable location for it, not the South where is race prejudice and which is still held up to national scorn as the region of cruel oppression of the negroes, the home of the tenant and sharecropper system.

President Roosevelt, the congressman says, is interested in the colonization scheme, and we greatly hope that he will urge the congress to provide for negro colonies in the West—or anywhere in the North. The News and Courier pledges him its earnest support if he shall do so.

Talladega, Ala., Daily Home
April 5, 1939

MITCHELL URGES NEGRO TO SETTLE ON FARMS

ATLANTA, April 5.—Migration of Negroes from the South was discouraged in a speech here by Representative Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois, only Negro member of Congress, who urged members of his race to settle on Southern farms.

In an address to Booker T. Washington High School students last night Mitchell said "the only really happy Negroes" he had found on extensive travels throughout the country were those making a satisfactory living in rural communities.

He drew a dreary picture of social and economic conditions among Negroes who had left rural areas for urban centers, "lured by promise of high wages during the boom era, and by desperation later on when depression struck."

Recently Mitchell announced he planned to introduce legislation to seek federal aid for a large-scale program to resettle distitute city-dwelling Negroes on Southern farms.

He said the South had become more tolerant toward the Negro, but added lynching had done more to disturb the Negro in his former peaceful relation with the South than any "single evil."

Birmingham, Ala. News
April 8, 1939

A NEW APPRECIATION OF THE SOUTH

In a speech at Atlanta, Representative Arthur Mitchell, only Negro member of Congress, advised members of his race to ignore the siren song of Northern cities and settle on Southern farms.

The Illinois congressman said that "the only really happy Negroes he had found on travels about the country were those making a satisfactory living in rural areas."

In comparison with the lot of Negroes in the South, he painted a gloomy picture of conditions among those "who have been lured to large cities by the promise of high wages during boom times and by desperation during depression years," and revealed plans for legislation to resettle destitute city Negroes on Southern farms to make them self-sustaining again.

Representative Mitchell's views are in conflict with the general belief among Northerners that the Negro finds nothing but exploitation in the South, indicating that eventually the nation as a whole will reach the realization that this section is constantly striving for the betterment of its colored citizens with methods that have been proven by experience to gain the maximum of beneficial results.

Evidently Representative Mitchell has learned that special privileges granted the Negro in the North do not compensate for the understanding and kindly supervision accorded as a matter of course in the South. It also appears that he is beginning to understand what the South has known all along—that advancement of his race is a matter of patient and persistent effort rather than summary bestowal of dubious privileges by legislative fiat. Leaders of the colored race in the South realize this and it is with their sympathetic cooperation that the Southern white man will eventually solve the more pressing phases of the Negro problem.—Selma Times-Journal.

McComb, Miss. Journal
April 6, 1939

NEGRO CONGRESSMAN GIVES GOOD ADVICE TO MEMBERS OF HIS RACE

Arthur W. Mitchell, negro congressman from Illinois, delivered a very sensible speech at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama last week.

Mitchell is a native of Alabama, a former office boy for the late Booker T. Washington and a graduate of the school. He paid a high tribute to Booker Washington, who founded the institution 58 years ago and said there was a "need to return to the Booker Washington type of education."

Pointing to the growth of the institute from one or two simple buildings to "a great university with the equipment and endowment causing it to rank among the best and most favored in the country," Mitchell added:

> But the improvement in the physical plant is small indeed in comparison with what has been done through and by this institution in educating people, young and old, white and black, in a truer realization of what life really means in the Southland, and in our country.
>
> This age demands that we think seriously of our own problem, that we take into account the fact that the educated negro must not only be a consumer, but must be a producer.
>
> Notwithstanding the fact that we have been able to erase a very large percentage of our illiteracy, increase our numbers from 6,000,000 to 15,000,000, increase our wealth from a few thousand dollars to more than a billion, we are still a dependent people, largely wrapped up in poverty, and helpless in a large degree in the matter of self support.
>
> And what is perhaps worse than anything I have pointed out, there is too great a tendency among us to cling to the old idea that the purpose of our education is to free us from what we term unpleasant toil, and to set us up in an environment where there will be little or no occasion for real struggle, and where the desirable things of life will be so accessible and easily reached that the days of real struggle will practically be over

This message should be read by every negro in the Nation. White persons, as well, can profit by some of Mitchell's conclusions.

Johnson City, Tenn., Press
April 12, 1939

GOOD ADVICE

Undoubtedly Arthur W. Mitchell, only negro member of congress, was giving good advice when he spoke in Atlanta not long ago and urged members of his race to settle on Southern farms.

The advice was good for most negroes, that is. Obviously there are members of the colored race with specialized talents that would not be well adapted to farm life, just as there are white men of the same type.

Mitchell drew what was described as "a dreary picture of social and economic conditions among negroes who had left rural areas for urban centers, lured by promises of high wages during the boom era," and said, "The only really happy negroes I have found on extensive travels throughout the country were making a satisfactory living in rural communities."

True enough, we have no doubt. But the thought occurs that much the same thing might be said with equal reason to the generality of white men.

The longer we live the more we become convinced that most of the world's most contented people live on farms which are sufficiently well managed to furnish a good living, if not great wealth, to their owners. The farmer may not carry as much money in his pockets as the city fellow does at times, but if he has good luck and knows his business he's usually one of the happiest and most independent of men.

POLITICAL -1939
OFFICE HOLDING

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION ON NEGRO AFFAIRS

ILLINOIS--CONGRESSMAN ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

Industrial Commission Bill On Negro Affairs

2-3-39

Congressman A. W. Mitchell Re-Introduces Bill Which Would Give Negroes Better Opportunities for Economical Advancement And Better Understanding Between Races in This Country

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 30.—Declaring that the opportunities of the Negro to solve his own problems and obtain still greater opportunity and a higher standard of living are greater today than ever before because of the changing times, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell has re-introduced into the 7th Congress a Bill calling for an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs.

The Commission would consist of 5 members, 3 of whom would be Negroes. Its primary purpose would be to study the economic conditions of the Negro with a view to correlating the labor problems in the various states. It would also discourage subversion of propaganda and would look to the solution and the carrying out of a policy that would give material understanding of conditions between races. Introduced in the 75th Congress, the Bill at that time gained the interest of countless Negro leaders, including Dr. Robert H. Moton, President Emeritus of Tuskegee College.

Congressional colleagues of Mr. Mitchell at the present time look with favor on the measure. Mr. Mitchell is looked upon as having a deep understanding of the Negro problem and has done much to clear up misunderstanding concerning it. The background for his present work began in the office of Booker T. Washington where he was the office boy.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Declaring that the opportunities of the Negro to solve his own problems and obtain still greater opportunity and a higher standard of living is greater today than ever before because of the changing times, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell has re-introduced into the 76th Congress a Bill calling for an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs.

The Commission would consist of 5 members, 3 of whom would be Negroes. Its primary purpose would be to study the economic conditions of the Negro with a view to correlating the labor problems in the various states. It would also discourage subversion of propaganda and would look to the solution and the carrying out of a policy that would give material understanding of conditions between races.

Introduced in the 75th Congress, the Bill at that time gained the interest of countless Negro leaders, including Dr. Robert R. Moton, President Emeritus of Tuskegee College. Congressional colleagues of Mr. Mitchell at the present time look with favor on the measure.

Introduces Bill In Congress To Create Negro Affairs Comm.

NEW FIGHT FOR COMMISSION ON NEGRO AFFAIRS

Congressman A. Mitchell Re-Introduces Bill At 76th Congress

2-11-39

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3—Declaring that the opportunities of the Race to solve its own problems and obtain still greater opportunity and a higher standard of living is greater today than ever before because of the changing times, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell has re-introduced into the Seventy-sixth Congress a bill calling for an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs.

The commission would consist of five members, three of whom would be members of the Race. Its primary purpose would be to study the economic conditions of the Race with a view to correlating the labor problems in the various states.

It would also discourage subversion of propaganda and would look to the solution and the carrying out of a policy that would give material understanding of conditions between races.

Introduced in the Seventy-fifth Congress, the bill at that time gained the interest of countless leaders, including Dr. Robert R. Moton, president emeritus of Tuskegee Institute.

Congressional colleagues of Mr. Mitchell at the present time are reported to be looking with favor on the measure.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

This column is devoted to the public to present its views on problems confronting the community. What is written here does not represent the policy or views of the Chicago Defender in any way.

What The Industrial Commission Means

By CONGRESSMAN ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

Though opportunity constantly puts itself before us, it seems that a basic part of human nature is the failure of the average human being to grasp it. This common failing is found in all races. It is true of the Occidental, it is true of the Oriental. It is true of the Indian and it is true of the Negro.

It is the possibility of our failure to recognize our opportunity that has been the occasion for this series of articles. I believe in facing the facts and after finding the truth moving toward a progressive and proper conclusion so that the best benefits to everyone interested may be obtained.

Let us now consider our problem of a race. As assets we have a common bond in the fight for a higher standard of living, and the promotion of the general welfare of our people.

What then is our opportunity? Our opportunity lies in the change that has gradually become apparent to all of us that our country has been slowly but surely undergoing a social revolution since 1929. While this social revolution is going on, the system is being remade. Therein lies our challenge.

Prior to 1929 the Negro was outdistanced in the economic race, not because of a lack of brains or ability but because of a lack of opportunity.

The social revolution now well under way has changed this. The system is being remade. This is the opportunity of the Negro. The economic race has started again.

How then can this economic competition be aided? What mechanics can be moved through legislation to stimulate and obtain advantage in proper fashion of this opportunity now opening its doors before us?

Many things have been proposed, but there is now before the Judiciary committee a bill introduced by me in this Congress just two weeks ago calling for the creation of an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs.

The primary purpose of the commission will be to study the economic conditions of the Negro so as to better understand that greatest of all problems, the labor problem. The commission is designed to stimulate and encourage thrift and industry among the Negroes of this country. It will encourage his general up-lift and it will work out plans looking toward the solution of the different problems confronting the Negro race in this country.

The commission would consider all questions pertaining to the Negro that may be referred to it by any department of the United States government. It will report a suggested solution of any and all problems that may be presented to it by any governmental official, whether state or federal. In particular will it consider the labor problem and will recommend what may be necessary for the stability of labor in the different states.

The commission will discourage subversion of propaganda and will look to the solution of the policy for material understanding of conditions between the races.

The commission would report to Congress through the President of the United States acts and doings and make such recommendations for the solution of any problem or problems affecting the Negro that they may deem advisable.

There would be five members of the commission, at least three of whom shall be members of the Negro race. They would be appointed by the President of the United States. This commission could easily be, with vast facilities of the United States government behind it, a tremendous fountain of information and accurate conclusions that would go far toward solving and helping to eliminate any of the race problems confront-

ing us today.

Hearings have already been held on this measure which was introduced by me in a former bill in the 74th Congress. At that time Dr. Robert R. Moton, president-emeritus of Tuskegee institute, Tuskegee, Ala., testified favorably for it. Others included: Perry W. Howard, National Republican committeeman from the state of Mississippi; J. E. Mitchell, editor of the Argus, St. Louis, Mo.; Hon. Emmet O'Neal, a representative in Congress from the state of Kentucky; Dr. Alain Locke of Howard university, Washington, D. C.; Scipio Jones, attorney at law, Little Rock, Ark.; Hon. John D. Dingell, a representative in Congress from the state of Michigan; Dr. Kelly Miller of Howard university, Washington, D. C.; Hon. John Kee a representative in Congress from the state of West Virginia; Hon. George W. Johnson, a representative in Congress from the state of West Virginia.

The commission would aid and supplement the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, whose address is 409 Palmer building, Atlanta, Ga., and the National Association of Presbyterian Students, as well as many church and interracial groups deeply interested in solving different problems.

The bill, if enacted would affect you vitally. Though the conclusions found through this streamlined model fitted to the changing times in which we live, you will be given opportunity to obtain better jobs and bigger pay. Remember we live in changing times and the opportunity is before us today as never before.

Editor's Note: Mr. Mitchell, in his next article will go into further detail concerning the need of the commission and why it is of deep personal interest to you.

Congressman Mitchell's Proposed Industrial Commission Is Scored

Atlanta World

Dr. George Haynes Declares Group Would Have No Power; Would Duplicate Others' Work

Atlanta Ga.
2-16-39

By GEORGE E. HAYNES, PH. D.

Special interest attaches to the proposals of Arthur W. Mitchell, the only Negro in the United States congress. He has recently introduced several bills, one of them against the present jim crow law fixed by decision of the supreme court being admirable and meriting the support of all believers in real democracy.

He has also written articles in various papers in support of his bill proposing an Industrial Commission on Negro affairs. One regrets, however, that important facts and strong reasons are against it. It is practically the same measure that has been up before and soundly condemned by Negro citizens.

WOULD CROSSCUT OTHERS

First, such a commission would crosscut the responsibility and work of the various federal departments. The bill provides that the commission shall "study economic conditions of the Negro". The Department of the Interior has just published, under supervision of Dr. Robert C. Weaver, a thorough study of "The Urban Negro Worker", and the WPA has given full attention to Negroes in their published studies of urban relief and of share-cropper tenant conditions in the Cotton belt. Under Dr Ambrose Caliver the Office of Education has just published a comprehensive study of "Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes", and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Lawrence A. Oxley in the U. S. Employment Service, the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau, all of the Department of Labor, publish authortative material from time to time.

The Census bureau has issued two comprehensive volumes on Negro population. Other departmental studies are giving increasing attention to phases of Negro life. This work can thus be better done by the established agencies for the nation than by being shunted off to a special Negro affairs agency.

Second, the bill proposes "to stimulate and encourage thrift" and "promote the general welfare of the Negro in industrial pursuits." The Social Security board should look after Negroes just the same as any other citizens in matters of unemployment compensation and old age assistance and insurance. We should be striving now to press congress for clauses against the discrimination in the proposed amendments to that law to include domestic workers and agricultural workers, occupations which include three-fifths of Negro workers.

The Wages and Hours act and the National Labor Relations board should be pressed by all the influences we have to look after the other industrial welfare of Negroes wherever government can. The Farm Credit administration has a national network of services to help citizens develop thrift and the governor of that administration has a Negro special assistant to help Negroes get the benefits of that service. With these agencies already operating, a Negro affairs commission would be a useless fifth wheel.

Third, the bill proposed that this commission "would consider all questions pertaining to the Negro that may be referred to it by any department of the United States government." Anyone who has had much experience with the federal departments knows how ready they are to find some way to side-step difficult questions about Negroes. The proposed commission would furnish a capital agency to which the buck could be passed. Negroes need officials including congressmen to exert their utmost to see that existing agencies of the government perform their services for Negroes and not provide them with a scapegoat.

TIMES HAVE CHANGED

The bill proposes, further, that the commission would "report a suggested solution of any or all problems that may be presented to the commission by government officials, state or federal." In several states such as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan,

HAS NO POWER

What power or authority would the proposed commission have over any administrative officer of any department to induce him to do anything about problems affecting Negroes? Many of these officers now have recommendations that are growing musty in their files on which they will take no action.

This bill proposes that the commission will "discourage subversive doctrine and propaganda, and formulate a policy for mutual understanding and confidence between the races." If this means that such a commission would have any effect on checking the radical propaganda that is now trying to win Negroes away from their loyalty to the existing political and economic order, one fails to see how a commission that had no administrative power to abolish or remedy many of the abuses and evils that plague Negroes and which the governments do not correct, is going to have any such effect.

The radicals get a hearing from Negroes because of the things they suffer. Power to relieve that suffering is the only way a governmental commission can halt such propaganda and promote mutual understanding between the races. This bill provides no such power or authority for the commission. With all the pressure—political and moral—wkhich we have been able so far to bring to bear on various existing governmental agencies, their failure to remedy much of the injustice in those matters still cries to heaven.

NO ACTION SEEN

The commission, so the bill provides, "would report to congress through the president of the United States all their acts and doings and to make such recommendations for the solution of any problem or problems affecting the Negro that they may deem advisable.." The president had a Tenancy commission on which Negroes were represented.

It made recommendations of important features of benefit to both white and Negro sharecroppers. Congress whould not pass the feature which would allow the government to buy and settle these landless serfs on good farm land. It did not pass the Farm Security act which provides for rehabilitation and small loans to individual farmers.

However, the honest, fair-minded officials who are administering that law will tell you how difficult it is to get equal treatment for Negroes in the Southern areas. The recent excitement among Negro sharecroppers who camped by Highway 6 in Missouri was largely because landlords were evicting them to avoid the government's requirement that they share federal crop payments. These are samples of how useless recommendations to benefit Negroes that have been made to congress and the president by both public and private bodies become unless there is power to get legislative and administrative action on them.

QUESTIONS MITCHELL

What has Congressman Mitchell done to see that the many emergency and recovery laws contained provisions for the protection of Negro industrial workers, sharecroppers and tenants? We should like for him to tell us. I fail to see how five members on a commission could do much as he as a congressman with the organized power of Negro voters and their friends behind him could do if he would tackle the proposed amendments to the Social Security law and the new education bill recently introduced and if he would try to put into law and administration any of the many recommendations made by Negro leaders from all over the land when they were in Washington at the Conference on Problems of Negroes and Negro Youth last month.

If he will do any of these things, we will rally to his support. But, deliver us from the "Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs!"

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION ON NEGRO AFFAIRS

POLITICAL-1939
OFFICE HOLDING

ILLINOIS--CONGRESSMAN ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

Would The Proposed 'Industrial Commission On Negro Affairs' Really Solve Any Of Our Problems?

A COMMENT

By GEORGE EDMUND HAYNES, Ph.D.

Co-Founder of the National Urban League

DR. GEORGE E. HAYNES

IT IS ALWAYS GRATIFYING to find members of our group who attain places of power and prominence who are concerned about the welfare of the masses of the people. Special interest, therefore, attaches to the proposals of Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, the only Negro in the United States Congress. He has recently introduced several bills. One of them against the present Jim Crow law fixed by decision of the United States Supreme court is admirable and should have the support of all believers in real democracy.

He has written articles in the Chicago Defender in support of his bill proposing an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs. One regrets, however, that important facts and strong reasons are against it. The Congressman says that conditions have changed since 1929 and that our present "system is being remade" and that this is the opportunity of the Negro. Perhaps this one can agree. His bill introduced two weeks ago is now in the Judiciary committee of the House and should be thoroughly analyzed. It is practically the same measure that has been up before and soundly condemned by Negro citizens.

WOULD IT CROSSCUT OTHER DEPARTMENTS?

First, such an Industrial Commission would crosscut the responsibility and work of the various Federal departments. The bill provides that the Commission shall study economic conditions of the Negro." The Department of the Interior has just published under supervision of Dr. Robert C. Weaver, a thorough study of "The Urban Negro Worker" and the WPA has given full attention to Negroes in their published studies of urban relief and of sharecropper tenant conditions in the Cotton Belt. Under Dr. Ambrose Caliver the Office of Education has just published a comprehensive study of "Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes" and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Lawrence A. Oxley in charge, the U. S. Employment Service, the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau, all of the Department of Labor, publish authoritative materials from time to time. The Census Bureau has issued two comprehensive volumes on Negro population. Other deparmental studies are giving increasing attention to phases of Negro life. This work can thus be better done by the established agencies for the nation than by being shunted off to a special Negro affairs commission.

Second, the bill proposes "to stimulate and encourage thrift" and "promote the general welfare of the Negro in industrial pursuits." The Social Security Board should look after Negroes just the same as any other citizens in matters of unemployment compensation and old age assistance and insurance. We should be striving now to press Congress for clauses against discrimination in the proposed amendments to that law to include domestic workers and agricultural workers, occupations which include three-fifths of Negro workers. The Wages and Hours Act and the National Labor Relations Board should be pressed by all the influence we have to look after the industrial welfare of Negroes wherever government can. The Farm Credit Administration has a national network of services to help citizens develop thrift and the governor of that administration has a Negro special assistant to help Negroes get the benefits of that service. With these agencies already operating, a Negro Affairs Commission would be a useless fifth wheel.

GOVERNMENT LIKES TO SIDESTEP ISSUES

Third, the bill proposes that this commission "would consider all questions pertaining to the Negro that may be referred to it by any department of the United States government." Anyone who has had much experience with the departments of the Federal government knows how ready they are to find some way to side step difficult questions about Negroes. The proposed commission would furnish a capital agency to which the buck could be passed. Negroes need officials including Congressmen to exert their utmost to see that existing agencies of the government perform their services for Negroes and not provide them with a scapegoat.

The bill proposes, further, that the commission would "report a suggested solution of any or all problems that may be presented to the commission by government officials, state or federal." In several of the states such as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan, the state governments already have ranking Negro and other officials who are doing excellent work in seeing that the problems in their states affecting Negroes are being taken care of like those of any other of their citizens, by the regular agencies of the state. Things have progressed so far in these states that the commissioner of labor for Michigan is none other than the outstanding Negro attorney, Charles H. Mahoney, in New York Elmer Carter is on the State Unemployment Board for that very service and in Ohio Bishop Ransom is on the Board of Parole. Reports indicate that this policy is spreading to other states.

In the present Federal set-up, there are more than a score of Negroes in high advisory positions in the various departments and administrations at Washington, with Mary McLeod Bethune as an officer with administrative authority in the NYA. Two of the recommendations made at the recent conference on the problems of the Negro and Negro youth were (1) that we should get amendments to the laws governing the various Federal departments of administration which would assure Negro administrative positions with authority of their departments to act on these problems, and (2) legislation which would give a basis for action whenever a case of discrimination occurred in the administration of such laws.

WHAT POWER WOULD COMMISSION HAVE?

What power or authority would the proposed Industrial Commission have over any administrative officer of any department to induce him to do anything about problems affecting Negroes? Many of these officers now have recommendations that are growing musty in their files on which they will take no action.

This bill proposes that the commission will "discourage subversive doctrine and propaganda, and formulate a policy for mutual understanding and confidence between the races." If this means that such a commission would have any ef-

fect on checking the radical propaganda that is now trying to win Negroes away from their loyalty to the existing political and economic order and to swing their allegiance to some of these radical doctrines, one fails to see how a commission that had no administrative power to abolish or remedy many of the abuses and evils that plague Negroes and which the government does not correct is going to have any such effect. The radicals get a hearing from Negroes because of the things they suffer. Power to relieve that suffering is the only way a governmental commission can halt such propaganda and promote mutual understanding between the races. This bill provides no such power or authority for the commission. With all the pressure—political and moral—which we have been able so far to bring to bear on various existing governmental agencies their failure to remedy much of the injustice in those matters still cries to heaven.

The commission, so the bill provides, "would report to Congress through the President of the United States all their acts and doings and to make such recommendations for the solution of any problem or problems affecting the Negro that they may deem advisable." The President had a Tenancy Commission on which Negroes were represented. It made recommendations of important features of benefit to both white and Negro sharecroppers. The Congress would not pass the feature which would allow the government to buy and settle these landless serfs on good farm land. It did pass the Farm Security Act which provides for rehabilitation and small loans to individual farmers. However, the honest, fair-minded officials who are administering that law will tell you how difficult it is to get equal treatment for Negroes in the southern areas. The recent excitement among Negro sharecroppers who camped by Highway 6 in Missouri was largely because landlords were evicting them to avoid the government's requirement that they share Federal Crop payments. These are samples of how useless recommendations to benefit Negroes that have been made to the Congress and the President by both public and private bodies become unless there is power to get legislative and administrative action on them. A few have been passed and are being carried out. The New Deal has made some advancement in these matters. We have, however, been unable to get clauses inserted into any of the many laws enacted by Congress which would specifically state that there should be no discrimination on account of race or color and that there should be equitable distribution of administrative positions and benefits under such laws.

HOW WOULD IT REALLY HELP?

What has Congressman Mitchell done to see that the many emergency and recovery laws contained provisions for the protection of Negro industrial workers, sharecroppers and tenants? We should like for him to tell us. I fail to see how five members on a commission could do much as he as a Congressman with the organized power of Negro voters and their friends behind him could do if he would tackle the proposed amendments to the Social Security Law and the new Education Bill recently introduced and if he would try to put into law and administration any of the many recommendations made by Negro leaders from all over the land when they were in Washington at the conference on problems of Negroes and Negro youth last month. If he will do any of these things, we will rally to his support. But, deliver us from the Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs!

Negro Named Senior Drafting Engineer

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—Paul Hill, former member of the Fisk Jubilee Singers, was appointed senior junior drafting engineer of the city play commission, last week. He formerly served as draftsman of the commission.

Hill has also served with the State Planning board as housing director, and with the Department of Interior as housing director. He is a graduate of Fisk University and the Perdue University school of architectural engineering.

Legislator

Representative J. Chester Allen, a member of the Indiana Assembly from South Bend, has made an enviable record as a legislator. Upon his motion a house bill, which could have been used to discriminate against Negroes, was killed recently.

Named State Deputy Auditor

Miss Clarice Mae Baxter, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Baxter of Indianapolis, Indiana, who has been appointed Indiana deputy state auditor at the request of Governor M. Clifford Townsend. Miss Baxter's appointment marks the first time in the history of the state that a woman has been named to this important office. The new appointee received her training at the Crispus Attucks High School, Central Business College and Butler University.

Must Quit Holding Court In Rear Of "Hot Dog" Stand

MICHIGAN CITY, IND., July 13—(ANP)—Justice of the Peace Tenola E. Graves, this city's lone colored magistrate, must stop holding his highway court behind a hot dog stand just outside the city limits because motorists complained to the Chicago Motor Club that a speed trap was allegedly being operated in that vicinity.

Complaints of motorists would not have been so bad had not the local Chamber of Commerce also entered its protests. So Graves agreed to stop operating the lunch-stand courtroom unless Indiana State police asked him to hold court on their arrests. This was all right with the Chamber of Commerce officials, because State police receive no fee for each arrest as does Constable James Muckway when he brings alleged traffic violators before Magistrate Graves.

POLITICAL-1939
OFFICE HOLDING

IOWA

Wilson Given State Post

For the first time in many years, an additional Negro clerical worker was assigned in the Iowa statehouse this week.

Harry E. Wilson, who has been employed in the city streets department for several years and who previously was in the statehouse branch postoffice, was named to succeed Hal Junkins of Fairfield as supply sergeant for the state highway patrol. He has been active in Republican circles for many years having assisted in organizing the Iowa Negro Republican Voters League and has campaigned actively for each Republican ticket since 1920.

He was a first lieutenant attached to the 366th infantry during the World War. In France he served with the 92nd division and was wounded in action. Several years ago he helped organize the East Side Booster club which was the beginning of the East Des Moines Community Center and which is now under the supervision of the community chest agency. Mr. Wilson is married and lives at 1029 East 15th Street.

He began his new duties in this department Monday, March 13.

POLITICAL -1939
OFFICE HOLDING

KENTUCKY

Educators Honor Kentucky Solon

LOUISVILLE, Ky., May 4—(ANP)—Representative Charles W. Anderson of the Kentucky legislature last Thursday was honored by colored educators when he was presented the Lincoln university (Ky.) key, given in recognition of the greatest contribution of the year for advancement of Kentucky Negroes. The award was made by J. M. Tydings, business manager of the institute, at the Thursday night session of the Kentucky Negro Education Association convention.

Rep. Anderson sponsored the Rural School bill which provides high school education for rural students of both races and requires counties without high schools to grant a sum not less than $100 per student for tuition or transportation, when compelled to attend school in another county.

POLITICAL-1939
OFFICE HOLDING

LIBERIA

Walker Is Appointed Consul For Liberia

NEW YORK—(ANP)—Hon. Walter F. Walker, who has been serving as Liberian Consul in New York for the past six years, has been appointed by President Edwin Barclay as Liberian Consul-General in the United States and has just received his exequatur from President Franklin D. Roosevelt acknowledging said appointment.

Mr. Walker's services as Consul have been outstanding, and he has raised the status of the consulate to a high state of efficiency. Before his appointment as Consul Mr. Walker held many responsible positions in the Liberian Government. His first post was that of Secretary to the late President Daniel E. Howard. Subsequently he held the cabinet posts of Secretary of Education and Secretary of the Treasury.

The Liberian Consulate-General in the United States will not be located in New York. Formerly this office has been in Baltimore, Md., where Dr. Ernest Dye served as Consul-General since 1910. Dr. Lyon died in July of last year, and appointment of Mr. Walker is to fill the vacancy thus occurring. Previous to a designation as Consul-General of Liberia, Dr. Lyons served for seven years as United States Minister to Liberia.

Demopolis, Ala., Times
March 30, 1939

Former Local Negro Appointed American Attache In Liberia

Word was received a few days ago by T. M. Patton, principal of the Demopolis Colored Schools, of the appointment of his step - son, Alphonse McGee, former student teacher in the local Negro school, as attache to the American Legation in the Republic of Liberia.

Alphonse is in Demopolis on a visit before sailing early next month for his new work. For the past several years he has been in Washington, D. C.

POLITICAL- 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

MARYLAND

D.C. ARCHITECT GETS POST ON U.S. PROJECT

Defender

Will Draw Plans For Construction Of 581 Dwellings

8-12-39

BALTIMORE, Md., Aug. 11 —Albert I. Cassell, former architect at Howard university, was appointed this week to assist in the construction of the Federal housing projects here.

Chicago

He will devise plans for the project to be constructed in what is known as Area I where dwellings will be built to accommodate 581 families.

For many years, Mr. Cassell served as architect and superintendent of buildings and grounds at Howard university. Shortly after Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson took over the administration of the university, he divided the office of Mr. Cassell, taking from him the maintenance duties of the buildings and grounds.

Later, through differences between himself and the president, Mr. Cassell left the university and sued for back salary. The university in turn, sued him for back office rent.

Mr. Cassell, who planned most of the buildings constructted on the university grounds during the past 10 years, has been highly praised for his work by the Carnegie Foundation and the National Commission on Fine Arts.

On the housing projects here he will be associated with Clyde Frizz, white architect.

George B. Murphy Sr., is the only Race member of the local housing authority. An organized group of building mechanics here are making plans to press for jobs for skilled and unskilled Race workers on the constructions.

COLORED LAD HOUSE PAGE

A delegation headed by Cornelius McKane called at the office of Speaker Christian Herter Tuesday and thanked him for his appointment of Elwood McKenney of Everett as a page to the House of Representatives.

This is a non-political appointment. Behind it is a real-life story like one series of Alger stories.

A young fellow goes out of his way to accommodate a stranger who turns out to be a state official. In appreciation of the lad's act of kindness, the official undertakes to help him further his education and the appointment is the result.

Representative Abraham Zimon and Senator Brackman approved the appointment. Members of the delegation were Miss Gertrude Schalk, Wilfred Scott, Harry Ellis, Daniel Ware, porter to the House, A. E. Louis and Representative Zimon of Ward 12. Absent members of the delegation who sent letters were Aty. Joseph S. Mitchell, Atty. Irwin T. Dorch, Col. Larkland F. Hewitt and Dr. Benjamin E. Robinson.

It was learned last week that Atty. Joseph S. Mitchell, of Boston, was named by Gov. Leverett Saltonstall, to succeed William H. Dabney as member of the Massachusetts State Parole Board.

The appointee to this $4,500-a-year position, is a native Alabamian and graduate of Talladega College, Talladega, Ala. He went to Harvard law school and later to Boston University, where he was awarded his L. L. B. in 1917. He began his Boston law practice the following year, confining most of his work to criminal and probate courts. He is at present a member of the Massachusetts Republican Club, Suffolk County Republican Club, Crispus Attucks Political League, and Prince Hall Lodge of Masons. He will assume his new duties June 30.

GOV. SALTONSTALL APPOINTS MITCHELL TO PAROLE BOARD

Guardian 6-17-39

Governor Saltonstall on Wednesday appointed Attorney Joseph S. Mitchell a member of the State Parole Board to succeed William H. S. Dabney whose term had expired. The position pays $4,500 a year.

Boston, Mass.

A native of Alabama, Mr. Mitchell was graduated from Talladega College, Ala., studied at the Harvard Law School and received the degree L.L.B. from Boston University in 1917. He has been practising law in Boston since 1918, specializing in probate and criminal law. He is a member of the Massachusetts Republican Club, Suffolk County Republican Club, Crispus Attucks Political League and Prince Hall Lodge of Masons. He is a member of the program committee of the Republican National committee.

He is married and has two children. The family resides at 16 Waumbeck St., Roxbury.

At his office at 51 Cornhill, Attorney Mitchell was busy receiving congratulations when the Guardian reporter called. He expects to take up his duties at the State House the latter part of June.

General comment on the Mitchell appointment expresses pleasure and satisfaction over the Governor's selection. By many the appointment was not unexpected because it is generally known that Mitchell ranks high in the councils of the Republican party.

Munroe Mason, prominent member of the Roxbury Civic League, said: "Mitchell has been a tower of strength as an organizer of his party to keep the colored vote in line. The honor Governor Saltonstall has conferred upon him is merited."

GOV. APPOINTS DR. W. A. COX TO INSURANCE B'D.

Guardian 11-25-39

Dr. W. Alexander Cox, Cambridge dentist and lawyer, was appointed by Gov. Saltonstall last week to the State Board of Insurance Appeals. The board judges disagreement on fire insurance decisions.

Boston, Mass.

Dr. Cox was appointed on Wednesday, November 15 and the oath of office was administered by Gov. Saltonstall two days later. The Cambridge Sentinel editorially commented on the appointment of Dr. Cox:

"Gov. Saltonstall made some admirable appointments this week. . . He looked across King Charles' river and chose Dr. Wm. Alexander Cox, dentist and lawyer, a bland veteran in Central Square professional activities, and a merited leader among the colored people of Greater Boston, to be a member of the State Board of Insurance Appeals.

"In Dr. Cox the governor has made a most sagacious choice," for sagacity is as much a part of the Cox makeup as modesty, courtesy and unpretentious poise."

One of the oldest practising dentists in Cambridge, Dr. Cox always was interested in movements for civic improvement. He is chairman of the Cambridge Unit N.A.A.C.P. A 32nd degree Mason, Worshipful Master of John J. Smith Lodge and Secretary of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge Council, Free and Accepted Masons.

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OFFICE HOLDING

Ex-Senator Gets $4,500 Post; Fitzgerald Acts

Courier to World - Atlanta Ga.

2-13-39

Named To Key State Post

LANSING, Michigan—(WNS) — Michigan Negroes were being convinced that Governor Frank D Fitzgerald was in earnest about giving Negroes of the state their share of the major jobs of the state, when he named former State Senator Charles A. Roxbourgh as a member of the Appeal Board of the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission at a salary of $4,500 a year.

The appointment of Roxbourgh to such a key position in the State Government came as a surprise to those close to Capital circles as he has never been on the Fitzgerald band wagon in either of the Governor's two successful campaigns for the Governor's chair.

The appointment of Roxbourgh came close on the heels of the appointment of Attorney Charles H. Mahoney of Detroit as a member of the State Labor Commission, a job which pays $5,000 a year. Michigan Democrats were becoming jittery over the appointments of Negroes to such lofty jobs as they feared that they would be out done and lose the Negro vote in Michigan in 1940. There was much speculation about giving several key positions to Negroes in the Federal Government to offset the Republican activity.

Roxbourgh began his political career as Messenger to Governor Chase S. Osborn and later returned to Lansing as State Senator from the third Senatorial District. He has won the Republican nomination for Congress for three successive times but has failed on each occasion to secure enough votes to be elected. He is a brother of John Roxbourgh, manager of Joe Louis.

Courier World - Atlanta Ga.

LANSING, Michigan —(WNS)—Former State Senator Charles A. Roxborough, whom Governor Frank D. Fitzgerald last week named to the appeal board of the Unemploment Compensation at a salary of $4,500.

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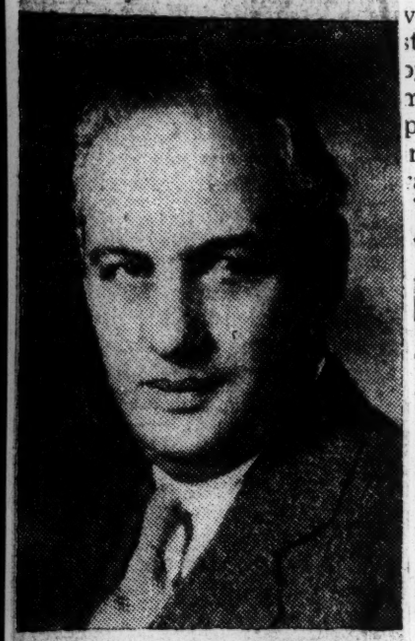
MICHIGAN

$5,000 JOB



CHARLES H. MAHONEY, Detroit lawyer and insurance company [illegible] who was appointed to the five-man Michigan Labor and Industry Commission by Governor Frank Fitzgerald, last week. The job pays $5,000 a year. Mr. Mahoney is a native of Michigan and a veteran Republican.

Introduces Labor Bill

DETROIT, Feb. 2 — (ANP) — At Thursday's meeting of the state's 60th Legislature session, "Senate Bill No. 43," was introduced by Senator Charles C. Diggs of Detroit, then ordered printed and referred to the Committee on Labor. Among other things, the bill is aimed to protect the right of employes to organize and bargain collectively and defines the term "labor organization" to forestall Jim Crowism and racial discrimination. This latter section of the Diggs bill is as follows:

"The term 'labor organization' means any organization of any kind, or any agency or employe representation committee or plan in which employes participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment or conditions of work, but shall not include any labor organization which, by ritualistic practice, constitutional or by-law proscription, by tacit agreement among its members or otherwise, denies a person or persons membership in its organization on account of race, creed or color."

Detroit Physician Is Given City Post

DETROIT, Mich., Feb. 10—(UNP)—William Wilson, secretary of the Department of Public Works, announced the appointment last week of Dr. O. H. Sweet, well-known physician, to the Department of Public Works of Detroit.

Dr. Sweet is one of the three physicians serving in this capacity, two others being white. Employees of the Department of Public Works, during illness and accidents will be cared for by these physicians, at the expense of the city of Detroit.

Dr. Sweet's appointment was made through Mayor Richard W. Reading.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

MINNESOTA

Executive Says Promotion Bases Upon Merit

ST. PAUL, Minn.—(ANP)—Jose H. Sherwood, well known St. Paul postal clerk and widely known in fraternal icrcles, has been made a foreman by Postmaster Arthur A. Van Dyke (effective Sept. 1), the appointment marking the first time a Negro has been so honored in the local postofice.

Sherwood, a veteran of the service, has served under six postmasters, and was made a special clerk by Postmaster Otto Raths. Postmaster Van Dyke stated that the promotion was based on merit alone, and that he recognizes neither race, creed nor color among employees of the postoffice.

Long a fraternal leader, Sherwood has served as grand master of Masons in Minnesota, as grand high priest of Royal Arch Masons of Iowa; grand commander of the Knights Templar of Missouri, and grand master of the grand encampment of Knights Templar (Prince Hall affiliation) of the U. S. and Canada.

Sherwood has also held numerous offices in the A. E. A. O., Nobes of the Mystic Shrine, including that of deputy imperial potentate. He is a 33rd degree mason and deputy of the state of Minnesota.

Chicago Defender 9-23-39

Here's Another 'First'

Courier 11-25-39 Pittsburgh, Pa.

M. Leo Bohanon, Indiana-Born Minneapolis Social Worker, Chosen to Newly-Created Position of Director of Social Work—Won Out on Merit—Has Staff of More Than 450.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Nov. 22—One step higher up the ladder in his chosen field has gone M. Leo Bohanon, 32-year-old social worker of Minneapolis, who has just taken over his duties for the newly-created position as Director of Social Work for this city. He is said to be the only Negro in the country to hold a position of this kind.

Bohanon stood second in a city-wide civil service examination for the position, being one of the nine social service executives chosen to take the test. After grades came out last month, he was nominated by I. S. Joseph of the Board of Public Welfare and immediately appointed to begin work November 1. He will direct the activities of a staff of more than 450 persons.

In social work for 13 years, the brilliant young Indianian began his career at Phyllis Wheatley Center, Fort Wayne, in 1926. From there he went to the Phyllis Wheatley Settlement House in Minneapolis where he remained as director of boys' and men's activities while working on his bachelor of science degree at the University of Minnesota.

He was graduated from the university in June, 1934, and the same year passed a civil service examination, resulting in his appointment as investigator for the Minneapolis Department of Social Welfare. That began his rise, for in 1937 he became assistant supervisor by virtue of his ability and merit; in January, 1938 he was appointed case supervisor, in which capacity he worked until he received his new appointment November 1.

His duties will be to coordinate case work practices and procedures of the nine district offices in the Welfare department which has a social service staff of 160 and a total staff of more than 450; to train the social service staff, and to assist the superintendent in interpreting federal, state and local policies governing relief.

Bohanon is prominent in civic and fraternal affairs, having served as polemarch of the local chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity from 1932 to 1934. He is married to charming Mildred Wigington Bohanon, former student at the University of Minnesota and daughter of C. W. Wigington, St. Paul architect. They have a two-year-old son, Michael.

Outstanding leaders in the community have congratulated the Board of Public Welfare on its unprejudiced selection of a man according to merit and ability regardless of race or color. He will be banqueted at Phyllis Wheatley Settlement December 9 by the Minneapolis Citizens' Committee. Persons prominent in social service and civic work will be speakers.

SUCCESS!

M. Leo Bohannon of Minneapolis, Minn., who in five years has risen from an investigator for the Department of Public Welfare to Director of Social Service for the city, with a staff of more than 450 persons working under his direction. Bohannon is 32 years old and is said to be the only Negro in the country to hold such a position. He started on his new job November 1.

POLITICAL- 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

MISSISSIPPI

PERRY HOWARD STILL NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN FOR MISSISSIPPI

—(ANP)—Because a number of the stories regarding the late Eugene P. Booze, Republican National Committeeman, had referred to him as the Republican national committeeman of Mississippi, friends of Perry W. Howard pointed out this week that Mr. Howard was the first and the only Negro national committeeman from Mississippi. Mr. Howard is still the incumbent in that office. Whatever confusion existed arose probably because Mrs. Eugene P. Booze is national committeewoman.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

MISSOURI

Start the Clean-Up on Voting

Improvement of the social order is usually indirect, more incidental than the result of deliberate planning and effort. Most of us had thought repeating, ballot box stuffing and the other attacks upon the ballot were a crime. They are a crime against the government, a conspiracy. The American Bar association is asked to make a study of the facts and pre-pare legislation to remedy this. This weakness in the law was brought to notice through the 200 convictions for vote fraud in Kansas City. If the bar association makes the study and gets laws passed making vote fraud a crime, it will end disfranchisement!

Results brought about by repeating, ballot box stuffing, or falsifying the vote records are no more evil than those secured through trickery and intimidation. The will of the people is thwarted in either case. Mississippi, where Negroes are disfranchised or Texas where they are stopped from participating in Democratic primaries which are the real election will feel the heavy hand of the law whenever all interference with the ballot is made a crime.

There is the rub! Can a law be passed now which will make all interference with elections a crime? The South is making rapid progress toward the universal franchise. But it is not yet ready to accept the Negro into equal citizenship.

Maybe this same conspiracy charge that led to convictions in Kansas City can be used effectively to stop disfranchisement! Proving the intent to keep Negroes from voting is no trouble. Southern states which disfranchise them furnish evidence aplenty.

Disfranchisement, like lynching, goes on because public conscience is not aroused. When the denial of equal citizenship to Negroes is recognized as an attack upon the principle of popular government, the authorities will bring charges and juries will convict. In the meanwhile, we would like to see some Negro bring a suit in the federal courts, alleging that he is damaged when he is not permitted to participate in public decisions affecting his property. Education to cure the improper influences affecting voting must begin some time.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

NEBRASKA

COLORED SENATOR SEATED

Omaha's John Adams, Jr Victorious in Suit Contesting His Seat in Nebraska Legislature.

Courier

LINCOLN, Neb., Feb. 2—(By Al Davis for ANP)—Senator John Adams, Jr., of Omaha was victorious in a suit contesting his seat in the Nebraska legislature, instigated against him on January 19 by Dr. Harry Foster, also of Omaha, and Adam's defeated white opponent in the 1938 legislative race. After hearing the issue debated by Dr. Foster and Senator Adams, a committee chosen by the unicameral legislature dismissed the case on grounds of insufficient evidence.

2-4-39

Dr. Foster in his affidavit inferred that the returns of the 12th precinct in the 2nd ward of the 5th voting district of Omaha were unreasonable and that in two other precincts of the 5th legislative district in which the board members were Negroes, he received similar unreasonable votes. All of these precincts gave Adams votes of about 250 or more and Foster votes varying from 32 to 35. Foster asserted that in view of the fact that these precincts had Negro boards they had discriminated against him and had rendered false returns. Although he presented no witnesses no concrete facts to support his assertions, and no evidence to prove his arguments, Foster contended that there should be a recount of the ballots of these precincts, which action would entail an immense amount of time and expense.

Adams, proving that these inferences carried no weight, brought evidence to the fact that the votes each candidate received in the three precincts in question were not unreasonable but quite in keeping with extensive campaign canvasses made in these precincts in his behalf, and by the fact that these precincts are populated by colored people.

Supported by records held in the election commissioner's office, Adams brought forth statistical data to the effect that the votes he received in these precincts were correct and that no errors had been made by these precincts when rendering their returns. Other evidence presented by Senator Adams tore down completely the vague dissertations of Dr. Foster and warranted the decision in his favor as submitted by the committee

One Negro Postal Worker at Meeting

10-28-39

WASHINGTON.—(ANP) Of the six Negro postmasters in the country, only one is attending the annual convention of postmasters now being here in this city, where some 5,000 are convening discussing ways and means of bettering the service they already are rendering to the communities they represent.

Black Dispatch

This lone eagle among the whites is Robert K. Kearse, postmaster of Vaux Hall, N. J., some six miles from Newark, one of the larger industrial cities of the metropolitan area.

Mr. Kearse's story is an interesting one. Before the postoffice in Vaux Hall was established in 1909, it was a part of Union Township. However, the section known as Vaux Hall has a population of some 30,000, 88 per cent of which is Negro, and a separate post office was deemed necessary for the little town.

Things moved along smoothly until some three and a half years ago when Mr. Kearse was appointed postmaster as a result of an examination he took. Forced to take the exam twice because of political pressure, Mr. Kearse was twice the top man in the examination lists.

At first, the appointment was not made, because the ruling was made that a larger number of people wanted to take the examination. This was true, and it meant, however, an even larger number of Negroes wanting to take the exam. When the results of the second test were made, four of the first five on the list were Negroes, with Mr. Kearse leading the pack. Negroes finished first second, fourth and fifth, with the lone white man finishing third.

At first, the attitude of the whites in the community was inimical, yet in his short period of office, Mr. Kearse has completely won them over by increasing the efficiency ratings of his office from 45 per cent when he took it over to an 89 per cent rating last year. Stamp sales have increased $2,000 per annum, money order business, $25,000 per annum and substantial increases noted in other postal sales.

Although there are no carrier deliveries in the town there are four window employees in the office, all colored. This means that white and colored who have mail call for it at the general delivery or in private boxes, yet all are serviced by the Negro employees of the department. Kearse is a veteran of the World war having served in the Navy.

The yearly receipts from this, which is a third class office, run around $70,000 annually in stamps, $100,000 in money orders and an equal amount in bond sales.

Taking an active part in the proceedings of this convention, Mr. Kearse has been included in every entertainment, every luncheon at the swanky Mayflower hotel and is generally recognized by his fellow postmasters by virtue of the excellent job he is doing in Vaux Hall.

Other postmasters are located, according to Mr. Gray of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, at Mound Bayou, Miss.; Tuskegee, Ala.; Lawnside, N. J.; Robbins, Ill.; Boley, Okla., and another little town in Arkansas where the entire population is Negro.

NEGRO NAMED, OVER WHITES BY NEWARK COMMISSIONER

Courier 12-2-39

NEWARK, N.J., Nov. 30—(By Irvine I. Turner for ANP)—Colored citizens received a rare surprise Friday when Miss Grace Eubanks, assistant superintendent at the Norfolk branch of the Public Welfare Department of Newark, was announced as the superintendent of the entire office department.

Pittsburgh Courier

The appointment came through Commissioner Pearce R. Franklin, director of the departments, throughout Newark. In the past few days, an additional ten colored women have been appointed as case workers, making the grand total of about 300 colored employed in this department, with at least 25 or more to be named to high white-collar positions in the same department within the next two months.

Miss Eubanks is the only Negro supervisor in the State of New Jersey, and the first to be given this appointment. In her district, the population is about two to one white in the majority, thus proving that no pressure was effected by any race groups.

Negro Mayor to Speak On Housing Here Sunday

Mayor E. J. Still, of Lawnside, N. J., the only Negro head of an incorporated town in the East, will speak on housing and unemployment Sunday afternoon, Aug. 13, at the Baptist Temple, 20 W. 116th St., the Rev. Raymond F. Coles, pastor, announced yesterday.

Mayor Still, who will be accompanied to New York by his city council, all of whom are Negroes will discuss also city planning, community health, convalescent retreats and child welfare.

At the conclusion of the program there will be a testimonal dinner for the guests at the Problems Cooperative Association, 186 Lenox Ave.

Lawnside was founded during slavery as a station of the famous Underground Railroad, a system of secret routes for transporting fugitive slaves to the free states of the north and to Canada. With a population of 1,500, most of whom are Negroes, Lawnside was incocporated in 1921. Mayor Still was elected last year.

8-11-1939, Daily Worker New Yorker

Negro Mayor Fights to Rehabilitate Lawnside N. J.

8-13-39

By Eugene Gordon

LAWNSIDE, N. J., Aug. 12.—Mayor Still sat at the end of the table, his back to the screened kitchen door.

The mayor turned in his chair, saw me and said cordially: "Good afternoon. Won't you come in?" Lying nine miles across the Pennsylvania state line in New Jersey, on both sides a highway out of Camden, Lawnside has a population estimated at 1,800. The 195 white persons in the town occupy the "exclusive" Woodcrest Heights section. The municipality covers 1.8 square miles, "401 acres of improved properties and about 692 acres unimproved," and has a Negro mayor and Negro councilmen.

Originally—some 70 or 80 or more years ago—this community was known not as Lawnside but as Free Haven. The Society of Friends, or Quakers, gave the land and built houses for the use of runaway slaves. Thus the name. Free Haven became a relay station in the system of secret routes for transporting fugitive slaves to the free states and to Canada. This was the Underground Railroad.

"There used to be a lot of colored Civil War veterans here but most of them are dead now," Mr. Still said. He is 63 years old. "Lawnside used to be more thoroughly colored than it is now," he added. "Before the present families moved into Woodcrest Heights there were only two or three colored families here."

Well, suppose we begin with the council. He would tell off the names and the occupations.

"There is Sidney Whittington. He's about 30 and is president of the council. He's a jobber by trade. William Carter, who I'd say's about 40, is a WPA worker and carpenter. George Polk, 40, is a carpenter, too. Manning Burch is about 60. He's on WPA. And there's the Rev. William Bowman, pastor of one of our churches. . . . There you have the members of the council."

The council meets on the first Wednesday of each month of the year. Council chambers are in the new two-story brick schoolhouse in the center of Lawnside. The mayor's office also is located there.

Mr. Still believes that his town offers Negroes a fine opportunity to own a plot of ground and a home in the country. Some enterprising people could help lift the community out of its depressed state, he feels. The council recently approved a resolution for the Civic League to appeal to the Freeholders (representatives of property owners) to provide employment for Lawnside citizens.

He said that, aside from WPA, "working conditions here are poor and the relief load unusually heavy." There was once a sewing project but it has been discontinued. WPA has helped also by building some roads and streets through the town and renovating the school house. With that work completed, men are again unemployed.

Covered with bright yellow sand, the new roadway passes the schoolhouse and the homes of some of the most prominent citizens. Substantial, brightly painted wooden houses with striped awnings and hedgerows and flower gardens. Stucco houses with colonial doorways, flower trellises in the backyard flower gardens. Most of the homes, however, are ancient and ramshackle, seeming to be struggling to hold themselves upright through wind and rain.

The mayor's old car took us to the side door of the schoolhouse. There was a sign inside the glass saying at what time the relief director was on duty. This was the grammar school, he explained. High school students go to Haddon Heights and Haddonfield, three miles away.

"How many white students come here?"

None, he said. He hesitated for a moment ,then told of the amazing request the "exclusive" white residents made to the Lawnside Board of Education. It was that the board pay the tuition of the white grammar school pupils at a "white" school in Delaware Township. The Board of Education indignantly refused.

Why shouldn't the children of the white citizens of Lawnside go to the school in that town? they demanded. With only 267 Negro pupils, certainly it was large enough to accommodate all.

There is no question about the qualification of the Negro principal and his seven teachers. He's a graduate of Morgan College and they all have passed the state's rigid tests. The school carries a standard state school curriculum.

So, angry, the white residents of Lawnside appealed to the state to pay the tuition of their children in a school free of Negro youngsters. The state did—and does—allowing them the benefits of education as provided by the Delaware Township. The Negro citizens of Lawnside protest that the state's action is "unnecessary and illegal," but they haven't been able to do anything about it.

Composition of the Board of Education suggests the days of the Reconstruction period for then, too, ordinary Negro workers, valuing the need of learning, formed the foundation stones of an educational system. Leonard L. Benson, 40, a bridgetender on Coopers Creek, Camden, is president of the board.

The others are Charles W. Whittington, 68; Mrs. Sarah E. Grant, housewife; John B. Sadler, 40, private chauffeur; Mrs. Helena H. Sadler, housewife; Robert Dyer, 38, carpenter; William L. Carter, 38, poultry farmer and worker at the Campbell soup factories; Herbert Still, 38, gardener; J. Victor Adams, 60, printer and

former mayor of Lawnside.

Mayor Still had to leave me and I walked around the town. His maternal great grandfather, I learned, escaped from slavery to Canada, by way of Free Haven [Lawnside], pretending to be the servant to his master's beautiful daughter. Once safe in Canada, the couple got married.

His paternal great grandfather, T. Tobias Still, won his freedom through performing seemingly impossible tasks assigned by his owner—such a task, for instance, as diving under the hulk of a sunken wooden vessel and helping to heave it to the surface. A freeman at last, he bought the freedom of his family of 12 and brought them to Free Haven.

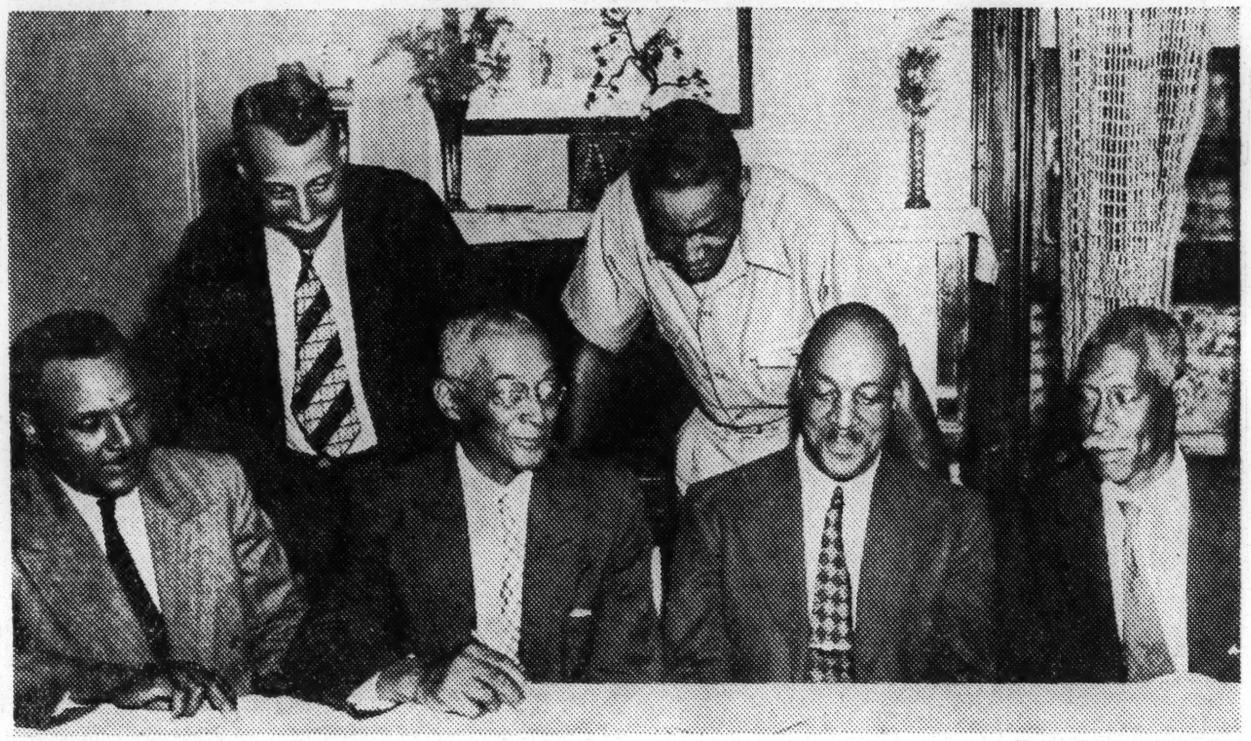
The mayor understands in a commonsense way the meaning of so-called over-production and what causes it, and he maintains that the machine is the friend and not the enemy of man. "The New Deal," he asserts boldly, "is the only thing," and he supports the Roosevelt Administration "100 per cent."

His first public office was that of assessor for the municipality. Later he was elected councilman and, later still, to the Board of Education. He held the latter post 14 years. He was elected mayor of Lawnside in November, 1938, for a two-year term. Since the incorporation of the town in 1921 he is its third mayor—some of the others, of course—all Negroes—having been reelected.

In its present campaign to attract outsiders the Lawnside City Council and the mayor are considering a proposal to instal a sewerage system and the town's own lighting plant. The council is considering also whether to ask PWA for a loan to cover certain municipal improvements.

Mr. Still expects to tell about all that when he speaks this afternoon at 186 Lenox Ave., New York City.

Negro Mayor and His City Council



—Daily Worker Staff Photo

NEGRO MAYOR AND HIS CITY COUNCIL—Mayor E. J. Sill of Lawnside, New Jersey, who is only Negro head of an incorporated town in the East, is shown with his City Council. (Left to right, seated): Councilman George Polk, Mayor Sill and Councilmen James Cheney and Willis Bowman; (standing, l. to r.) Councilman Manning Burck and Borough Clerk Robert L. Demps.

Discusses Civic Problems at Meeting Here

Mayor Still, shown above with his City Council, spoke here Sunday at the Problems Co-operative Association, 186 Lenox Ave., on housing and unemployment.

Mayor Still, was accompanied to New York by his City Council, all of whom are Negroes, to discuss city planning, community health, convalescent retreats and child welfare.

Lawnside was founded during slavery as a station of the famous Underground Railroad, a system of secret routes for transporting fugitive slaves to the free states of the North and to Canada. With a population of 1,500, most of whom are Negroes, Lawnside was incorporated in 1921. Mayor Still was elected last year.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

NEW JERSEY

Only Colored Postmistress At D. C. Confab

Miss Helen Moore, of White Horse Pike, Lawnside, postmistress of the borough of Lawnside, was the only colored postmistress attending the National Convention of Postmasters in the Nation's Capital last week.

The convention opened Tuesday, October 10th, and was in session at the Mayflower Hotel through Thursday, October 12th. Features of the convention were sightseeing trips, and demonstrations of the new planes to be placed in operation in connection with government mail services.

Mrs. Roosevelt Entertains

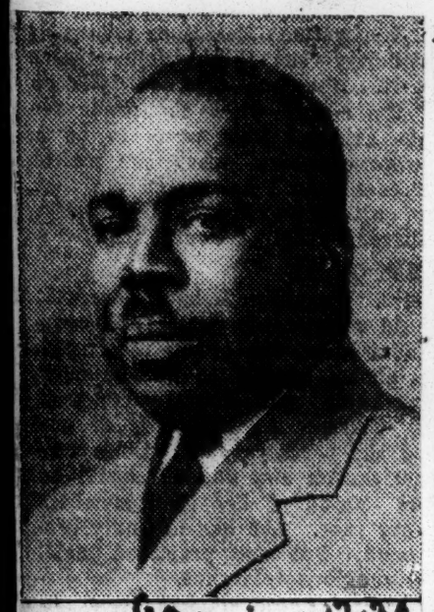
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the President, received at a Four O'Clock Afternoon Tea Thursday, all women in charge of postoffices. Miss Moore said the First Lady was most gracious, receiving in a rose colored lace gown with which she wore a corsage of orchids. Miss Moore greeted Mrs. Roosevelt in a blue velvet afternoon gown and a blue velvet tri-cone veiled hat. She wore black accessories.

About 3500 delegates and guests attended the conclave.

The postmistress is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Moore, of Lawnside and Camden. She was appointed to the Lawnside Postoffice in 1933.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

NEW YORK



Age 6-17-39

MALCOLM E. MANNING

Only Negro Dist. Supt. In Dept. of Sanitation

Above is a likeness of Malcom E. Manning, vice president of the Negro Benevolent Society of the Department of Sanitation of the City of New York, and the only Negro district superintendent of the Department. It is rumored that he is slated to be promoted to a deputy commissionship.

Mr. Manning came up from the ranks as a regular driver to assistant foreman and foreman and was appointed a district superintendent from the Civil Service list.

He was chosen to serve as chairman of the committee of arrangements for the third annual benefit dance and reception given by the Negro Benevolent Society of the Department Saturday evening, June 17, at Rockland Palace.

Handy Mosley is president of this organization and his staff of officers include: M. E. Manning, vice president; Joseph R. Campbell, corresponding secretary; S. V. Hill, financial secretary; E. Bedford, chaplain; H. Hampton, assistant chaplain; R. E. Peters, recording secretary; J. W. Lang, assistant recording secretary; F. Littlejohn, sergeant-at-arms, and E. McQuarters, assistant sergeant-at-arms.

Affiliated with the society is a Women's Cooperative League consisting of the wives and daughters of the members.

Mayor Swears In First Negro Woman Judge

FIRST NEGRO WOMAN JUDGE, Jane M. Bolin, takes the oath of office being administered by Mayor LaGuardia. She was appointed by the Mayor last Saturday as Judge of the Domestic Relations Court. At the left is Miss Bolin's husband, Ralph E. Mizelle.

Colored Woman Justice Takes Up Duties in New York Court

Post 7-25-39

Special Dispatch to The Post

New York, July 24.—Jane M. Bolin, first colored woman ever to be appointed or elected to the bench in New York City, took up her duties today as o justice in the Court of Domestic Relations.

Justice Bolin was led by Justice Jacob Panken, of the Domestic Relations Court, to her flower-bedecked bench where friends and associates awaited to greet her.

Justice Panken made a brief speech praising Justice Bolin's humanity and capability. He pointed out that she fulfilled all the qualifications for the position, having both honesty and common sense.

"God bless America," said Justice Panken, in conclusion, that Protestant, Catholic, Negro and Jew can be treated the same here in an actually working Democracy."

Justice Bolin thanked Justice Panken and expressed the hope that she would continue to justify his tribute. She asked the court attaches for their continued friendliness and cooperation. As assistant corporation counsel, Justice Bolin has been connected with the court since 1934.

Although she heard six cases in the Brooklyn Family Court in the morning, Justice Bolin explained that this afternoon was her real initiation because she had so many friendly critics around to watch her.

Appointed First Woman Judge

Journal and Guide 7-29-39

MISS JANE BOLIN, attorney of New York City, who last Saturday was sworn in by Mayor F. H. La Guardia as a justice of the Court of Domestic Relations for a term of 10 years at a salary of $12,000 a year.

Miss Bolin Sworn in As Justice

Journal and Guide

Mayor LaGuardia Administers the Oath of Office

7-29-39

(Special to Journal and Guide)

NEW YORK — A visit to the New York World's Fair was interrupted here Saturday when Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, enroute to the spectacle, paused long enough to administer the oath of office

to Miss Jane M. Bolin, 31-year old New Yorker, as a justice of the Court of Domestic Relations.

Miss Bolin, who has been an assistant corporation counsel in the Domestic Relations Court since 1937, has the distinction of being the first woman of her race to be appointed or elected to the bench in New York City. She was admitted to the New York bar in 1932 and engaged in private practice until her first appointment in 1937.

She succeeds Justice Charles Brandt, Jr., who retired recently at the age of seventy. The appointment is for a term of 10 years and the position pays a salary of $12,000. She reported to Presiding Justice Warren Hill Monday morning for assignment.

WIFE OF LAWYER

Miss Bolin in private life is the wife of Attorney Ralph Mizelle who is employed in the government service in Washington. She is a graduate of Wellesley College, finishing there in 1928 and graduated from the Yale Law School in 1931. Mr. Mizelle attended the University of Michigan and Fordham Law School. They were married in 1933.

Miss Bolin has no children and has a maid to do her housework. She is well experienced in social work. During her undergraduate days at Wellesley she did social work three afternoons a week in Boston.

Highly elated over her appointment, Miss Bolin said: "Naturally I am very happy. It is a great distinction to become a woman judge, whether the first or not.

"I enjoy helping people to settle their problems and there are plenty of problems in that court. It is very satisfying work."

The appointee was born in Poughkeepsie, the daughter of Gaius C. Bolin, also an attorney. She was one of four children. At Wellesley she was an honor student.

Since coming to New York to practice law, Miss Bolin has not had time to do active social work, but has devoted considerable energy to the administration of welfare agencies. She is a member of the executive boards of the New York Urgan League and the New York branch of the NAACP.

Further talking of her new position, Miss Bolin pointed out that the Court of Domestic Relations must necessarily be a "socialized" court. The judge's approach, she said, could not be legalistic, but had to be socialistic.

Following the announcement of her appointment, she and her husband were interviewed in their four-room apartment overlooking the north end of Central Park. Her husband wants to keep out of the spotlight as he told reporters he wanted to be mentioned as little as possible. Miss Bolin drew a good laugh when she told her husband that it seemed strange to be addressed as "Mrs. Mizelle."

Miss Bolin is prominently identified in New York. She is also a member of the Harlem Tuberculosis Committee, the legislative committee of the United neighborhood houses, a former vice president of the Harlem Lawyers' Association and a member of the New York County Lawyers' Association.

Swearing In First Woman Judge

Jane M. Bolin at New York Summer City Hall Saturday taking the oath to sit in the Domestic Relations Court.

New York — Pausing in his family visit to the World's Fair Saturday, Mayor La Guardia swore in Mrs. Jane M. Bolin as the first colored woman justice of the Domestic Relations Court.

Mrs. Bolin will fill the vacancy left by the retirement of Charles Brandt, Jr., whose term expires on Sept. 30, 1943, but who had reached the retirement age. She has been an assistant corporation counsel assigned to the court since 1937.

Mrs. Bolin was accompanied by her husband, Ralph Mizelle, an attorney in the government service in Washington. Thirty-one years old, she was born in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and is a graduate of Weslesley College, 1928 and Yale Law School, 1931. She was admitted to the bar in 1932 and has an office at 1107 Broadway.

Jane Bolin Begins Job As New York Justice

NEW YORK, Aug. 4—Miss Jane M. Bolin, who was appointed and sworn in by Mayor La Guardia last week as the first Race woman justice of the domestic relations court, began her duties this week, first in Brooklyn and then in the Manhattan family court.

Mayor LaGuardia smashed a precedent for the entire United States when he appointed Miss Bolin. She is thought to be the first Race woman judge to be appointed in this country.

Miss Bolin, who is 31 and resides at 35 West 110th street, Harlem, was sworn in as justice of the domestic relations court for a 10-year term by the liberal New York Mayor.

"It really makes me feel happy to be able to appoint such a fine young lady to a post in the courts of our city," the Mayor said following the ceremonies.

On her first day in her new office, Justice Bolin was led through a crowd of spectators by Justice Jacob Panken of the same court, who commended her for her qualifications of "decency, righteousness, capability and unfailing efforts to obtain good results in her work."

Justice Bolin replied from a bench covered with flowers and congratulatory messages, saying there would be littfe, if aoy, change in her policy of following humane principles and attempting to adjust family difficulties wherever possible.

Eugene K. Jones, Jr., Appointed Assistant to N. Y. Crime Prosecutor

NEW YORK. — Eugene Kinckle Jones, Jr., was appointed to the staff of Special Attorney General John H. Amen to assist in probing crime in Greater York, it was announced this week.

Attorney General Amen was appointed earlier this year by Governor Lehman to investigate the breakdown of law-enforcement agencies in Brooklyn and to prosecute offenders in the abortion, fur, and other rackets in that borough.

Mr. Jones is the son of Eugene Kinckle Jones, Sr., executive secretary of the National Urban League and former advisor in the Department of Commerce. The appointee is a graduate of Virginia Union University and New York University law school.

RECORD-MAKERS

ACCORDING TO A report just released by the President Justice of the Municipal Court of New York City, the records made by our two Negro Justices, Charles E. Toney and James S. Watson, have been uniformly good.

Elsewhere in this edition appear the statistics of the number of cases these two jurists have disposed on in the 8 years they have been on the bench. Despite the large number of cases they have passed judgement on, Judge Toney was affirmed on appeal 168 times and reversed in only 71 cases while Judge Watson was affirmed on appeal 177 times and reversed 98 times. Which is a record any of the white Municipal Court justices would gladly have.

Need we say more other than that we are proud of them?

REV. A. C. POWELL ON SCHOOL BOARD

NEW YORK — Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs has appointed the Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, as a member of the local School Board District 12, for a five-year term. Dr. Powell, who is thirty years old, is an enrolled member of the American Labor Party and has been active in civic affairs for a number of years. Recently a Citizens Committee for Employment headed by Dr. Powell signed an agreement with the Uptown Chamber of Commerce for employment of Colored clerks in Harlem stores.

ANOTHER "FIRST"

CHALK UP ANOTHER "First" for the race! This time it is the Rev. John H. Johnson, rector of St. Martin's Church which was recently razed by fire, who breaks into that select group of "First Negroes" in public life.

On Friday down in City Hall, the Rev. Mr. Johnson became the first Negro chaplain in the New York City Police Department and was inducted into office by Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia in the presence of Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine. Rev. Johnson thus becomes the second Negro civilian member of the Police Department to hold the rank of inspector, the other being Dr. Louis T. Wright, police surgeon.

Aside from the fact that this appointment marks another forward step for the Negro, it also is significant that Rev. Johnson is the only Eipscopal chaplain in service and as such will officiate in all matters where Episcopalian members of the department are concerned. There are but six chaplains in service, all told, two being Catholics, and one each of the Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist and Jewish faiths.

We congratulate the Rev. Mr. Johnson on his appointment and commend Mayor LaGuardia and Commissioner Valentine for giving Negroes more recognition. We hope the day will not be too far off when we shall have Negroes in the higher ranks of the department after we get our first Negro captain. Up to and including the rank of captain, all promotions comes as result of civil service examinations but once having reached the rank of captain there is no limit to the heights to which a policeman may go by appointment.

In the meantime we would advise the Negro members of the department to continue to study for all promotion examinations so that they may be advanced all along the line. Within the next few months, it is our understanding, several more Negro sergeants will be promoted from the civil service list now active. When that does occur we hope that Commissioner Valentine will show the same spirit of fairness by appointing these sergeants to vacancies in the precincts in which men are needed rather than sending them up to Harlem where our present higher ranking Negro policemen are stationed.

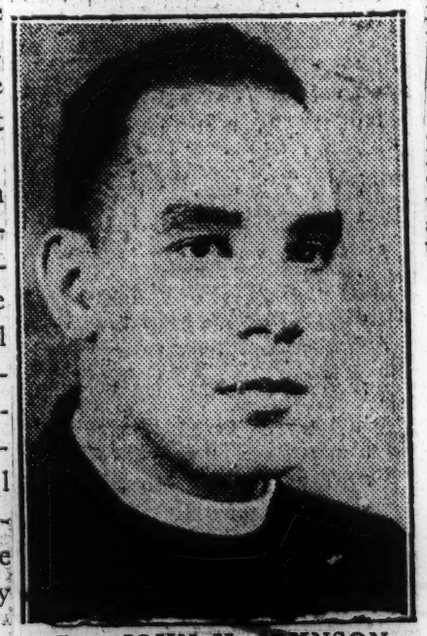
The Negro marches on!

Rev. J. H. Johnson Sworn In As First Negro Chaplain In Police Department of New York

Friday morning, Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia in City Hall swore in the Rev. John H. Johnson, rector of St. Martin's Episcopal Church which was razed by fire on January 19, as the first Negro chaplain in the history of the New York City Police Department. Police Commissioner Valentine witnessed the swearing in.

By his appointment, Rev. Johnson becomes one of six chaplains in the department at a salary of $1,980 per year. As the only Episcopal chaplain,

New Police Chaplain



Rev. JOHN H. JOHNSON

the Rev. Mr. Johnson will officiate at all meetings of Episcopal members of the police department, visit sick and injured men of the faith, act as adviser and conduct funerals of Episcopal members.

The remaining five chaplains are of the following faiths: two Catholics, and one each of the Methodist, Baptist and Hebrew denominations.

As a police chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Johnson will carry the rank of inspector, the same rank which Dr. Louis T. Wright, police surgeon, carries.

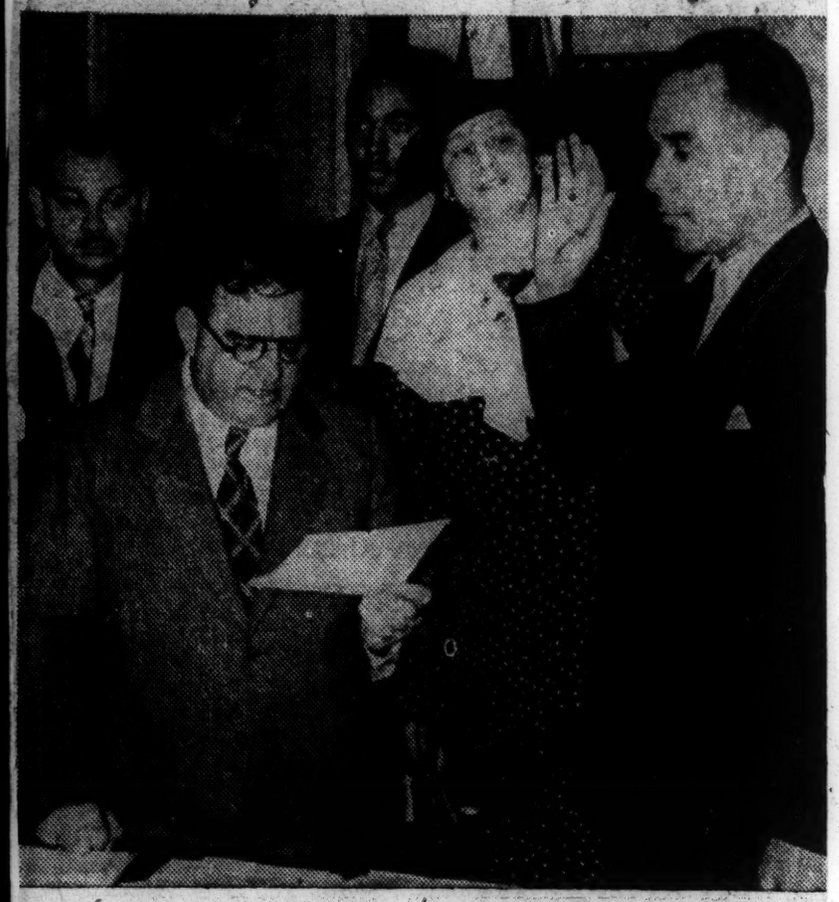
NEGRO A POLICE CHAPLAIN

Rev. J. H. Johnson, First of Race in Post, Sworn In by Mayor

The Rev. John H. Johnson, pastor of St. Martin's Episcopal Church, destroyed by fire on Jan. 19, became the first Negro chaplain to serve in the Police Department when Mayor La Guardia appointed him yesterday.

Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine was at City Hall to see his new chaplain sworn in. The position pays $1,980 a year. The pastor's church was at Lenox Avenue and 122d Street. At the same time, the Mayor administered the oath to Charles Pratt as a trustee of the Brooklyn Public Library and Mgr. John J. Clarke of St. Michael's Church in Flushing as a trustees of the Queens Public Library. Both are reappointments for five-year terms without salary.

CHAPLAIN TO N. Y. POLICE



The Rev. John H. Johnson, whose church, St. Martin's P. E. in Harlem, was recently destroyed by fire, was appointed last week as a chaplain to the New York police force by Mayor LaGuardia. The post pays $1,980 a year, and Rev. Johnson is the first of his race to be given this distinction. He is shown above at a previous swearing-in ceremony when he was named a member of the N. Y. State Commission on the Condition of the Colored Urban Population.—Photo by Morgan Smith.

HARLEM ATTORNEY GETS $5,000 POST

Courier 4-29-39

NEW YORK, April 27.—James W. Johnson, Harlem attorney, was appointed this week as Assistant U.S. Collector of Internal Revenue, of the Third New York district.

The post pays $5,000 a year. Mr. Johnson is the protege of Herbert L. Bruce, Harlem Democratic boss. He is also adjutant of the 369th Infantry.

Clarence Wilson Sworn In As 1st Negro To Become Full Assistant District Attorney In Brooklyn

By WESLEY HOLDER

Clarence Wilson Assistant U. S. Attorney of the Eastern New York district whose resignaion became effective Friday, March 31, was sworn in on the same day as an assistant district attorney of Kings county, the first Negro to hold this title. The oath was administered by John Harman, county clerk, in the offices of District Attorney William F. X. Geoghan in the Brooklyn municipal building.

Mr. Wilson was the first Negro Democrat to serve the Federal government in this district. His predecessors have been Republicans. The lawyer, according to U. S. Attorney Vine Smith, has left an enviable record, one that will be difficult to equal. A large part of Mr. Wilson's success was due to his "very fine, natural equipment," Mr. Smith stated, adding that he is a "man of sterling character, a gentleman of natural refinement and a lawyer of consummate ability."

A review of the accomplishments of the Federal assistant showed that during the five years with which he had been connected with the office he secured a perfect score in cases dealing with citizenships fraudulently obtained. Of 363 cases tried, he has won 282, the remaining 81 are pending. He has represented the government in 815 mortgage foreclosure cases in the last year, and of the 968 bankruptcy cases which were tried by him in the last two years only 75 are pending. Citizenship and bankruptcy cases in the office were handled exclusively by Mr. Wilson.

All department of agriculture cases in the district came under Mr. Wilson's direction. He also represented the U. S. compensation commission For the duration of his services here Mr. Wilson was the only assistant to argue cases before the Circuit Court of Appeals and, in each of the two instances where he has appeared before this body the results of his work have been so conclusive that the Supreme Court refused to review the cases.

His last case for the government was concluded on the day of his resignation. It was a test case originating in Chicago and having to do with cosmetics. Officials from Washington were here to watch its progress since a defeat would mean the probable repeal of the Food and Drug Act, which was amended a year ago. William Perlman, chief of the civil division, was associated with Mr. Wilson in the trial.

A Personal Selection

Mr. Geoghan who was much criticized for delaying the appointment, said at the ceremony that the delay was caused by Mr. Wilson's unavailability. He said that after scouring the field and checking up on the qualifications of the various candidates, he had decided on Wilson whose ability and character he praised. The selection was his own and not that of any political party, Mr. Geoghan stated.

When first the appointment was offered Mr. Wilson, it is said that he turned it down because the salary was not enticing. The district attorney finally agreed to Mr. Wilson's price and set the salary at $4,750 a year. Mr. Wilson's predecessors were paid a lower salary and never rose above deputy assistants. They were Samuel Lark and Samuel Pease, the former serving a few months and the latter 14 years.

When questioned as to the type of work the new assistant would be required to do in view of the fact that Mr. Wilson's predecessors were confined to the magistrate's courts, District Attorney Geoghan said that his policy is to start his new men in the lower courts. He will not change this rule in Mr. Wilson's case but will keep him there only for a short period. It will not be many months before he will be assigned to the felony, homicide, special sessions and county courts, Mr. Geoghan stated.

Several public officials and leaders of the community attended the ceremony. Outstanding among these were Michael F. Walsh, secretary of state and a former U. S. attorney, who said he had considered himself fortunate in being able to hold Mr. Wilson during his administration; George E. Wibecan of the Brooklyn borough president's office; J. Daniel Diggs, financial secretary of the Elks; Bertram L. Baker, executive leader of the United Action Democratic Association; Fr. John Brennan of St. Peter Claver's Roman Catholic Church, and Attorney Samuel B. Roachfoard, each of whom lauded the appointee and commended Mr. Geoghan in his selection.

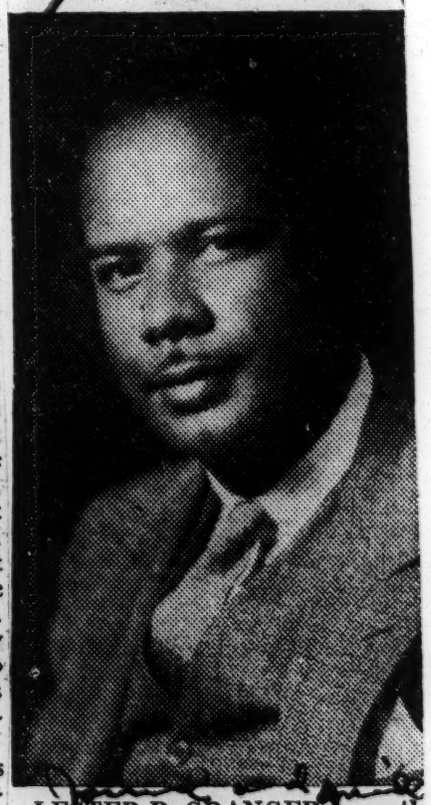
Others present were Mr. Wilson's family with whom he resides at 554 Monroe street, Brooklyn, and his brother, George. Also the staff of the U. S. attorney's office and Charles Johnson of the registrar's office.

Mr. Wilson is a native of the British West Indies where he was born in 1893. He came to Brooklyn with his parents twenty-seven years ago. After graduating from DeWitt Clinton High school he attended Brooklyn Law school from which he was graduated in 1927. A year later he passed the bar and started practice in the offices of James S. Watson, now a municipal court justice. He became an assistant U. S. Attorney in 1934.

In Brooklyn 21 Years

Mr. Wilson is a member of St. Peter Claver's Roman Catholic Church, the Catholic Lawyers' Guild, the Catholic Big Brothers, Phi Beta Sigma fraternity and the Elks. He is a former president of Claver's Holy Name Society.

Gets Appointment



LESTER B. GRANGER, recently appointed member of the New York Welfare council as its secretary of the standing committee on Negro Welfare. A former secretary of the National Urban League, he has had much experience in welfare work. He is a member of the American Civil Liberties union; editorial board, Social Works Today; advisory board, Commonwealth Labor College; New York Advisory Committee of N. Y. A.; New York Advisory Committee for Workers Education.

POLITICAL- 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

NEW YORK

NEGRO WOMAN JUDGE HOPES CHOICE WILL INSPIRE OTHERS

By Ben Davis, Jr.

Two weeks after she took her seat on the bench, Judge Jane M. Bolin, 31-year-old Negro woman, "very much likes her work" and hopes her appointment as Justice of the Domestic Relations Court will inspire women—Negro and white—to take a greater interest in public life.

She is the first Negro woman Judge in the history of the country, and perhaps of the world. Her appointment by Mayor LaGuardia on July 22 set a new precedent, in recognizing the citizenship rights of the Negro. Negro women, who already suffer the indignities of membership in an oppressed race, also undergo the discriminatory handicaps of womanhood.

AN HONOR GRADUATE

In addition to being an honor graduate of Wellesley College, and a fine student at Yale University law school, Judge Bolin is also very pretty. She has beauty and brains. Neither is she without social-consciousness.

It is a pleasure to watch her at work in the Domestic Relations Court at 153 E. 57th St., Manhattan. Observing her in action last Thursday, one was struck by her patience, her infinite willingness to give "one more chance" to family people beset by all sorts of difficulties.

The clerk says: "Mr. X's case was down for hearing today. It was up before. But he wasn't even here."

And Judge Bolin replies: "Didn't show up, at all? Well, we'll give him another chance. Continue it until next time." The proceedings in the Domestic Relations courts are banned to the public in order to facilitate settlement and to respect the confidence of the parties involved.

She speaks with dignity, quietness, modesty but with quick decisive words. She is a member of the National Lawyers Guild.

PRAISES F.D.R. APPOINTMENTS

Interviewed the same afternoon in chambers, she expressed praise of President Roosevelt's recent appointments to the bench.

"I have personal knowledge of Judge William O. Douglas. He was one of my favorite professors at Yale. One thing to be sure of, he certainly knows the law. I think his appointment to the Supreme Court by President Roosevelt was excellent," she said.

She was very glad that the President had appointed William H. Hastie, young Negro attorney, to the Federal bench in the Virgin Islands.

"Yes, I think that was splendid. It broke the ground in the appointment of Negroes to the federal courts, and therefore set a fine precedent," she commented.

Since that time Hastie, who was first an appointee of Secretary Harold I. Ickes in the Department of the Interior, has resigned the judgeship to become dean of the Howard University Law School in Washington. Last week President Roosevelt appointed Herman E. Moore, Negro attorney of Chicago, to replace Judge Hastie.

In school, Judge Bolin said she had no particular preferences in the field of law. But since she started practicing in New York City, six years ago, she has become distinctly interested in domestic relations. She became a specialist in this field during her service in the City Corporation Counsel's office.

Judge Bolin is one of 11 Justices in the Domestic Relations Courts. She is the first Negro—man or woman—to ever sit on the New York bench in this division. She sits in the courts of all five boroughs, rotating with her fellow Justices.

She comes from a family of lawyers. Her father is a practicing attorney in Poughkeepsie, her home, along with her brother Gaius C. Bolin, Jr., also an attorney. Incidentally, her brother and Judge Hastie were classmates at Amherst College, graduating in 1925.

She lives at 35 W. 110th St. Her husband, Attorney Ralph Mizelle (Judge Bolin likes her maiden name), holds a government position in Washington.

Appointed by LaGuardia

JUDGE JANE M. BOLIN —*Sunday Worker Photos*

NEGRO LEGISLATOR HEADS TAMMANY CLUB

NEW YORK CITY — Daniel L. Burrows, assemblyman, was elected Tammany leader of the 19th Assembly District at a riotous meeting of the county committeemen of the District at Public School 68, 127 West 127th Street. Mr. Burrows was one of three Negro candidates, all of them opposing Harry C. Perry, half-brother of Christopher D. Sullivan, Tammany chieftan. Perry had been boss of the District since 1936.

Fifteen patrolmen and two mounted policemen were on hand at the meeting

Project Manager

ALFRED D. PRICE

First member of the Race to become manager of a low-rent housing project developed with the assistance of the United States Housing Authority. Price was appointed by the Buffalo (N.Y.) Municipal Housing Authority. A former social worker, he manages Wilbert Park, declared by experts to be one of the finest low-rent housing projects in the country.

HAD BEEN DRAFTED BY ALP IN NEW YORK

NEW YORK, Oct. 12—The first member of his race ever nominated for a position in the New York Supreme Court, Magistrate Myles A. Paige last Thursday declined the designation which had been given him by the American Labor party.

The ALP had nominated Magistrate Paige for Supreme Court Justice in the First Judicial District which covers Manhattan and the Bronx. He had been named on a ticket with Judge Jacob Panken of the Children's Court to fill two vacancies created by the death of Justice Salvatore A. Cotillo and the resignation of Justice Edgar A. Lauer.

Although the Supreme Court Justiceship pays a higher salary and runs for a term of 14 years, Mr. Paige filed a formal declination to the offer, Thursday.

Although no reasons were cited for his action, it is believed that he declined at the suggestion of Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia, who appointed him to the Magistrate's bench three years ago as the first Negro representative in that court.

Mayor LaGuardia usually objects to appointive office holders seeking elective offices while sitting on the bench.

HUBERT DELANY IS DELEGATE TO TAX ASS'N.

10-29-'39

NEW YORK, Oct. 26 (ANP)—An additional honor has come to Hubert T. Delany, tax commissioner for the borough of Manhattan, when he was appointed as a delegate by Gov. Herbert H. Lehman of New York, along with other members of the commission, to represent the state of New York at the 32nd annual conference of the National Tax association to be held in San Francisco, this week.

Mr. Delany's outstanding efficiency, to which Mayor LaGuardia has testified upon numerous occasions, referring to him often as among the best of New York's tax commissioners during all of its history, merits this signal honor.

LaGuardia Appointee

He was among the first of Mayor LaGuardia's appointees when he was first elected in 1934 and has continued in this high and important position during the Mayor's second admnistration.

There was only one colored employee of the tax commission when Mr. Delany was first appionted; now there are several, including a colored deputy commisioner, a secretary to the commissioner and three clerks.

Dr. Delaney as guest speaker attended the conference of Ohio State branches of the NAACP at Cincinnati early in October and spoke at the inter-racial meeting held at the Central YMCA Building with Charles P. Taft, II, member of the city council, and brother of Senator Robert A. Taft; County Prosecutor Rich, Theodore Berry, assistant county prosecutor, and William T. McKnight, president of the NAACP conference, recently appointed a special assistant to the attorney general of the U. S. with headquarters at Toledo.

Named Boxing Inspector

Age 11-25-39

Announcement was made on Saturday of the appointment of Fred J. Vialet of 2286 Seventh avenue as an inspector on the New York State Athletic Commission, with the rank of deputy boxing commissioner. Mr. Vialet, who was raised and educated in Harlem, is a close personal friend of Assembly Daniel Burrows, new Tammany leader of the 19th Assembly District, and credits Burrows with securing his appointment. However, the appointment climaxes several years agitation by The New York Age and Negroes of New York for representation on the state Boxing Commission. The new inspector assumed his duties Saturday night when he represented the Commission at the opening of Rockland Palace.

Managing Editor Of Opportunity Is Appointed Consultant To Press Staff Of Census Bureau

Courier 11-25-39 Pittsburgh, Pa.

NEW YORK, N. Y., Nov. 22 The appointment of Edward H. Lawson, Jr., Managing Editor of "Opportunity" Magazine, as a consultant on public relations in the Bureau of the Census, was announced this week by the National Urban League, publisher of "Opportunity."

Mr. Lawson will be stationed in New York and will continue his work with "Opportunity," spending only as much time in Washington as required to carry out a program designed to to inform Negroes all over the United States of the nation-wide census to be taken next year, and to impress upon them the importance of full and honest cooperation with census enumerators.

Magazine Editor Appointed To Census Bureau Staff

Call

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The appointment of Edward H. Lawson Jr., managing editor of Opportunity magazine, as a consultant on public relations in the bureau of the census was announced this week by the National Urban league, publisher of Opportunity.

Lawson will be stationed in New York and will continue his work with Opportunity, spending only as much time in Washington as required to carry out a program designed to inform Negroes all over the United States of the nation-wide census to be taken next year, and to impress upon them the importance of full and honest co-operation with census enumerators.

It will be remembered that in some previous census counts many persons refused to give enumerators accurate information about themselves and their families, fearing either that the information would be disclosed to the general public or that it would be used against them as case of a national emergency such as a war draft.

In some sections of the country, it was charged that enumerators did not exercise care in interviewing each Negro family but frequently relied upon hearsay information. This was particularly true in rural areas and in certain parts of Negro communities where there were bad streets and unsightly neighborhoods. This method undoubtedly left uncounted a considerable number of Negroes with the result that many tables of statistics compiled by the Census bureau later proved inaccurate. This meant that the Negro population ratio in the United States was erroneously stated. Economic and social programs inaugurated during the depression had to be based upon these figures, and in cases where figures were wrong help could not be extended on the basis of need.

Lawson will use news releases, magazine articles, and other means to stress the confidential nature of all census information and the precautions taken against the possibility of its misuse. He will also see to it that informational material prepared by the Census bureau for general distribution reaches colored persons throughout the country.

New Asst. U. S. Attorney

NOV 23 1940

ARTHUR A. TAYLOR

Herbert Bruce Gets Appointment From Democrats For Two

New York Age New York, N.Y.

During the last week of the Presidential campaign, Herbert L. Bruce, Tammany leader of the 21st Assembly District, secured appointments for two members of his organization.

Arthur A. Taylor, who has a law office at 217 West 125th street, was named an Assistant United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York. Mr. Taylor is a graduate of Yale University and the Yale Law School. He assumed his new duties last week. His appointment came indirectly through criticism by The Age of President Roosevelt for his failure to give Negroes representation in the U.S. Attorney's office. Under Republican rule, Attorneys James C. Thomas, Hubert T. Delany, Richard L. Baltimore sr. and William H. Lewis jr., served in the U. S. Attorney's office. Until Mr. Taylor's appointment, there had been no Negro appointees in this office under the New Deal.

Mr. Bruce also announced the appointment of Augustus Daly, also an attorney with offices at 299 West 125th street, to the office of deputy Collector of Internal Revenue for the Third New York District.

POLITICAL- 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

NEW YORK

NEGRO MAGISTRATE WILL BE PROMOTED

La Guardia to Name Paige to Special Sessions Jan. 1 to Succeed Voorhees

Times

APPOINTEE IS PRAISED

12-28-39

Mayor Reveals His Choice at Annual Conclave of Omega Psi Phi at Harlem

Mirror 12-29

Mayor La Guardia announced yesterday that Myles A. Paige, New York's first Negro Magistrate would be elevated to the Court of Special Sessions on Jan. 1, to become the first member of his race to sit in any part of Special Sessions in the city.

Magistrate Paige will succeed Justice A. V. B. Voorhees, who will retire when his term ends with the close of the year. The appointment will be for the regular term of ten years, and as Special Sessions justice Mr. Paige will receive an increase in salary of from $10,000 to $12,000 annually.

Mr. Paige, who starred at end for the Howard University eleven in 1920 and later worked as a Pullman porter while studying law at Columbia, has served as magistrate since his appointment by Mayor La Guardia in September, 1936. He is 41 years old, is married and has two children. He was admitted to the New York bar in 1925 and at one time was a deputy attorney general, in charge of the Workmen's Compensation Division.

Praised by Justice Bayes

Chief Justice William R. Bayes of the Court of Special Sessions, when asked to comment on the Mayor's announcement, indicated that he had had no previous knowledge that Magistrate Paige would receive the appointment. He made the following statement:

"Speaking for myself, Magistrate Myles A. Paige has sat here for brief assignments on several occasions, and I have a very high opinion of him. He has a very fine character and has fine ability. He will make an excellent judge. Should the Mayor appoint him, we will welcome him to this bench."

Although the first Negro justice, Mr. Paige will not be the first of his race to be active in the court, for Mrs. Eunice H. Carter, Negro lawyer, whom District Attorney Dewey appointed an Assistant District Attorney, is assigned to prosecutions in Special Sessions.

The Mayor made his announcement during an address of welcome to the Omega Psi Phi fraternity at the opening of its twenty-eighth annual conclave in the Harlem Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, 180 West 135th Street. The opening of the four-day meeting was attended by 150 delegates from thirty-seven States. The organization has a membership of 7,500 Negro college men and 122 chapters.

Introduced by Richard E. Carey, Negro former Assistant District Attorney, as a champion of human rights, Mr. La Guardia insisted that he did not consider the situation of the Negroes a "Negro problem" that should have any different consideration than other racial groups received.

"I have not and will not appoint any one just because he is a Negro," he said. "That won't help the group. Every appointment I've made I'll stand by, because it was made on merit, and that reflects to the benefit of the group."

Homes Needed for Children

The Mayor said that he had just left a conference on dependent Negro children and that because the city had not been able to find enough Negro foster homes for them he was going to appeal to the Negro ministers of Harlem to encourage an interest in such children.

The Mayor urged that the best Negro thought and leadership be marshaled, because the time had passed when any group could be satisfied with "happy epigrams and laudatory statements." He was voted a delegate-at-large to the conclave. A message of greeting and "hearty felicitations" from President Roosevelt was read to the delegates.

At today's session the first annual Omega Achievement Award will be given to William H. Hastie, dean of the Howard University Law School and former judge in the United States District Court in the Virgin Islands, for outstanding achievements for the benefit of the Negro race during the last year.

TO GO TO HIGHER COURT

Magistrate Myles A. Paige

MERIT, NOT RACE

Times 12-27-39

Mayor La Guardia's appointment of Magistrate Myles A. Paige to the Court of Special Sessions ought to surprise no one. Magistrate Paige worked his way through law school, served as a deputy attorney general in the Workmen's Compensation Division, and his Magistrate has earned the good opinion of those familiar with his work. Chief Justice William R. Bayes of the Court of Special Sessions testifies that he "has a very fine character and has fine ability."

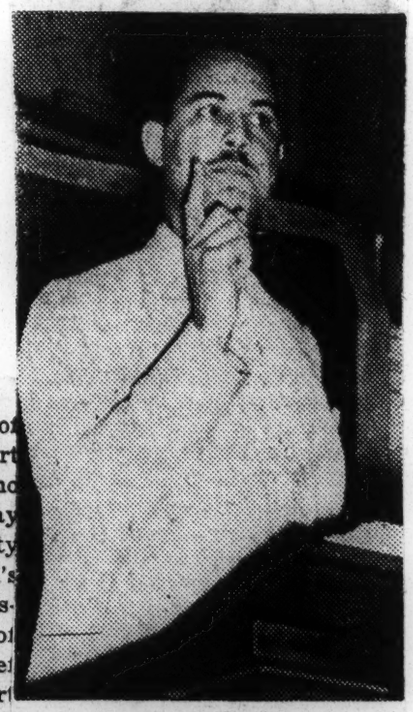
Mr. Paige happens to be a Negro, but Mayor La Guardia made it plain that neither his race nor his religion had anything to do with the appointment. The Mayor didn't patronize the Negro race by discriminating in its favor. He strengthened democracy by ignoring other factors and selecting the man he thought best fitted for the job.

City College of New York Elects Delany a Member Of Board of Governors

Journal and Guide 12-30-39 Norfolk, Va.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Hubert T. Delany, a commissioner-member of the city's board of taxes and assessments, who was recently elected to the board of governors of the College of the City of New York, his alma mater, will assume the duties of the office at the board's first meeting early in January.

Mr. Delany, who was formerly an



HUBERT T. DELANY

assistant U. S. District Attorney here, is believed by his friends to be the first Negro to be honored in this manner by a white school.

The College of the City of New York is directly under the supervision of the board of education and is supported by city funds.

This fact has given rise to a report that the appointment was brought about through a recommendation by Mayor LaGuardia, who named Mr. Delany to his present post as tax commissioner for Manhattan.

Will Get $12,000 Per Year

Appointment Effective On January 1

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Myles A. Paige, New York's first Negro magistrate, has been elevated to the court of special sessions effective Jan. 1 and is the first member of his race to sit in any part of special sessions in this city.

Announcement of the appointment was made by Mayor La Guardia during an address of welcome Wednesday at the Harlem YMCA where the Omega Psi Phi fraternity is holding its 28th annual conclave attended by 15 delegates from 37 states.

Magistrate Paige succeeds Justice A. V. B. Voorhees who retired when his term ended at the close of the year. The appointment is for the regular term of 10 years and as a justice Mr. Paige will receive an increase in annual salary from $10,000 to $12,000.

A star football player at Howard university in 1920, the new justice later worker as a Pullman porter while studying law at Columbia. He served as magistrate for more than three years, being appointed to that position by Mayor LaGuardia in September, 1936. Justice Paige is 41, married, father of two children, and was admitted to the New York bar in 1925. He was once a deputy attorney general in charge of the workmen's compensation division.

MRS. CARTER IN COURT

There is one other Negro connected with special sessions court. Mrs. Eunice H. Carter, who was appointed by District Attorney Dewey an assistant district attorney, is assigned to prosecutor in special sessions.

Justice Paige was praised by Chief Justice William R. Bayes of the special sessions court although he stated he had no previous knowledge of the mayor's decision.

"Speaking for myself, Magistrate Myles A. Paige has sat here for brief assignments on several occasions and I have a very high opinion of him," he said. "He has a very fine character and has fine ability. He will make an excellent judge. We will welcome him to the bench."

NOT SPECIAL PROBLEM

At the Omega meeting, Mayor La Guardia was introduced by Richard E. Carey, a former assistant district attorney and fraternity member, who described the mayor as "a champion of human rights." Mr. LaGuardia in his talk said he did not consider the situation of Negroes a "Negro problem" that should have any different consideration than any other racial situation.

"I have not and will not appoint any one just because he is a Negro," he said. "That won't help the group. Every appointment I've made I'll stand by, because it was made on merit, and that reflects to the benefit of the group."

The speaker also said he had just left a conference on dependent Negro children and because the city could not find enough foster homes he would appeal to Harlem ministers to encourage an interest in such children. The mayor also urged that the race marshal its best thought and leadership since the time had passed when any group could be satisfied with "happy epigrams and laudatory statements."

In addition to the appointment of Mr. Paige first as magistrate and then as justice, Mayor LaGuardia last year also named a woman, Miss Jane Bolin to the domestic relations court as judge. Miss Bolin now serving, is the first Negro woman in the nation to be elevated to the bench.

MYLES A. PAIGE, HOWARD U. GRAD, GETS $12,000 JOB

La Guardia Promotes Magistrate to Court Of Special Sessions

NEW YORK — Myles A. Paige, magistrate in New New York, on Wednesday was appointed to the Court of Special Sessions, first of his race to hold that $12,000-a-year post by Mayor La-Guardia.

Judge Paige, 42, will succeed Judge A. V. B. Voorhees, white, who will retire on December 31 after 39 years' service.

The new appointee is a graduate of Howard University and the Columbia University Law School. He was admitted to the bar in June, 1925. He is married, has two children and lives at 100 West 121st Street.

He was appointed by Mayor LaGuardia as a magistrate in September, 1936, for a 10-year term at $10,000 a year. A one-time deputy attorney general, Judge Paige is active in philanthropic and social work. He is a Catholic, a member of the Knights of Columbus and past commander of an American Legion post.

Judge Paige is a former student at Fisk University, and received his A.B. degree from Howard University in 1921.

D. A. RETURNS FROM CRUISE

NOV 30 1940

Francis E. Rivers returned to the city Thanksgiving on the S. S. America after a twelve day cruise in the Caribbean recuperating from the strenuous GOP campaign. His wife, Mrs. Billy Rivers greeted him at the United States Lines dock. He returned to his desk at the District Attorney's office Friday.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

NEW YORK

Negro Judge

Because success in the white man's world is hard for even the most intelligent male Negro to attain, U. S. colored people last week were jubilant over one of the greatest honors ever to come to a woman of their race. Handsome, 31-year-old Jane M. Bolin, a lawyer, had been appointed a Justice in the Court of Domestic Relations in New York City. She was the first Negro woman judge in U. S. history. Dean Finder

The appointment came as a surprise to everyone, Miss Bolin included. Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia had simply notified her to be at his office the next day, and when she appeared, Miss Bolin was immediately sworn in as a justice for a ten-year term at $12,000 a year. 8-5-39

The Court of Domestic Relations, which handles marital and juvenile problems from a social rather than legalistic point of view, has two white women among its 12 justices. Judges hear cases more or less privately in small council rooms, and try to give advice rather than mete out the law. Miss Bolin is familiar with the court's aims and methods, since she has spent the last two years as an assistant corporations counsel assigned to it. Her work in that capacity attracted attention and won her the appointment.

The new justice comes from a family of lawyers. In Poughkeepsie, N. Y., where her family has lived for five generations, her father and brother, Gaius Bolin and Gaius Bolin, Jr., have a law firm. Miss Bolin herself went to Wellesley College, where she graduated with honors in 1928. She finished Yale law school in 1931 and was admitted to the New York bar the next year. In 1933, she married Ralph E. Mizelle, a fellow attorney, with whom she practiced law for a while.

Mr. Mizelle is now an attorney with the Post Office Department in Washington. He and his wife have a four-room apartment overlooking Central Park in New York where they keep their pet cocker spaniel. They have no children.

Slim, with close-cropped hair and big eyes, Miss Bolin doesn't look like a judge, but she's determined to be a good one. She says "it's satisfying work."

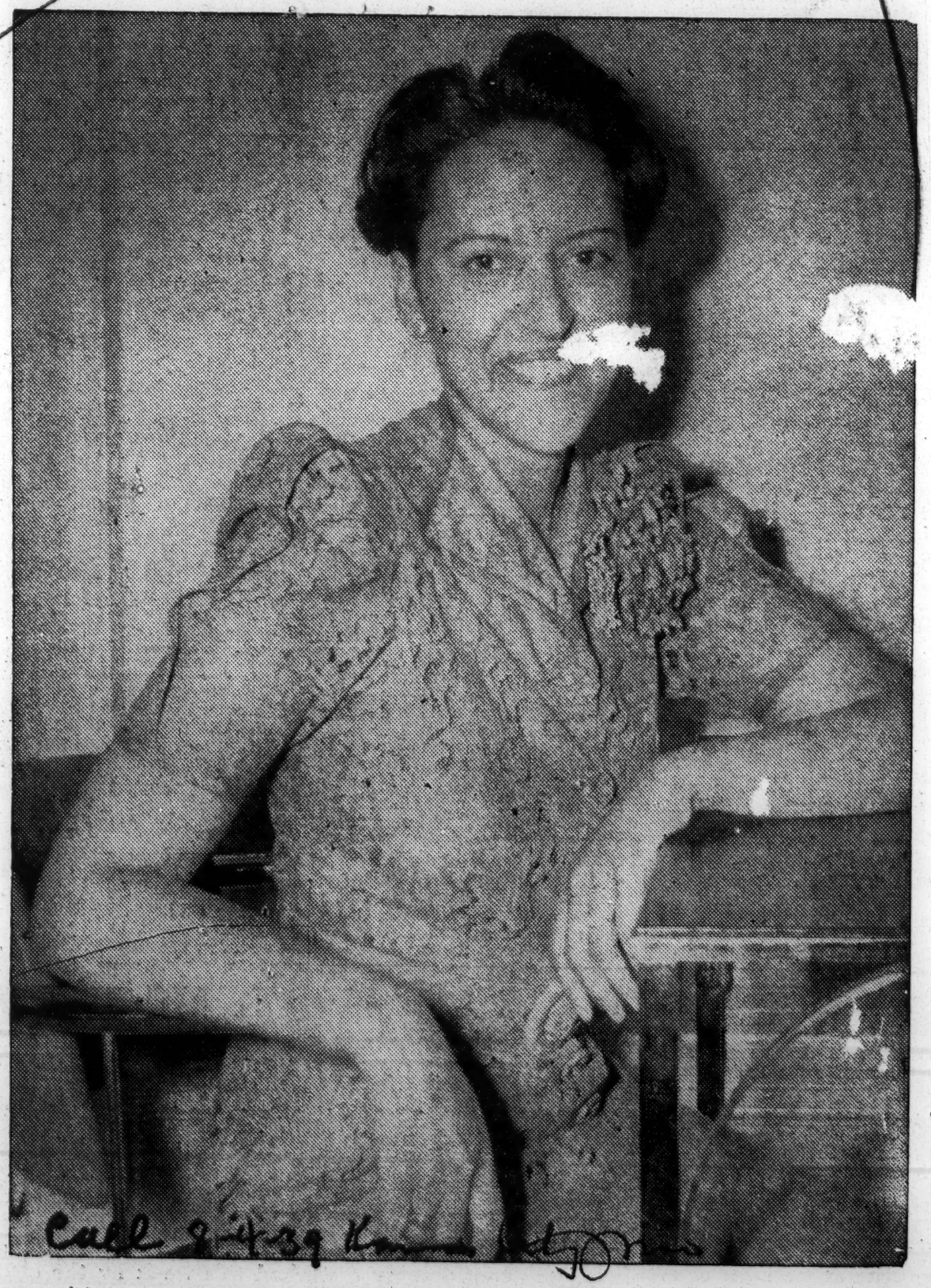
Washington, D. C. Post
July 23, 1939

Colored Woman Named N.Y. Judge

New York, July 22 (AP).—Jane Bolin, 31, former Wellesley honor student and graduate of the Yale Law School, today became the first colored woman justice of the Court of Domestic Relations.

The new justice is the wife of Ralph E. Mizelle, a Washington attorney.

Woman Judge Will Get $12,000 a Year



Call 8-4-39

MISS JANE BOLIN, 31, who was sworn in July 22 by Mayor F. H. LaGuardia as a justice in the court of domestic relations in New York City. Miss Bolin is the first Negro woman judge in the history of the city. She has been an assistant corporation counsel since 1937. In private life she is Mrs. Ralph E. Mizelle, wife of a Washington lawyer. — (Acme photo.)

Up In New York

Mayor LaGuardia, of New York dished out a $12,000 judgeship position to a Negro woman last week. Now that is really something for our race to be proud of. The appointment of Jane M. Bolin, a young attractive woman, as a justice in the New York Court of Human Relation is a mark of progress for Negroes throughout the United States. The Negroes of Kansas, as well as in other states, congratulate Mrs. Bolin and extend a vote of thanks to Mayor LaGuardia.

New York City has one of the largest Negro voting populations in the world and for that reason the Negroes are a very important cog in the political wheel. Public officials in New York know the importance of the Negro vote and they do something about it. Public officials and politicians may not always dish out nice political jobs to members of our group on the "love" score, but because it is good politics, and they know that they can't feed the New York Negroes hot dogs and beer and keep them in line. So they do the next best thing, and that is to dish out nice political jobs with good pay.

Mayor LaGuardia has set a standard which should be followed by public officials throughout the United States, especially where there is a large Negro vote. Negroes should be inspired by this appointment to fight more and to continue a ceaseless battle for recognition in the government they help support with their franchise and money.

A WOMAN JUDGE

The appointment of Miss Jane Bolin as a judge in New York marks a new high in the progress of our women. Announcement of the unprecedented honor was received in Boston while the convention of the National Association of Colored Women was in session. It was enthusiastically hailed by delegates as a timely and impressive indorsement of their vision and efforts. If a pioneer appointment denotes courage on the part of an executive when the appointee is colored, what shall be said of an innovation which raises to high office a colored woman? Before such a step a small man would have faltered. But not the rugged-willed Mayor of New York. Fully aware, no doubt, of Miss Bolin's training, character and experience, Mayor La Guardia showed that in the unusual situation he had the fortitude of a man who had made sure of his ground. Starting with her preparation at Wellesley College and the Yale Law School Miss Bolin's qualifications increased first through the private practice of the law for five years and later through her work as an assistant corporation counsel. Meanwhile her abilities were being further tested and proved in service on executive boards and committees which dealt with problems of labor, equal rights and opportunities, health and housing.

Even this late day some are disposed to ignore the oft-demonstrated fact that it is almost always the well-qualified Race members who get into public office. And when the occupant of a key position in private employment is colored, it is a moral certainty that he is two or three times as competent as any white aspirant for the job. The liberals among whites are willing to buck color prejudice; they no longer fear the howls of Race-baiters; but what they do fear and are unable to defend is ignorance and incompetence in colored aspirants to private or public office. Mayor La Guardia experienced no embarassment in appointing Miss Bolin.

Arthur Taylor Appointed N. Y. District Attorney

NEW YORK—(ANP)—Atty. Arthur A. Taylor was named last week as assistant U. S. District attorney for the southern district of New York. Mr. Taylor, a graduate of Yale university and Yale Law school, is a member of the Twenty-first Assembly district organization headed by Herbert Bruce. At the same time Atty. Augustus Daly was appointed deputy collector of internal revenue for the third New York district.

Magazine Editor On Census Staff

NEW YORK, N. Y., Nov. 17—The appointment of Edward H. Lawson, Jr., managing editor of Opportunity magazine, as consultant on public relations in the Bureau of the Census was announced this week by the National Urban League.

Mr. Lawson will be stationed in New York and will continue his work with Opportunity, spending only as much time in Washington as required to carry out a program designed to inform members of the Race all over the United States of the nation-wide census to be taken next year, and to impress upon them the importance of full and honest cooperation with census enumerators.

Bertram L. Baker Takes Oath Of Office As Deputy Collector Of Internal Revenue. First District

Sworn in on Wednesday, November 1, as Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue, 1st District, by Collector Almo G. Rasquin was Bertram L. Baker, 41, well known political leader and tennis official of 548 Madison street, Brooklyn. Mr. Baker was assigned to the office audit section, becoming the second Negro accountant in that division, the other being Elton L. Roger.

The appointment was recommended by Stephen J. Carney, Democratic leader of the 17th Assembly District, and came in recognition of Baker's activities in the district as chairman of the important executive committee of the United Action Democratic Assocation. This association has been the deciding factor in the last two primary election fights held in the district.

Born in Nevis, B. W. I., where he studied, his early ambition was to become a minister and follow his father's footsteps. His father, the Rev. A. B. B. Baker, founded the Beulah Wesleyan Church in New York City in 1910 and at the present time is pastor-emeritus of Wesleyan Methodist Church in Nevis.

Coming to the U. S. in 1913 he went into the employ of Cox, Nostrand and Gussinon, big downtown manufacturers of electric light fixtures, and worked up in the business until he became office manager and had full charge of the accounting department. Baker resigned from the company in 1920 to enter private practice as an accountant.

Married he and his wife, Irene, and two daughters live at 543 Madison street. One daughter, Lillian, is a student at Hunter College and the youngest daughter, Marian, is a student at Girls' High School.

Well known in tennis circles, Baker is executive secretary of the American Tennis Association, chairman of the board of Utopian Tennis Club and member of the board of the New York Tennis Association. For several years he conducted a column in The New York Age on Masonry but was suspended from the order for 99 years when he wrote a column criticizing the acts of the Grand Master and refused to submit future columns to the order first for censorship before publication.

His only comment on his appointment was "It is significant that the first Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, was born in Nevis, B. W. I."

Appointed In Ohio

LAWRENCE O. PAYNE

Lawrence O. Payne Is Named To High State Post By Gov. of Ohio

COLUMBUS, O. — Lawrence O. Payne, for the last 10 years a member of Cleveland City council, has been named a member of the Ohio Pardon and Parole Commission by Governor John W. Bricker. The position, highest ever held by a Negro in Ohio government, pays $6,000 annually.

Terms of the recently named members of the commission are for two, four and six years, with Payne drawing the six-year term.

Payne's political career began in 1924 when he was admitted to the Ohio State Bar. He was the first Negro to serve as assistant prosecutor in Cuyahoga County. Elected to city council in Cleveland, 10 years ago, he served as chairman of the welfare committee and as a member of the important finance committee.

As Republican leader in the Eleventh Ward, Cleveland, Payne's ability and personality gained such wide and rapid recognition that in recent campaigns he has figured prominently in the councils of state and national organizations. With his wife, the former Mabel E. Cross, of Portsmouth, O., he lives at 2222 East 40th street, Cleveland.

Is First Colored Cleveland Judge

CLEVELAND, Ohio. — Parole Commissioner Lawrence O. Payne sat on common pleas bench as the first presiding judge of his race here, last week, during a probe of charges that criminals have been released from penal institutions through a collusion between former parole board members and lawyers.

APPOINTED

Atty. Wm. T. Mcknight, well known young Toledo, Ohio, barrister who has just been appointed special assistant Attorney General of the United States. Mr. McKnight has been assigned to the Dept. of Labor, wages and hours division and will have his headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio. A graduate of Yale Law school, Mr. McKnight served recently as Asst. Atty. General of the state of Ohio and is president of the Ohio N. A. A. C. P.

Assistant U. S. Attorney General

ATTY. Wm. T. McKNIGHT well known young Toledo Ohio, barrister who has been appointed special assistant Attorney General of the United States. Mr. McKnight has been assigned to the Department of Labor, wages and hour

Mr. Knight, a graduate of the University of Kansas and Yale Law School, was formerly Assistant Attorney General of Ohio.

He is beginning his third term as state president of the Ohio Conference of Branches of The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which organization he is a member of the National Legal Committee. He is also a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity and Elk and Masonic Lodges.

Ohio Lawyer To Special U. S. Post

McKNIGHT OF TOLEDO GETS APPOINTMENT

Washington (ANP)—William T. McKnight, Toledo attorney, has just been appointed to the position of Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States. He has been assigned to the Department of Labor, Wage-Hour Division. At present, Mr. McKnight is in Washington for a period of training, after which time he will report to the Cleveland office where he will be assigned to duty.

GETS POSITION IN OHIO TAX DIVISION

CLEVELAND.—(ANP)—John W. Bricker scored another first in recognition to Negro voters in Ohio this week with the appointment of Arthur Johnston of Cleveland, former mayor of Miles Heights, and active Republican figure, to the position of Examiner Grade 4-c in the Ohio Department of Taxation.

The appointment, a provisional one, is the first in the history of the state to be given a Negro, and makes Mr. Johnson the only Negro representative now in this branch of the state govenment.

Mr. Johston, a native of Jamaica, British West Indies, has lived in Cleveland since 1913. He was educated in the high schools of Battle Creeck, Mich., and at the Medical Missionary college, Detroit. Later, he studied accountancy at the Y. M. C. A. school of Accountancy in Detroit.

The appointment came through the recommendation of Negro Republican leaders of Cleveland and the approval of George Bender, Republican County chairman. Mr. Johnston stumped the state in 1938 in the interests of Senator Taft and the Republican ticket. In 1927 he was elected and served two terms as Mayor of Miles Heights council.

Negro Secretary to White Congressman

DAYTON, O., Jan (ANP)—Harold H. Shaw, native Dayton-ian, last week left for the nation's capitol to take up his duties as one of the secretaries to Congressman Harry N. Routzohn white Republican representative in the 76th U. S. Congress. Shaw is reputedly the first of his race to serve as secretary to a white congressman and Routzohn has been warmly commended for his courage in thus appointing a Negro. Observers here declare Routzohn's action will result in many Negroes returning to the GOP banner.

Bishop Ransom Seeks to Hold Parole Job

COLUMBUS, O., MAY 11—Bishop R. C. Ransom, AME church leader and Democratic bigwig in the 1936 presidential campaign, faces the possibility of being dropped from the state parole board, it was learned this week with news that friends, headed by Mrs. Mary Valentine, were circulating a petition urging that he be retained on the board.

Bishop Ransom, the first and only colored man to be given such a post in Ohio, was appointed by former Gov. Martin L. Davey (Dem.) with the change of administration and through legislative action, however, it is reported that the old board will be replaced by a new one—one Democrat, two Republicans. Under the Davey appointment, and if a new board is not created, the Bishop will have several years to serve.

Ohio Points the Way

"The Republicans have won, but the Negroes have lost," announced a former Oklahoman, now living in Ohio, during the course of a conversation we had with this gentleman in Columbus several weeks ago. Our friend went on to point out in a general way what had been done for Negroes, by the out-going Governor Davey and the Democratic party. "I know," said my friend, "the Republicans are not going to give Negroes the fine opportunity for administrative service as did the Democrats."

This former Oklahoman talked so much our curiosity was aroused, so we sought out the president of the Ohio State Democratic League, Thomas J. Davis, a colored man, who has led the Negro Democrats in battle for several years. We wanted to know from him what the Democrats in Ohio had done for the faithful.

The list supplied this writer by Mr. Davis of the many administrative positions given Negroes in his state by the Democratic party is so imposing that the Black Dispatch believes it would be a fine thing to pass it on to the warring Negro factions in Oklahoma. If some of the Negro Democrats in Oklahoma would utilize their time attempting to open up new avenues of service, instead of confining their attack on the four tax-supported institutions for Negroes in Oklahoma, we might consider that in Oklahoma we were making progress.

Here is the list of appointive positions provided the Negro Democrats in the state of Ohio:

Liquor Department: 5 inspectors, 5 managers, 6 cashiers, 40 clerks, 20 porters, 1 mailing room clerk, 10 warehouse clerks, 3 stenographers, 1 secretary to the district supervisor (Cleveland); formerly had 4 messengers and clerks in the central office, but promoted them to other jobs and failed to replace them.

Office of Treasurer of the State of Ohio: 4 assistant cashiers, 2 janitors, 1 messenger, 1 matron.

Attorney General's Office: 3 assistant attorney generals, 1 stenographers, 6 other employees (3 physicians, 3 attorneys).

Public Works Department: 50 employees (most of whom are janitors or do a similar type of work). There have been no appreciable increase in number of employees on Public Works payroll, however there is one assistant superintendent of maintenance and one chief supply clerk, both are under Civil Service. Numbers of these positions were chosen from the Civil Service list.

Auto License Bureau: Negroes in Cleveland, Toledo, Akron, Cincinnati and Dayton were given the privilege of operating this agency. Note: A good agency will net $1,000 for a month's operation.

Highway Department: One investigator in each of the following named cities: Cleveland, Akron, Mansfield, Toledo, Cincinnati, Steubenville and Columbus. Near 200 laborers. There is a fluctuation of the numbers employed in this division from time to time.

Department of Health: 1 assistant director of public health, 1 nurse, 2 laboratory assistants.

Welfare Department: 1 member of Board of Paroles and Pardons, 1 assistant superintendent, Ohio Penitentiary Hospital; 5 matrons, Delaware Industrial School for Girls; 1 supervisor, Division of Aid for the aged; 16 investigators, Division of Aid for the Aged; several stenographers and clerks in Division of Aid for the Aged; 2 investigators for the Parole Board, 2 investigators in the Industrial Commission.

Relief Commission: 8 field men, 1 woman. Barber Board: 1 inspector. Board of Cosmetology: 1 inspector. Employment Commission: 1 manager. Insurance Commission: 1 examiner, 1 special deputy.

BISHOP RANSOM MAY LOSE BIG JOB

Abolition of Present Board And Creation of New One May Cost Negro Democrats Rallying Point for 1940.

By J. E. CHICHESTER
Staff Correspondent

CLEVELAND, Feb. 16—Bishop Reverdy Ransom's $5,000-a-year Parole Board post appeared to be in jeopardy and political observers grew apprehensive here last week, when two bills were introduced into the Ohio Legislature, asking the abolishment of the present four-member board and the creation of a new five-member body.

Should the legislation pass, it is generally felt that Ransom, an appointee of former Governor Martin L. Davey, would not be appointed to the new board. This threat to Bishop Ransom, whose appointment by Davey, was hailed as the most significant ever accorded a Negro in the state, has been looked upon with apprehension by Negro followers of both major parties.

To the Negro Democrats, it would be a telling blow to the remaining patronage left them for a rebuilding campaign in 1940. Republicans feel that once the board is abolished, the governor may "forget" to appoint another Negro member.

BISHOP RANSOM

The Negro press of last week carried this story in part about Bishop Ransom:

"Bishop Reverdy Ransom's $5,000-a-year Parole Board post appeared to be in jeopardy and political observers grew apprehensive here last week when two bills were intrduced into the Ohio Legislature asking the abolishment of the present four-member board and the creation of a new five member body".

The church pays the Bishop $5,000 "plus", and in addition his political job pays him $5,000 on the side. Which one of these jobs does he prefer . . . the office of Bishop in the great A. M. E. church or membership on the Cleveland Parole Board?

Bishop Ransom Loses Parole Job

COLUMBUS, O., May 11—Automatically retired when Governor John W. Bricker signed the reorganization bill abolishing the four-member Parole Board Friday, was Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom of Wilberforce, O., Democrat, who was appointed by former Governor Martin Davey.

Bishop Ransom's successor to the $6,000 a year job is Lawrence O. Payne, influential member of the City Council here for a number of years. Payne was appointed Monday a member of the newly organized State Parole Board for a six year term.

Retired along with Bishop Ransom were the other three members (all white), Frank Sotak, Cleveland; Judge Harrison Jewell, Delaware, and Mrs. Myrna Smith, former secretary to Governor Davey before her appointment to the board.

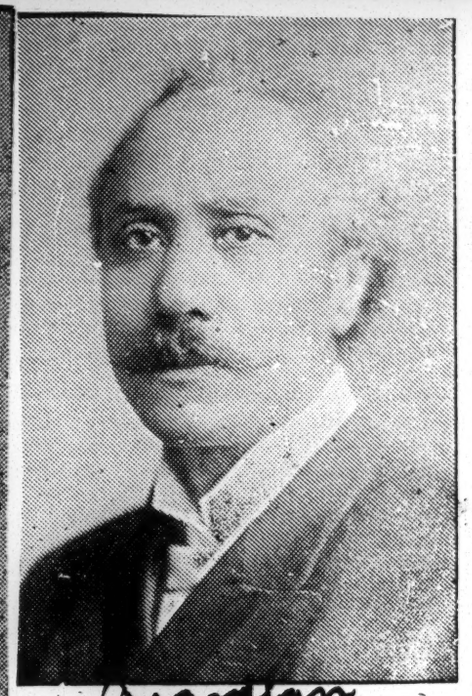
ASK NEGRO FEDERAL JUDGE FOR ISLANDS!

New York—(CNA)—"Representatives of Virgin Island organization in this city met this week to initiate a campaign for the appointment of another Negro Federal Judge for the Virgin Islands, to succeed William H. Hastie who has resigned the post to become Dean of Howard University.

Ashley L. Totten, labor leader, who was elected chairman of the Publicity Committee, announced that Virgin Islanders in this country were determined to prosecute a vigorous program of action to keep the Federal post in the hands of the race and will back the young and brilliant District Attorney in the Islands, James A. Bough, for the post."

What's the matter with Bowman, the great Democratic Attorney of Columbus, Ohio, for Judge of the Virgin Islands? He received over 170,000 votes in our last Election!

Mr. Bowman, besides possessor of every requisite for that exalted position, received over 170,000 votes for Ohio Supreme Court Judge, in the election that followed his nomination last Fall! ! That marvellous record cannot be attributed to misconception on the part of the voters, for he is too well-known, and his color precludes any possibility of mistake in regard to his racial identity. Further more, he was a receptive rather than an aggressive candidate, and his modesty accentuated the dignity for which he has ever been noted, the courtesy which has ever enhanced his distinction.



BISHOP R. C. RANSOM of Ohio, who was legislated out of his position on State Parole Board.

A. D. GAITHER

OHIO STATE NEGRO NYA HEAD NAMED

A. D. Gaither Succeeds Dr. James H. Robinson of Wilberforce

COLUMBUS, Ohio. — S. Burns Weston, Ohio Youth Administrator, has announced the appointment of A. D. Gaither as state supervisor of Negro activities for the National Youth Administration in Ohio.

Gaither formerly was director of NYA's Wilberforce Work Experience center, co-sponsored by Wilberforce university.

His appointment fills the vacancy left when Dr. James H. Robinson of Wilberforce university was called upon to devote all his efforts to his increased duties and responsibilities at the university.

Gaither received an M. A. degree from Ohio State university in 1938, his thesis being on "Negro Women in Domestic Service in Columbus, Ohio." He received his B. A. degree from Knoxville college, and for five years was principal and coach at Nelson Merry high school, Jefferson City, Tenn.

He has served as director of the Wilberforce Work Experience center since its establishment last fall. At the center, approximately 70 unemployed Negro youth from all parts of Ohio are receiving part-time employment, work experience and related instruction. They participate in the educational and recreational facilities of the university, but do not receive university credit for their studies. They have constructed a field house for the university, and are using it as their dormitory.

Gaither's successor as director of the center has not yet been named. A recent addition to the center's staff was Joseph Winkfield, who has assumed his duties as personnel and guidance supervisor.

Winkfield, a native of Washington, D. C., is a graduate of Lincoln university, Pa., and received his M. A. degree in personnel and guidance from Columbia university in June.

"I Realized That A Tremendous Responsibility Was Upon Me"

Journal and Guide 10/21/39 norfolk, Va

Mrs. Fauset Tells How It Feels To Be a Legislator

"As I looked at those 206 men, and as I looked over that big beautiful hall filled with flowers, my mind went back to a little log cabin anywhere in the South. I thought to myself, just before I stepped down with the little Bible in my hand to take the oath, 'certainly no one of my ancestors, my slave ancestors—certainly no old slave great grandmother, anywhere in the South, ever looked forward to the day when one of her children's children's children would be sitting in the halls of the great state's legislatures, helping to fashion the laws that will govern, not only colored people, but white people, and all the people of the state."

"That was the thought in my mind as I stepped down that day. No thought of personal pride in the situation. I realized that a tremendous responsibility was imposed upon me by the people who had helped to make it possible for me to be there. A responsibility to America, and to advance the cause of society wherever possible."

Thus did Mrs. Crystal Byrd Fauset, the nation's only Negro woman member of a state legislature, describe her emotions as she took the oath of office as a member of the Pensylvania State Legislature. Mrs. Fauset who has been actively engaged in YWCA work for a number of years was speaking before the Charleston, West Virginia Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on Sunday, Oct. 9 at the Simpson Methodist Church.

THE GREATER RESPONSIBILITY

The Pennsylvania State legislator was introduced by Mrs. Sarah Meriwether Nutter, one of West Virginia's most outstanding women in civic and educational pursuits. Music was furnished by the Garnet High School and Boyd Junior high school glee clubs under the direction of Dr. Maude Wanzer Layne, director of music in the Charleston colored schools.

MRS. FAUSET

Mrs. Fauset renewed in the minds of her audience the greater responsibility that rests upon the shoulders of the present generation than rested upon the shoulders of the fathers and mothers of long ago. A greater opportunity is now available, she stated. In order that we might carry out our responsibility and advance our cause in American life, the speaker pointed out several things that needed to be done.

"We need much more knowledge of ourselves here in America," Mrs. Fauset stated. "We need not only to know what is happening to us now, but we need to know what has happened to us since civilization. We need to know all we can about our development in American life. Aside from this, we need to go back and get some knowledge of our group in Africa and learn something from African civilization."

She expressed the belief that if we knew something of the historical importance of our race, it would do away with any sense of embarrassment that American civilization and culture may impose. The moment we begin to understand African civilization, and begin to have some knowledge of the culture, however primitive, of a race, we begin to get a toe-hold which nothing can disturb."

In discussing the great contribution made by mothers of long ago, she outlined their struggle and sacrifice to integrate themselves in American life. She pointed out the difficulty of the job that rested upon their shoulders. She brought to life a picture of the late Madame C. J. Walker who realized her lack and went out and paid someone to tutor her so that she might give all she had to her business of improving the appearance of Negro women.

INTELLIGENT POLITICAL ACTION NECESSARY

"And now," Mrs. Fauset continued "intelligent political action is necessary." We must begin to get some strength in politics and government, which will make it possible for us to get an economic foot-hold in American life. Government controls every phase of our life—education, the type of church, commerce, economics. We have a great opportunity for education because the legislators and the people pass laws concerning the same. We are able to worship as we please, because we have a government that wills that the people shall have freedom of worship.

In concluding her address she again called attention to the personal responsibility of Negro citizens to advance the cause of the Negro "wherever we find ourselves." The day of individual leadership, I believe, is practically ever among Negroes. No Negro can hope to stand out forever head and shoulder above all other leaders. The day has come when we must have collective leadership, and we must take our leadership wherever we find it, and unite it.

$1,125 Christmas Gift For Colored Lawyer

Lewis Tanner Moore, attorney, of 2240 north 15th street, is among the nine Assistant District Attorneys who were assured Christmas gifts of $1,125 each, asked by District Attorney Charles F. Kelley, when City Council passed the omnibus transfer ordinance, including an appropriation of $10,125 for the men.

The payments represent money claimed to be due between August 16 and December 31, 1938, which City Controller Robert C. White refused to pay, he said, there was no legislative authorizations for the positions.

Philadelphia Tribune 12-28-39

Crystal Bird Fauset Quits Legislature to Take WPA Position

Kansas City Mo
Call 11-17-39

HARRISBURG, Pa.—(ANP)—Resignation of Crystal B. Fauset from her post as member of the Pennsylvania state legislature to accept an appointment as assistant state director of the WPA education and recreation program, was announced by Colonel Philip Mathews, state WPA administrator, early in November.

In addition to her duties with the education and recreation program, the first Negro woman ever to be elected to a state legislature will act as consultant and advisor on all race relations questions and problems in the Works program in Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Fauset brings to the works program a wealth of experience in educational fields. She was educated at Boston Normal school and the Teachers college of Columbia university. Her work with social service, educational and recreational agencies is nationally recognized.

She was formerly field secretary of the national board of the Y. W. C. A.; board member of the Philadelphia Y. W. C. A.; chairman of the Philadelphia League of Negro Women; executive secretary of the Institute of National Relations at Swarthmore college during the summers of 1933, '34 and '35; member of the board of trustees of Cheyney Teachers' college and interracial lecturer for the American Friends Service in Eastern Secondary Schools and Colleges.

Several years ago Mrs. Fauset served with the recreation program of the WPA in Pennsylvania.

CRYSTAL BIRD FAUSET

Kansas City Mo.
Call-11-17-39

Why Crystal Fauset Quit

PHILADELPHIA. — (ANP) — News that Crystal Bird Fauset, first colored woman to be elected to a state legislature in USA, had resigned her seat in the Pennsylvania law-making body, was a great shock to this city and still has it confused, as can be recognized from the comments on the streets and in Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. lobbies.

Everyone seems to feel that Mrs. Fauset had an opportunity to use the state legislature job as a stepping stone to other and bigger things, and that it had great prestige value—a value which Mrs. Fauset was expected to "fall for."

Other comments hold that the silver-tongued law-maker had taken orders from party powers that be (she's a Democrat) and that there is a "fix" somewhere.

Still others laughingly pointed to the $4,000 pay which the new job as state coordinator for WPA activities carries with it.

But, despite the pay and the political reasons hinted, most people were inclined to the opinion that "it is hard t understand."

At this writing Mrs. Fauset is out of the city. The one person who has been her right-hand companion, booster, and co-worker is Miss Alyce Anderson. Asked why the sudden step-down from the legislative job, Miss Anderson said:

"Mrs. Fauset spent several weeks thinking over this charge. She recognized what the legislative job could mean to her, personally, but she also saw that she could hope to do little in carrying out the program of her party and her own, as long as the legislature is predominantly Republican.

Call 11-17-39

"Finally, she came to the decision that, in the legislature, she was looking out for Crystal Bird Fauset, but in this new job, she would have an opportunity to say a word and look after the interests of Negroes all over the state who need WPA or are serve by WPA. These people have not had a friend in court all these years. To serve this greater people is her reason for leaving the legislature."

Miss Anderson did not speak as the official spokesman of Miss Fauset, but her opinion seems to be nearest that which Mrs. Fauset would give herself. Long before the legislator had come into political leadership, Miss Anderson and she have worked together building political fences and making plans for the future. Miss Anderson is the sister of the celebrated contralto, Marian Anderson.

Tells Why Only Woman Legislator Of Race Quit Pennsylvania Post

Pittsburgh Courier 11-12-39 Atlanta, Ga.

PHILADELPHIA—(ANP)—News that Crystal Bird Fauset, first colored woman to be elected to a state ligislature in USA, had resigned her seat in the Pennsylvania law-making body, was a great shock to this city and still has it confused, as can be recognized from the comments on the streets and in YMCA and YWCA lobbies.

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SALARY NOW $4,000

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COULD HELP OTHERS

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RESIGNS FROM LEGISLATURE

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The resignation of Mrs. Crystal Byrd Fauset from her post as member of the Pennsylvania State Legislature to accept an appointment as Assistant State Director of the Education and Recreation Program of the Work Projects Administration, was announced this week by Colonel Philip Matthews, State WPA Administrator.

Guardian

In addition to her duties with the education and recreation program, Mrs. Fauset, who in 1937 was the first colored woman ever to be elected to a State Legislature, will act as consultant and adviser on all race relations questions and problems for the WPA in Pennsylvania. 11-11-39

Mrs. Fauset was educated at Boston Normal School and the Teachers College of Columbia University. She was formerly field secretary of the national board of the Young Women's Christian Association; Board Member of the Philadelphia Y. W. C. A., chairman of the Philadelphia League of Colored Women; executive secretary of the Institute of National Relation at Swarthmore College during the summers of 1933, '34 and '53; member of the Board of Trustees of the Cheyney Teachers' College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania, and interracial lecturer for the American Friends' Service in Eastern Secondard Schools and Colleges.

Boston Mass.

Guardian 11-11-39

CRYSTAL BYRD FAUSETT

First to be elected a state legislator resigned this week from the Pennsylvania legislature to accept a Federal WPA post.

Accepts Federal Position

Mrs. Crystal Fauset Leaves Legislature For WPA Post

HARRISBURG, Pa. —Approximately one year after she had been elected, the first colored member of a state legislature, Mrs. Crystal B. Fauset of Philadelphia has resigned to accept an appointment as assistant State diretor of the Works Projects Administration education and recreation program.

WILL ADVISE ALSO

MRS. FAUSET

The resignation of Mrs. Fauset, elected to the legislature in November, 1938, to take effect this month, was announced by Col. Philip Mathews, State WPA administrator. She was the first woman of any race elected to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives.

In addition to her duties with the education and recreation program, Mrs. Fauset will act as consultant and adviser on all race relations questions and problems in the works program of Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Fauset was educated at Boston Normal School and the Teachers' College of Columbia University. Her work with social service educational and recreational agencies is nationally recognized.

She was formerly secretary of the National YWCA board, board member of the Philadelphia YWCA chairman of the Philadelphia League of Colored Women, and executive secretary of the Institute of National Relations at Swarthmore College during the summers of 1933, 1934, and 1935.

In addition, Mrs. Fauset has been a trustee of the Cheyney Teachers' College, and interracial lecturer for the American Friends Service in eastern secondary schools and colleges.

Several years ago she served with the state's WPA recreation program.

Norfolk Va.

Mrs. Fauset Quits State Legislature For WPA Post

Daily Herald

Resigns Legislature Post

HARRISBURG, Pa.—(SNS)—The resignation of Crystal B. Fauset from her post as member of the Pennsylvania State Legislature to accept an appointment as Assistant State Director of the Education and Recreation Program of the Work Projects Administration, was announced by Colonel Philip Mathews, State WPA Administrator, early in November.

In addition to her duties with the education and recreation program, the first Negro woman ever to be elected to a State Legislature will act as consultant and adviser on all trade relations and problems in the Works Program in Pennsylvania.

11-9-39

Mrs. Fauset brings to the Works Program a wealth of experience in educational fields. She was educated at Boston Normal School and the Teachers College of Columbia University. Her work with social service educational and recreational agencies is nationally recognized.

Atlanta, Ga.

She was formerly Field Secretary of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association; Board member of the Philadelphia YWCA, chairman of the Philadelphia League of Negro Women; executive secretary of the Institute of National Relations at Swarthmore College during the summers of 1933, '34 and '35; member of the Board of Trustees of the Cheyney Teachers' College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania, and interracial lecturer for the American Friends Service in Eastern Secondary Schools and Colleges.

Several years ago, Mrs. Fauset served with the recreation program of the WPA in Pennsylvania.

The resignation of Mrs. Crystall Bird Fausett from membership in the Pennsylvania State Legislature to accept an appointment as assistant state director of the education and recreation program of the WPA, was announced at Harrisburg Wednesday. She was the first woman of her race to ever be elected to a state legislature.

Homer Brown 'Ablest Member' Of House Of Representatives

Tribune 5-25-39

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Homer S. Brown, Pittsburgh attorney and a member of the State House of Representatives, was chosen on Tuesday as one of three members all Democrats, who won highest honors in a poll conducted among 42 members of the Pennsylvania Legislative Correspondents' Association.

Philadelphia Pa.

The poll showed that more than two-thirds of the correspondents, most of them Republicans, picked Brown as "the ablest all-around member of the House".

Senator Shapiro of Philadelphia won this honor in the Senate. State Representative Roy E. Furman of Greene County was the third man chosen.

Presided Over House

Brown, who recently presided over the House at the invitation of Speaker Turner, the first colored member so designated, was voted as the House's best orator and possessor of the coolest head among the 208 members of the lower branch of the legislature.

He was hard pressed by Representative Herbert B. Cohen, of York, minority floor leader, for the best orator, but had no competition for having the "coolest head."

RACES

Ablest Time

Coolest head: Homer S. Brown
Best orator: Homer S. Brown
Ablest all-round: Homer S. Brown

Thus last week the watchful reporters who cover Pennsylvania's Legislature voted their conviction that Democrat Homer S. Brown of Pittsburgh's "Hill" area has plenty of ability. What made the vote news: Homer Brown is a Negro.

Most Negroes elected to serve in legislative chambers with white men are noticeable only because they are black or because they blatantly insist on their race's rights. Oscar De Priest and his successor, Arthur Mitchell, only two Negroes elected to the U. S. Congress since Reconstruction, rated far below average in ability. Not so Homer Brown. Quiet, effective, popular, he is sought out by his white colleagues for his opinions on constitutional law—which is his heavyweight hobby. That attribute, plus his oratorical persuasiveness, pegs him as the lower house's most influential member on nonpartisan legislation. No stooge for his party, Homer Brown voted to impeach Pittsburgh's comic Democratic Mayor McNair, to investigate Democratic Governor Earle's beclouded administration.

TO RESEARCH POSITION IN PENNSYLVANIA

Joseph V. Baker Appointed Deputy Director in Field of Labor

Call 8-4-39

PHILADELPHIA. —(ANP)— The long-awaited "plums" from the new Republican administration in Pennsylvania began to drop last week when announcement was made of the appointment of Joseph V. Baker of this city as deputy director of research for the state department of labor and industry.

At the same time the unofficial word is to the effect that Mrs. Maude Coleman, Harrisburg, is soon to return to her old job of interracial consultant in the state department of welfare, a position she has held until the change of administration four years ago.

Another name mentioned for this spot is that of Miss Minnie Cooke, of Philadelphia, a daughter Elk an ardent political worker.

Baker is credited with having held the Republican forces together throughout the state at a time when so many old G.O.P. functionaries were holding down lucious New Deal emergency berths. He is chairman of the Board of the Republican State Negro council, editor of "Brown America," and directed the state campaign for the Republicans last year.

The new deputy director of research is expected to launch a study of the economic conditions of the Pennsylvania Negro with an eye to re-integrate him in industry. He will also attempt to increase goodwill between Negro labor and the labor unions and between the unions and industry.

Born in Abbeyville, near Greenville, S. C., 31 years ago, Baker's is another story of the southern boy who has come north and made good. Eight years ago he was still in Abbeyville then he came to Philadelphia, got a job as cub reporter on the Philadelphia Tribune, studied nights in both high school and at Temple university, and later opened his own public relations office at 1519 Lombard street.

An enterpriser and pioneer, he has weathered all kinds of storms, including a physical handicap would stumped many other people. Now he gives counsel to both political and industrial leaders, has a four-room suite of offices at 1519 Lombard street, and is very far removed from his Abbeyville days.

Baker is married to the former Hazel Powell Strange, local school teacher, and lives in Germantown.

A Colored Councilman

FOR YEARS this newspaper fought for a colored councilman.

Four years ago the Republican organization endorsed, nominated and elected James H. Irvin as a member of City Council. It was a great victory.

This year it appears that the Democratic leadership has endorsed and will nominate John H. Boykin as one of its candidates for City Council from the Fourth Councilmanic District. This is the same District in which the Republicans achieved a victory four years ago with Mr. Irvin as their candidate.

Apparently, the leadership of the Republican Party is unable to decide whether or not to endorse a colored candidate for City Council this year. That leadership should remember that four years ago the Democrats thought that it was not necessary to slate a colored candidate for Council. The results show that all Republican candidates won with a colored man on the ticket.

So thoroughly convinced are the Democrats that it pays to consider the colored vote by placing members of their race on the ticket, that in all probability they will endorse a colored man for Council from the Seventh District in North Philadelphia. If this happens the Democrats will nominate two colored candidates for City Council. Is it possible that the Republican Ward leaders are so lacking in political wisdom that they will not nominate one?

In 1935, the Republicans did what the Democrats refused to do and won. Now comes 1939. Will the Republicans refuse to do what the Democrats are doing and lose?

Colored citizens are in no mood to lose any of the gains they have made in politics. If the Republicans refuse to play ball and the Democrats will—well that is the party which will get the bulk of the colored vote.

SWORN IN AS PENNSYLVANIA WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION REFEREE

Courier 7-22-39

William J. Curtis, Sewickley, Pa., being sworn in as Workmen's Compensation Referee of Pennsylvania by Clerk of Court William E. Dillman last Saturday morning. Mr. Curtis is a former importer. He was sponsored for his new position by the Allegheny County Independent Colored Political and Civic League. Robert L. Vann is chairman of the board. Shown above, left to right: Mr. Dillman, Mrs. Gladys Curtis, Dr. Donald Jefferson, president of the League; Mr. Curtis, and Benjamin Duncan.—Courier saff photo.

Lawyer Named To Newark Housing Board

J. Mercer Burrell, Former Assemblyman, Is New Appointee

Courier 9-7-39

J. MERCER BURRELL

NEWARK, N. J., Sept. (ANP)—The Newark Housing authority extended further recognition to Negroes this week by the appointment of former Assemblyman J. Mercer Burrell as assistant counsel and title attorney on the staff of Dr. Milton Konvits, chief counsel of the authority. The appointment followed a complete organization of the legal department of the housing authority.

Of the 22 lawyers previously retained to handle the examination and closing of titles for the four original Newark slum clearance projects, only Burrell and seven others were reappointed. Roger W. Yancy, well known colored attorney, was among those on the original legal staff.

The new appointments were sponsored by Harold A. Lett, executive secretary of the Urban League, who is vice chairman of the Housing authority, and was made through the support of Director Pearce R. Franklin of the department of public works and his executive secretary, Philip Konvits

Representative

WOMAN LEGISLATOR STIRS LARGE CROWD

CRYSTAL BYRD FAUSET of Philadelphia is the first Negro woman to be elected to the State legislature.

HON. CRYSTAL BIRD FAUSETT
Member of Penn. legislature who addressed a large audience at the St. Mark Church last Sunday at the Brotherhood's Forum.

By MONROE MASON

Hon. Crystal Byrd Fausett, only Colored woman solon of a state legislature in America, was guest speaker last Sunday night at St. Mark Congregational Church, Roxbury.

The brotherhood of the church, holding its annual forum, sponsored the event. A capacity audience welcomed the speaker back to her home town.

From organ prelude to the church pastor's benediction, each number on the forum program had its place because of careful arrangement of the committee. Dorian Yates at the organ console; William B. Sexton, tenor soloist; Miss Helen Worthy, in masterful violin selections accompanied by Robert Riemenschneider; and Edward Dixon's introductory speech, augmented Mrs. Fausett's characterization of America's Colored Womanhood immensely. George Goodman's twenty-minute question period, a brief-case presentation, a poetic serenade read by chairman, Joseph Houston, wishing the "Uran Leaguer' bon-voyage to Washington, D. C., singing of "Lift Every Voice" by the congregation, completed the 1939 annual Brotherhood forum.

Mrs. Fausett's appearance on the platform was charming, a bronze replica of a Paris model attired in a modish and simple creation of black with irredescent neckpiece. She spoke with ease and grace from a fund of knowledge concerning American colored women.

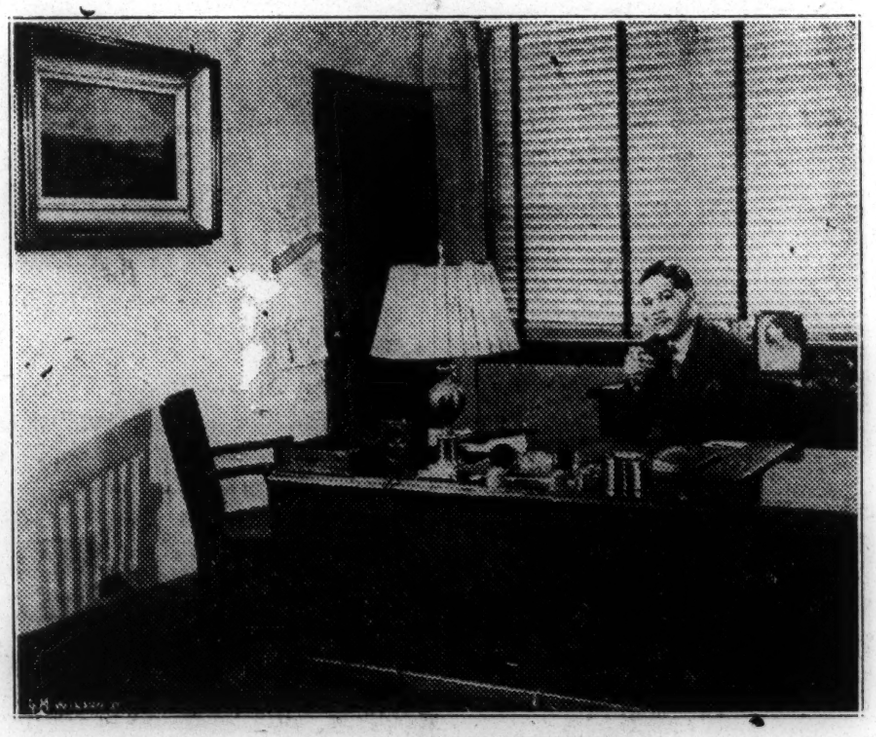
The beautiful tribute she paid Boston, the city of her youth, and unforgettable childhood associations, deeply moved the audience. In sequence, she viewed how conditions have changed and the wide gap that has been bridged to make women not only competitors of men but also their equals.

The climax of the speech was reached when she asserted that all Colored organizations including the Brotherhood should take part in politics. "I do not care whether you like it, when I mention politics, for the salvation of our race, it must have a political tinge." Her statement that 1,000 Colored democratic women contributed $1,200 to the general Democratic campaign fund was received with resounding applause. She reviewed many incidents of her public life, including her present incumbency as Representative of a constituency three fourths white, the only woman among six Colored members in the Pennsylvania legislature.

She further stated: "I did not go there as a woman, I went there as a legislator to represent my constituency. I have been appointed to two important legislative committees and my sex is forgotten when I sit down to discuss the problems that arise. All of my colleagues are men. They treat me as a legislator, not as a woman."

Mrs. Fausett arrived early Sunday and left Boston shortly after the address for Harrisburg by plane to resume her legislative duties.

PHILADELPHIA LAWYER APPOINTED ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY



HON. LEWIS TANNER MOORE

Among the most brilliant lawyers in Philadelphia is Lewis Tanner Moore who maintains a beautiful suite of offices in the Allen Building, where he has been since 1929. He is the son of Lewis B. Moore, Ph.D., Dean of Teachers College of Howard University and pastor of Faith Church of Germantown, and grandson of the late Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner, from 1868 to 1884 Editor of the Christian Recorder, and in 1883 first Editor of the A. M. E. Review.

Attorney Moore was born in Washington, D. C., June 20, 1899, where he attended the public schools. In 1921 he received his baccalaureate degree from Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. He attended the Harvard Law School, and was graduated from Temple University Law School June, 1929. The same year he was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar. Lawyer Moore has a very large legal practice, and is active in civic affairs,—President of John M. Langston Law Club, Chairman of Trustee Board, Faith Church, Germantown Secretary Board of Managers of Douglas Hospital, and has represented many other religious fraternal and social organizations throughout the city.

Mr. Moore has been legal counsel for the African M. E. Church in many real estate transactions,—with the late Bishop J. H. Jones in purchase of Jones Tabernacle, 20th and Dauphin Streets, redemption of Metropolitan Church, 20th and Fitzwater Streets. He handled the legal phase of the repurchase of the Allen Building by Manager G. E. Curry. On March 31, 1939 Lawyer Moore was appointed Assistant Attorney by the District Attorney Charles F. Kelly at a salary of $3,000 per year, and is the only Negro member among nine appointees.

Pittsburgh Legislator Wields Gavel Following Thunderous Ovation To Debate Ability

Tribune 4-20-39

Speaker Of House Ellwood Turner Invites Pittsburgher To Preside: Political History

Philadelphia Pa.

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Political history was made here Wednesday of last week when Homer S. Brown of Pittsburgh presided over the Pennsylvania House of Representatives.

Brown, a Democrat, won nation-wide acclaim last year when he spoke in the House of Representatives against the Grand Jury "gag" laws.

The "gag" laws were intended to prevent a Grand Jury investigation of certain men high in the Democratic administration.

Brown opposed the proposed law on the ground that it was unconstitutional, a position subsequently upheld by the State Supreme Court. While he expressed the "greatest confidence in the integrity and honesty of the high officials" of his party, he was equally positive that the Grand Jury had a right to investigate their conduct.

"If the investigation concerns unlawful and improper conduct," he told his fellow legislators, "in my humble opinion no person in this Commonwealth is entitled to more protection or is entitled to less protection than the most obscure citizen."

PROLONGED APPLAUSE

Brown, at the invitation of Speaker Ellwood J. Turner, presided during the first reading of bills. His assumption of the Speaker's chair was greeted with tremendous and prolonged applause, which was repeated when he relinquished th gavel to the Speaker.

As Brown left the rostrum, Speaker Turner paid him an unusual tribute, saying that the entire membership of the House admired Brown's courtesy on the floor, his ability to debate and the close study he gives to legislation before the House.

Brown replied that he was deeply touched by the honor, and that he would always remember it.

GIVEN OVATION

HOMER S. BROWN

Deserved Tribute

Journal & Guide 4-22-39

PENNSYLVANIA politics have exhibited some interesting developments for the Negro. In that state the first Negro woman Democrat was elected to the Legislature last November. On April 12, for the first time since the Legislature began meeting in the 18th century, a Negro—Homer S. Brown of Pittsburgh, representative from the first legislative district of Pennsylvania—presided over a session of the legislative House.

Little could be added to the remarks of the Speaker of the House. Instead of the perfunctory thanks usually extended by the Speaker when the speaker pro-tem completes his task, Speaker Ellwood J. Turner said to Mr. Brown in the presence of the House:

"The chair feels that the gentleman from Allegheny sets us all a very splendid example by his courteous behavior on the floor, by the manner in which he presents his arguments, by the study and research he gives to the problems before the Legislature. I am sure that we can all profit by the example set by the gentleman from Allegheny."

That is an unusual tribute. But those who have followed Representative Brown's legislative career know it to be fully earned. What has happened in Harrisburg will redound to the benefit of the race generally.

Race Magistrate Wins Point In Assignment Row

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey, Democrat, won his point for a second time in court last Tuesday when Common Pleas Judge Curtis Bok compelled Magistrate John O'Malley to rotate Rainey from one police court to another in keeping with the 1937 magistrate's act.

Under this act, no magistrate is to sit at the same police court more than one month at a time. There is to be a monthly rotation in which all magistrates are to figure. Magistrate O'Malley, as a presiding magistrate, failed to move Rainey on September 1, and Rainey refused to take his assignment which would have kept him in the same court more than one month.

Last year Magistrate O'Malley refused to assign Rainey for several months, and Rainey then also started action in the higher court. Just before hearing was held, O'Malley about-faced and named Rainey, thus preventing the atter being aired in court.

New Boxing Comish Official Will Be Inducted Into Office Early Part Of Next Week

Official Action Comes After Months O Conjecture As To Identity Of Suc cessor To Russell Allen In Post

Official naming of LaBarre Potts, southwest Philadelphia political figure, to the post of Secretary of the State Athletic Commission, has been set for next Tuesday, according to authoritative reports.

Potts will succeed Russell Allen, who has held the post since the election of Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey, former commissioner, to the minor judiciary. He was a holdover appointee of former Governor George H. Earle and his retention on the Board since February was cause for much conjecture on the part of politicians.

With the change of administrations the Boxing Commission post received considerable attention from Negro sports fans, who had heard conflicting stories as to what colored man would be the next appointee. Some stories even had it that the new commission would be all-white and for a time it seemed that such an eventuality might become fact.

Potts' name was prominently mentioned, along with several other Negroes, including Robert J. Nelson, former commissioner, for a position as one of the three top figures in the setup. However, this hope was destroyed with the naming of an all-white commission, represented in this section by Leon Rains.

The new apopintee's name was then cast in the list for the secretaryship and it was understood several weeks ago that he had received the approval of Governor James.

Still, the commission, which elects its own secretary on the recommendation and approval of the Governor, did not act and Allen continued to hold the post.

It is known that Rains was in favor of Allen's retention at the post and his attitude was one of the reasons further action was not taken earlier in the year.

However, as political figures became insistent that the lone Democrat in the Republican setup be replaced, pressure

RUSSELL ALLEN

was brought to bear on the Commission.

A meeting was held in Williamsport last Friday and it was expected that public announcement would be made of such action on the part of the body However, while the three commissioners might have taken action at that time, no statement was given to the press that a new secretary had been chosen.

Finally it is believed that the Governor's office forced the hand of the Commission and it was through Harrisburg that announcement was made that Potts would assume his long awaited job next week.

At present the new secretary is in the Sheriff's office.

The man whom Potts succeeds gained a reputation, while in office, of being one of the most popular and efficient officials the commission has had in many years. Allen was a public figure for many years before he took over his role as secretary, coming from the Coroner's office to the Commission.

Not only did he have wide business and political experience, but he was also an actual participant in ring warfare.

During the war he was middleweight champion of the A. E. F. and subsequent to that he was on the roster of boxing referees in New Jersey.

His continued tenure in office has figuratively had politicians of the city rocking on their heels. Naturally with the changeover from the Democratic to Republican administrations the powers-that-be were anxious that complete changes be made in all jobs once held by the Dems. The commission and its offices received first attention and it was expected every day that the holdover officeholders would be swept out of office. However, as Allen continued to work at his job for week after week, the Republicans decided to leave the matter in the hands of Governor James, who had said that he was going to say when and what anyway, and sit back to see what would happen.

Only Race Woman Legislator Prefers Her Own Position

Says NYA Chair Has Never Been Proffered to Her, Wants To Be Real Legislator for People

PHILADELPHIA—(ANP)—Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, member of the state legislature of Pennsylvania, does not expect to leave her present post to take the place now held by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune as NYA director in Washington. There are several pertinent reasons why the rumors which have come from the nation's capitol during the past month are incorrect, the brilliant and charming young lawmaker declared Tuesday as she sat in the living room of her attractively furnished and immaculately kept West Philadelphia residence.

In the first place, she explained, the NYA job has never been proffered to her and the first she had heard that there was any definite likelihood of her accepting it was when she read the story in the newspapers. Then, she pointed out, she has just begun work in her post as a member of the Pennsylvania assembly, her election to that post marking the first time a Negro woman had ever sat in the legislative halls of any American commonwealth. She is enjoying this new experience, she said, aside from the clouds of tobacco smoke which envelope her each working hour, and she is growing accustomed to that.

PLEASED WITH PROSPECTS

Mrs. Fauset has reason to be pleased with her prospects. In the brief time she nas served in the state's capitol, she has won the respect of her fellow representatives. In the first place, she is thoroughly familiar with public affairs, her many years with the national YWCA and the American Friend's committee having given her that experience. Next, she is a remarkable public speaker and has more than held her own with her male colleagues in the debates which have taken place on the floor of the house. Although she has served only seven months she has introduced several measures which, while they did not pass because her Democratic party is in the minority still attracted attention because they were designed to help the entire population and not her own group alone.

Even the rumors that Mrs. Fauset is already looking toward congress in the near future are wrong. It is true that many of her admirers in Pennsylvania and other states where she has been speaking this year have expressed a desire to see her in the national law making body thus becoming the first colored woman to go to the national legislature; but she says her association with men in politics has taught her to be a realist. She feels that the way is not open for a colored woman to be elected to Washington from Philadelphia, and therefore she says she has not included such a possibility in her thinking.

DISTRICT REPRESENTATION

The immediate objectives of Crystal Bird Fauset, one would gather, are to become an effective and capable legislative representative of her district, two thirds of whose voters are white, as well as her own people; and then to establish the ability of a colored woman to successfully and capably represent a great district in the law making body of a great state.

Not to Take NYA Post

MRS. CRYSTAL BIRD FAUSET, member of the Pennsylvania state legislature, who has stated that she will not take the NYA post now held by Mrs Mary McLeod Bethune. Mrs. Fauset has issued a statement that, contrary to recent rumors, she has not been offered the position as director of Negro NYA affairs.

Mrs. Fauset Says 'No' Is Her Answer

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POLITICAL- 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

TENNESSEE

Appointed To Staff of TVA

J. Herman Daves, Knoxville College professor, who was recently appointed to the staff of the TVA as senior supervisor of Negro training. This is the highest post held by a Negro in the TVA.

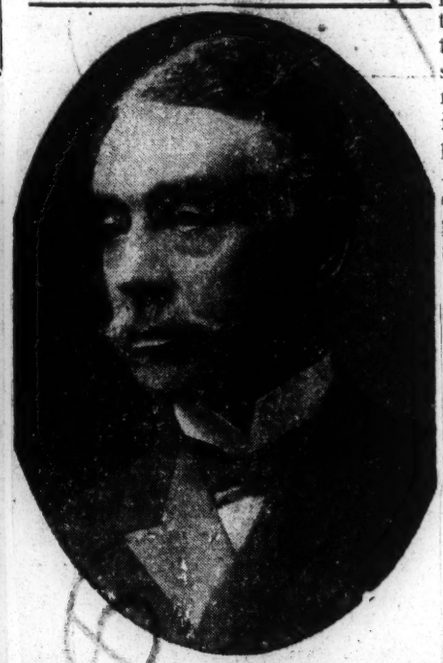
Knoxville, Tenn. News Sentinel
January 15, 1939

W. L. PORTER HEADS NEGRO KHA UNIT

Webster L. Porter, attorney, has been elected chairman of the Negro advisory committee of the Knoxville Housing Authority. Dr. N. A. Henderson, physician, has been named secretary.

Other members of the committee are Dean Hardy Liston, of Knoxville College, Principal C. W. Cansler, of Mechanicsville Junior High School, and A. A. Felding, real estate dealer.

Resigns



HON. J. C. NAPIER, Nationally famous leader of his race and beloved Nashvillian, who, along with four other members of the local Housing Authority resigned last week in order to keep Senator K. D. McKellar from depriving this city of a new housing project.

Attorney C. L. Ennix Gets Place From Which Hon. J. C. Napier Resigned Last Week

A new Housing Authority for Nashville, on which representation was given both to the Jewish and Negro races, was named Wednesday by Mayor Thomas L. Cummings and it remained to be seen if the new group would reconcile Senator K. D. McKellar of Memphis to the extent that he would stop holding up Nashville's share of housing funds.

It is understood that Mayor Cummings, while trying to get men who were competent and at the same time who enjoyed the confidence of Nashville citizens, he did not, however, submit the list to Senator McKellar for approval, in line with what is believed to be the Senator's requirement in the matter. Whether or not the Memphis Senator will hold up housing funds because he has not been "consulted" seemed probable as late as Thursday of this week when it was reported in the local paper that stirred up opposition to the Housing Authority that resigned, that the Senator was making Delphic answers to questions propounded to him in Washington. He is reported to have been asked did he approve the new men appointed on the Housing Authority and replied "Do the people of Nashville approve?" This statement indicated to those who are acquainted with the wily maneuvers of the Memphis Senator that he is probably waiting to hear protests from some sort of a minority group in Nashville to some of the members appointed and thus be given an opportunity to continue holding Mayor Cumming's "feet to the fire" until the Mayor completely capitulates and asks Senator McKellar to name the Nashvillians "Der Fuehrer" preferrs.

Attorney C. L. Ennix of the local bar is the colored appointee for a post on the authority. Attorney Ennix has lived in Nashville for the past eight years and has successfully engaged in the practice of law at the local bar, where he enjoys a high standing with the other members of his profession. He is the attorney for the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and has his office in the Masonic Temple on 4th Ave., N.

He is a native of Alabama and a graduate of Howard University, Washington, D. C. He received his legal training under the noted Charles H. Houston who recently won the "Equality in Education" case before the Supreme Court of the nUited States.

The Jewish member of the Housing Authority is Mr. Sam Levy, successful wholesale drygoods merchant and a substantial citizen. The chairman of the Authority is Mr. James A. Cayce, a former WPA director in Middle Tennessee and a jeweler, whose wide experience with relict clients, it is held, splendidly fits him for the position. The other three members of the board are J. O. Tankard, well known coal dealer and J. L. Byrnes a labor leader and president of a local trades group.

Immediately upon being appointed chairman of the authority Mr. Cayce announced that he would call his group together at once and see what could be done about getting Nashville's housing funds released. There has been enough delay already, he stated.

There was considerable speculation indulged in during the week with regard to the colored citizen Mayor Cummings would appoint. There were few colored leaders here interested in being appointed after it was seen that the men would have to meet the approval of Senator McKellar. When Senator McKellar indicated his opposition to the appointment of Mr. J. C. Napier after the well known Nashvillian apparently had met the approval of Washington authorities, there were few other colored leaders who desired to be named, not wishing to be embarrased by opposition from politicians here and by Senator McKellar.

Newspapers reported first that the Mayor was considering appointing Dr. Henry Allen Boyd, secretary of the National Baptist Publishing Board. Dr. Boyd was out of the city when the report was made. He was amused when he learned of the report upon his return to the city. He was not a candidate, and his duties which carry him constantly out of Nashville would have made it necessary for him to make a big sacrifice to serve. The position pays no salary and Dr. Boyd is not interested in the political phase of federal housing, since it has developed that politics has entered into the matter.

Others who were mentioned as being considered for appointment were Attorney Z. Alexander Looby and Dr. H. H. Walker.

Nashville may not get any more funds for a colored housing project, it was reported Wednesday by J. R. Basiger who has been here for sometime trying to fill up the Andrew Jackson apartments. Mr. Basiger is reported to have said that because 65 of the apartments had not been rented, and it seemed unlikely that they would be rented by February 1, he did not see the need of building another housing project for Negroes.

The Washington man, apparently was not aware of the fact that the rent charges in Andrew Jackson apartments are at a figure that the most needy citizens can not pay, and of colored Nashvillians who can pay the rent, most of them would rather put the money into homes than to rent an apartment.

Professor Gets Highest Job On TVA

J. Herman Daves of Knoxville Senior Supervisor

(Special to Journal and Guide)

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. — J. Herman Daves, prominent citizen of Knoxville, has been recently appointed to the position of senior supervisor of Negro training in the training division of the personnel department of the Tennessee Valley Authority. This is the highest position of Negro affairs in the TVA. Mr. Daves assumed his duties at the TVA offices in Knoxville, January 3.

Mr. Daves, until his TVA appointment, headed the sociology department at Knoxville College. He had been a member of the Knoxville college faculty since 1930. The college administration has granted him an indefinite leave of absence. Prof. Herman J. Kloepfer, former part time member of the faculty, has succeeded Mr. Daves as head of the Knoxville College sociology department. Mr. Kloepfer comes to Knoxville from the University of North Dakota.

Mr. Daves is filling the position recently vacated by the resignation Dr. J. Max Bond, who resigned from the TVA position to become dean at Dillard University in New Orleans.

Mr. Daves was graduated from Knoxville College in 1922. He received his degree of master or arts from the University of Buffalo in 1930 and has done further graduate work at the University of Wisconsin. He recently completed his work for his Ph.D. degree at this institution and was appointed as a representative of the State of Tennessee on the permanent committee of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare, which convened in Birmingham, Ala., recently.

POLITICAL- 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

TEXAS

TEXAS JOURNALIST IS NAMED USHA ADVISER.

Washington,D.C.,Nov. 17-Appointment of A. Maceo Smith, Dallas journalist and business man, as race relations adviser for the United States Housing Authority in the Southwestern states was announced this week by Marshall W. Amis, USHA regional director, with headquarters in Fort Worth, Texas.

In the region, which comprises the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas, Mr. Smith will represent the office of racial relations, headed by Dr. Robert C. Weaver, special assistant to Administrator Nathan Straus. Working in collaboration with regional staff members, Mr. Smith will promote the integregation of Race citizens into all phases of the government's public housing program in the Southwest.

His activities will include consideration of problems of racial policy in the development of low-renting housing projects in that region. Seventeen of the 36 USHA-aided projects already approved in the region are for Race occupancy. These projects will provide 5,328 new dwellings for low income families.

An alumnus of Fisk University, Mr. Smith was also graduated from New York Univ., with the degree of master of business administration. Active in the civic and business life of Dallas,Texas, he was manager of the Dallas Express, and secretary of the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce.

Defender
11-18-39
Chicago,Ill.

Judge William Hastie, First Negro Federal Court Judge, Resigns

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The first Negro to occupy a seat on the Federal bench, Judge Wiliam H. Hastie of the Federal Court in the Virgin Islands, has resigned to become dean of the Howard University Law School, it was announced Monday by the White House.

Judge Hastie was nominated by President Roosevelt on February 5, 1937, and confirmed by the Senate on March 19 of the same year. The jurist is an honor graduate of Amherst College and of the Harvard Law School.

At the time of his appointment he was an assistant solicitor in the Commerce Department. 34 years of age, Federal Judge Hastie is a native of Knoxville, Tenn.

Virgin Islanders Mum on Hastie

WASHINGTON

Beyond the point of expressing deep regret at losing the services of Judge William H. Hastie, who recently resigned from the Federal judgeship, Lionel Roberts, member of the Virgin Islands Commission, refused to comment on the resignation this week.

Mr. Roberts, a member of the Colonial Council, who arrived in the capital last week with a group of islanders to discuss problems with Secretary of the Interior Ickes, and urge the passage of a bill, said that he was surprised at Judge Hastie's action.

"I knew of no unpleasantness he experienced in the islands and he certainly enjoyed the respect and good will of the entire island population, which is an accomplishment in itself."

Judge Hastie, First Negro Federal Jurist, Quits Virgin Island Post

Resignation Accepted by President Roosevelt — Will Become Dean of Howard University Law School.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9—(ANP)—Judge William H. Hastie, doctor of juridical science (Howard University, 1932) and the first of his race to be elevated to the Federal bench, last Monday resigned as Judge of the Federal Court in the Virgin Islands to become dean of Howard University's School of Law. His resignation has been accepted by President Roosevelt, effective July 1, it was announced at the White House.

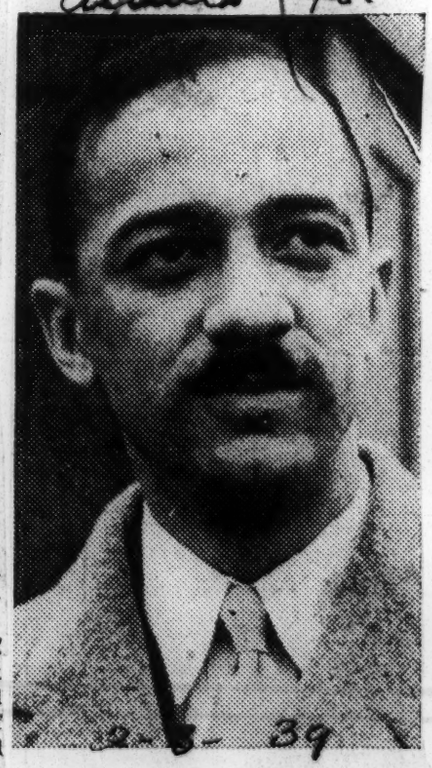
Judge Hastie was appointed in 1937 after having served as Assistant Solicitor, Department of the Interior, and as part-time instructor at Howard Law School. During his service with the Interior Department he participated in review of legislation in the form of an organic act for government of the Virgin Islands.

Born in Knoxville, Tenn., Hastie was brought to the Capital City by his parents in 1912, when he was eight years old. He graduated from Dunbar High School in 1921 and from Amherst College in 1925, after winning his Phi Beta Kappa key. He taught two years at Bordentown, N. J., then entered Harvard Law School, graduating in 1930 with honors, after serving as member of the editorial board, Harvard Law Review.

Judge Hastie was named dean of Howard University's Law School at the October meeting of the board of trustees. He is a member of the national board, N.A.A.C.P., and one of the founders and former administrator of the New Negro Alliance.

Resigns Post

Atlanta World
Atlanta Ga.
2-13-39



Judge William Hastie, whose resignation from the Federal Bench has been accepted by President Roosevelt. Judge Hastie was assigned to the Virgin Islands. He will leave his post on July 1, 1939, to accept the new position as dean of the Howard University law school.

Judge Moore Home From Virgin Island

12-9-39

By NAHUM D. BRASCHER

"The Virgin Islands are beautiful, the climate is fine, the people are hospitable and appreciative; the work of the court is under way satisfactorily, and I am happy to serve the people and my country."

Thus spoke Judge Herman E. Moore, 431 East Forty-fourth street, who returned to Chicago for the holiday sojourn, following his first trip as federal judge in the United States island possessions.

Judge Moore reached Chicago last Thursday, and will remain until after Christmas when he will return to the islands, accompanied for the first time, by Mrs. Moore.

En route to the mainland, Judge Moore was honored with a luncheon by the Bar Association of Puerto Rico, at the leading club of San Juan, the leading city. He was met at the boat landing by a committee of prominent members and escorted to the club. Following the luncheon brief addresses were made by local officials, and these were responded to by Judge Moore. More than 60 members of the association accompanied Judge Moore to the landing and wished him bon voyage.

Judge Hastie, says Judge Moore, left a fine impression for efficiency, patriotism and public service. One of the local newspapers in welcoming Judge Moore to the islands said: We welcome Judge Moore and bespeak for him the same fine record left by Judge Hastie.

Virgin Islanders and local newspapers have commented with a kind of "cheerful regret" that Judge Moore, who loves golf as he does his big cigars, cannot hit the little ball on the greens in his new location. Because of the island terrain, there is not sufficient level space for a nine-hole course. There was such a course in St. Thomas, but the government took the ground over for a naval base. So the Judge, he states, gets recreation by fishing, swimming and walking. There are some golf courses in Puerto Rico, 40 miles away, and one may fly over there in a short time, if the fever becomes too serious.

The healthfulness of the islands is notable, says Judge Moore; the homes are well built and the people well dressed. The schools are well attended, as well as the churches. Judge Moore says he is delighted to give this information to disabuse the mind of any who have a mistaken impression of the manner of living standards in any of the three largest islands, where the judge holds court. He supervises three courtrooms.

Chicago Lawyer Succeeds Hastie

Afro-American 8-5-39

WASHINGTON

The name of Herman E. Moore, Chicago attorney and assistant Illinois Commerce Commissioner, was sent to the Senate, Wednesday, by President Roosevelt as Federal Judge of the Virgin Islands to succeed Judge William Hastie of Washington.

Judge Hastie, former solicitor in the Department of the Interior, before he was elevated to the bench, resigned last spring, to accept the post of Dean of the Howard University Law School.

H.U. Graduate

Mr. Moore is a graduate of Howard University and the Boston Law School, and has practiced law in Boston and Chicago for the past fifteen years.

He is described as having a judicial temperament, which will fit him admirably for the new post. Such temperament was gained as a result of four years' experience serving as a commissioner, by virtue of which he heard and acted on cases involving traction and transportation matters, which brought before him some of the highest trained and highest paid attorneys in Chicago.

Fine Record

His appointment was sponsored by Senator James I. Slattery (Dem., Ill) who is filling the unexpired term of the late J. Hamilton Lewis.

He was recommended by the Attorney General's office after a thorough investigation by Government investigators, who gave him a clean bill of health.

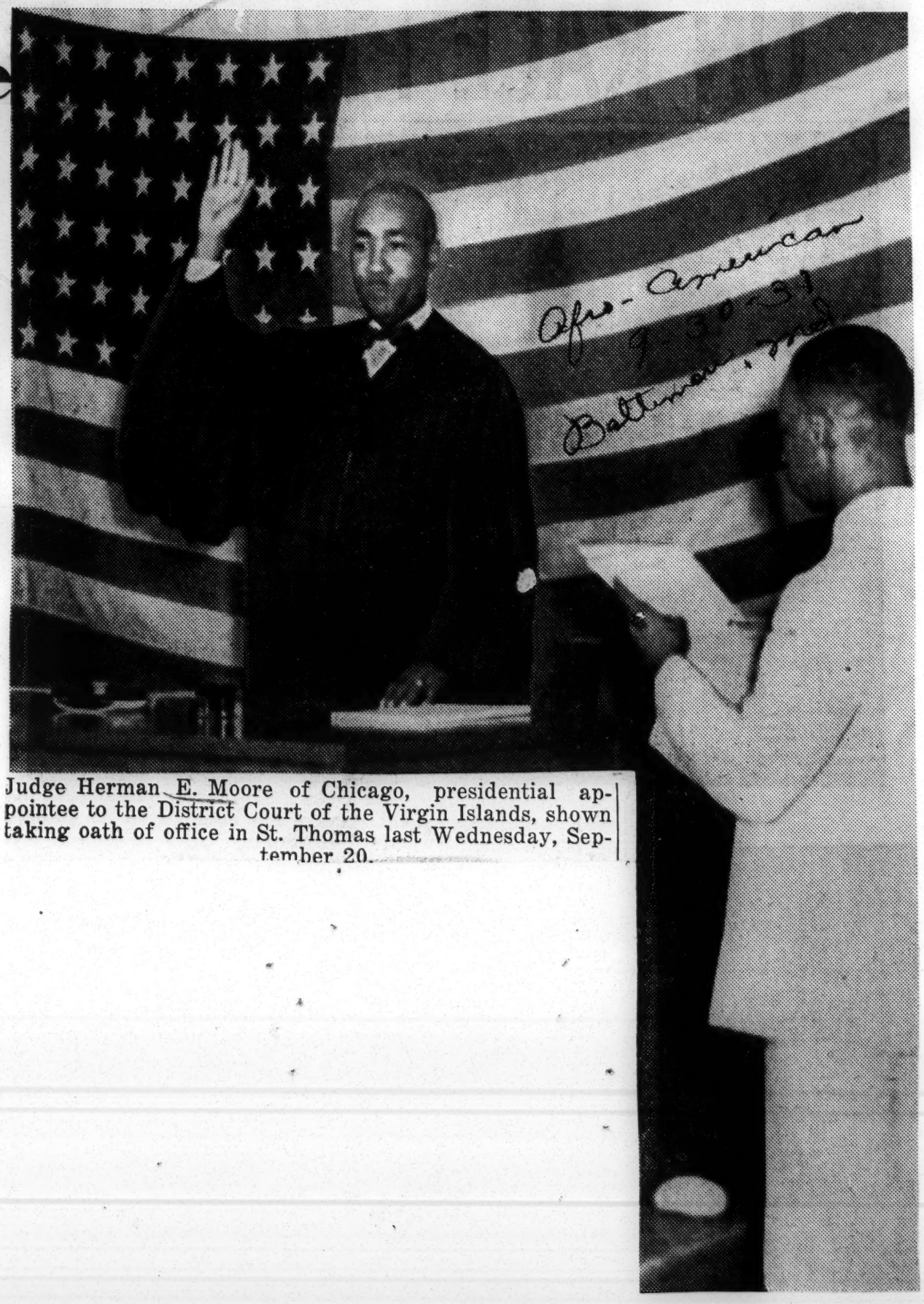
Senator Slattery was a former chairman of the Commerce Commission, and as such was greatly impressed with the ability and work of Mr. Moore.

The appointee was also recommended highly by Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago, and Commissioner Edward M. Snead, both of whom spoke to President Roosevelt in his behalf.

The name of Harold H. Bledsoe, prominent Detroit lawyer, who was reputedly slated for the post with the blessings of Attorney General Murphy, former governor of Michigan, was withdrawn in deference to the Illinois group.

HERMAN E. MOORE.

NEW ISLAND JUDGE SWORN IN



Afro-American 9-30-39 Baltimore, Md.

Judge Herman E. Moore of Chicago, presidential appointee to the District Court of the Virgin Islands, shown taking oath of office in St. Thomas last Wednesday, September 20.

CAMERA VISITS VIRGIN ISLANDS' NEW JUDGE

Photo series shows left to right, top: Atty. Herman E. Moore, recently nominated as judge to Virgin Islands, reviewing insular history preparatory to assuming new duties; Mr. and Mrs. Moore enjoy tea as the attorney reads of his nomination in the Chicago Defender; Lower left: Attorney Moore, a golf enthusiast, keeping in trim for his judicial duties. The couple wades through piles of letters and telegrams congratulating the Chicago attorney on his appointment. Yes Attorney Moore is truly a golf bug. Here's another snap of him fighting par on the fairway.—Photo by Gushiniere.

POLITICAL - 1939
OFFICE HOLDING

VIRGIN ISLANDS

MOORE AWAITS CONFIRMATION, LAUDS FRIENDS

Defender

Chicagoan Is Nominated By F.D.R. For Island Judgeship

8-5-39

A President of the United States was once asked: "What is the chief cause of your success?"

His immediate reply was: "I had a friend."

Chicago,

Presumably, if someone should ask Herman E. Moore, the chief cause of his being nominated by President Roosevelt as Federal Judge of the Virgin Islands, he would reply: "I had a friend."

That friend is Senator James M. Slattery of Illinois, appointed by Governor Horner to fill the unexpired term of the late James Hamilton Lewis. It is said that the Moore recommendation to the President is the first major request the new senator has made.

Herman E. Moore loves the professon of law. He was appointed assistant commissioner of the Illinois Commerce commission. Because of his profound interest in his work he made an eviable reputation, and his work was personally admired and appreciated by Mr. Slattery, who, until appointed senator, was chairman of the commission.

He went to the front for Moore He discussed the matter with Secretary Harold E. Ickes of the department of interior; Attorney General Murphy, Mayor Kelly of Chicago, Commissioner Edward Sneed, of Chicago, and the President. All gave Moore an O.K.

Loves His Home and Books

The Moore residence is at 431 East 44th street, in one of the apartments in the building he owns. Mrs. Marie Moore, his wife, a native of Indiana, is known for her artistic taste in home arrangement; and, from the appearance of her husband, one may easily determine she is a good cook.

But the Moores are civic minded. They are active in all the welfare activities of Chicago. Therefore Mrs. Moore frequently attends club, organization and committee meetings, and there seems to be an understanding that this is all part of the life of public people.

Asked by this writer what kind of books he likes best—and there is a splendid and extensive library in the home—Attorney Moore declared: "It is necessary for me to read so many serious books, I get my real relaxation in reading a genuine detective story. I like to work out the plot in my mind and then discover what kind of a Sherlock Holmes I happen to be."

Exercise and Ozone with Golf

"What kind of exercises do you take," he was asked.

"My best exercise is golf."

Herman Moore knows his golf and his gime is far below the par. He takes his golfing seriously, and at every opportunity, dons his golfing outfit, and gets out on the course.

Moore likes to talk with golfers about his game, but more in the form of a narrative and the technique of certain plays, but never boastingly. He plans to take his outfit with him to the Virgin Islands.

Mrs. Moore Remains—for a While

Mrs. Moore will remain in Chicago for a short period before going to the Virgin Islands, where it is certain she will make an enviable hostess in the island home of the new federal judge.

Charming and democratic, it is predicted that she will soon make many genuine friends among the fine residents of the island. They have no children, but they have a dog, and chances are he, too, may make the voyage.

Farewell Banquet for Moore

Mr. Moore plans to leave Chicago August 15, going to New York to attend the National Bar association, and then to Washington, to visit the President and Attorney General, as well as Senator Slattery, if he is yet in Washington.

RACES

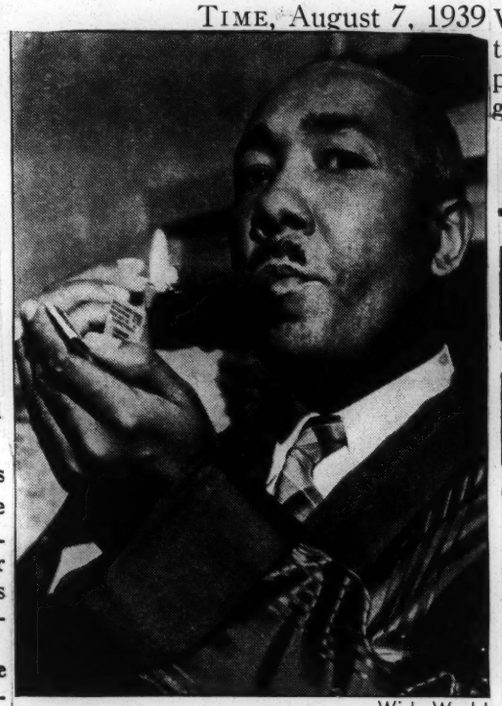
Time

Black Plum

First Negro ever appointed to the Federal judiciary was William Henry Hastie, whom Franklin Roosevelt sent to the District Court of the racially scrambled

* Panama ratified this treaty in 1936.

TIME, August 7, 1939



Wide World

JUDGE-DESIGNATE MOORE

There may be more lawing.

Virgin Islands (TIME, Feb. 15, 1937). Judge Hastie resigned this year to become dean of Howard University's law school (Washington, D. C.). Last week came a second dispensation of this politically potent plum. Senator James Michael Slattery of Illinois, who needs the big Negro vote on Chicago's South Side for reelection next year to the seat he inherited from the late "J. Ham" Lewis, got it for his former assistant on the Illinois Commerce Commission: dapper, long-faced Herman Emmons Moore, 46, one of the few Negro lawyers in Chicago with offices in the Loop district. Judge-Designate Moore, born in Jackson, Miss., is a Howard and Boston University law school graduate. Twice he has been president of the Cook County Bar Association (colored).

8-7-39

As in the Panama Canal Zone, the Federal District Court is Justice's only habitation in the Virgin Islands except for police courts. All offenses for which the penalty is more than six months in jail are tried in the Federal Court. At that, it handles only about 300 cases per year. The chief litigation is divorce. Judge Hastie had only two murder convictions in his two years. Rape cases are nearly as infrequent. The Court is peripatetic, traveling between the islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix. As it goes, its criteria must change, for until a few years ago St. Thomas and St. Croix had separate assemblies, separate laws. St. Thomas, for example, does not provide capital punishment for murder. Civil cases (including probate) outrank criminal cases two to one. Contract claims and damages run in hundreds rather than thousands of dollars, but last week a new vista opened for lawing in the Virgin Islands. A soda water manufacturer and a merchant on St. Croix reported bringing in two oil wells, the Virgin's first.

JUDGE MOORE PLEASED WITH ISLANDS POST

Courier

11-11-39

Pittsburgh, Pa.

CHICAGO Nov. 9 (ANP)—In a message to Chicago friends this week, Federal Judge Herman E Moore of the Virgin Islands District court, declared he was immensely pleased with his new post and with the reception accorded him by officials and by the populace. He was recently appointed to the Island judgeship by President Roosevelt on recommendation of Illinois' U. S. Senator Slattery. Judge Moore wrote Chicago friends "Have found the Virgin Islands very beautiful, clean and healthful. The people are gracious, my court pleasant and the work enjoyable."

POLITICAL - 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

COMMUNISTS

Harlem Spurs Drive By Pledging to Gain Quota in 2 Weeks

Raises $1,660 in Few Days, Plans to Fulfill Quota Of $13,500 Quickly Because of Serious Tasks Facing C. P.

After raising $1,660 in a few days of spirited driving, the Harlem division of the Communist Party today disclosed a sensational decision to complete its $13,500 quota within two weeks.

Both money and pledges were taken Monday night at an enthusiastic membership meeting which was addressed by James W. Ford, chairman of the Harlem organization and member of the national committee of the Communist Party.

The decision to wind up the finance drive in [illegible] without delay was made in the light of the immediate need for funds by the Party which faces some of the most crucial tasks in its history. This action followed upon a stirring demonstration in which spokesmen for the Negro, Puerto Rican, Spanish, Italian, Jewish and other language groups that go to make up Harlem rose to commend the National Committee for its analysis of the current imperialist struggle.

"The pledge to complete the drive in two weeks was taken in the spirit of rallying around the Party," an eyewitness declared.

MID-WAY POINT REACHED

Although yesterday marked the midway point of the $250,000 financial campaign many Party branches and section have voted for immediate fulfillment of their drive quotas.

Keen activity in this respect was noted in Bronx county. Last night unit 21 of the 7th A. D. completed its $500 quota while unit 31 of the same assembly district pledged to raise an equal amount by Saturday. Three branches in the 6th A. D. voted to complete sizeable quotas by next week after the section as a whole suceeded in raising $1,113 in less than one week.

In Brooklyn, Ben Davis, acting organizer of the large Brownsville territory announced that plans were being speeded to bring in $8,250 before the drive deadline and from Queens came the assurance by Paul Crosbie, councilmanic candidate, that money raising would proceed at top speed.

Negro Communists In N. J. Go Over Quota in Drive

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 12. — "We of the colored race, who suffer most from unemployment, low wages, discrimination, firetrap housing and poverty, see the need of a mighty Daily Worker. That is why we are eager to give our pennies for a cause that we consider the best insurance for bettering our condition, and the condition of all the people."

Thus spoke Nannie Penn, organizer of the James Ford Branch of the Communist Party, located in Newark's crowded Third Ward, the first branch in New Jersey to exceed its quota in the Daily Worker financial drive.

A large proportion of the money was raised by a rummage sale held in the branch headquarters for the past two weeks.

"We hope to double or triple our quota before the drive is over," stated Mrs. Penn, who is one of the Communist candidates for State Assembly from Essex County.

POLITICAL - 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Charleston S. C. News & Courier
April 17, 1939

Farley Can Help the Party

Granting that Postmaster General Farley, the national Democratic and state of New York Democratic chairman; Senator "Bob" Wagner, of near Harlem; Senator Guffey, of Pittsburgh, and other illustrious humanitarians have a great achievement to their credit in the conversion of Northern negro voters to "Democracy", it occurs to The News and Courier that they are neglecting a great opportunity.

These gentlemen could come into the South and tell our colored citizens of the benefits that they would have by migrating to Northern and Western states, how they would receive nearly double the wages paid in the South if they should get on the relief rolls, how it is much easier for them to get on the relief rolls in the North than in the South, how their pensions would be more than doubled when they grow old if they moved out of the South.

Chairman Farley in his speeches to the Southern negroes would emphasize that in the North negroes are encouraged to vote, are assisted in voting, that they send their children to the same schools and colleges that the whites attend, that in the North is no jimcrowism, no race discrimination.

Messrs. Farley, Wagner and Guffey could tell the Southern colored people that while they would carry on their opposition to jimcrowism and other Southern abuses those problems already have been solved in two-thirds of the country's area and that it is open to negro immigration. These gentlemen could guarantee welcome, protection and support by WPA to the Southern negroes entering Northern states.

This activity by Chairman Farley and the other Northern Democrats would, in the first place, be of incalculable value to the negroes, and, in the second, to the national Democratic party. Northern relief would be excellent for oppressed Southern negroes (fugitive slaves to the North, so to speak) and they would afford relief, by voting the ticket, to the Democratic party which, according to all accounts, is likely to need it November, 1940.

If Chairman Farley would induce a million or two million Southern negroes to seek new homes in the North it might save the New Deal.

May not The News and Courier suggest, in the interest of the party, that Chairman Farley appoint a subcommittee of the national Democratic committee on Southern Negro Migration? The committee would require for its successful functioning some money. The News and Courier pledges Chairman Farley a handsome subscription if he shall appoint the committee.

Tupelo, Miss., Journal
April 8, 1939

Hull For President

Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent of the New York Times, has written an excellent analysis of the prospective line-up for the presidential nomination at the Democratic convention next year.

We believe that every one of our readers will be particularly interested in the coming Democratic convention due to the fact that the two most talked of prospects today are Southerners, namely, Cordell Hull and Jack Garner.

We are strongly for Hull as opposed to Garner. We do not know of anyone on the Democratic firing line, with a real chance of securing the nomination, that we had rather see in the White House during these trying times than Cordell Hull.

Here is Arthur Krock's article:

WASHINGTON — On the well-based assumption that Secretary Hull is the virtually unanimous choice of Tennessee Democrats for the 1940 Presidential nomination, politicians who are laboring to prevent a break between the President and his party at the next Democratic National Convention are hoping Mr. Hull's State organization will shortly endorse him again. Now that the Texas Legislature has formally proposed Vice President Garner, the feeling grows here among the conciliators that the Tennessee Legislature or State committee, or both, cannot make their move too soon.

The reasoning behind this hope and this feeling seems wholly logical to those who have evolved it. This is their view of the prospect, and these their arguments for an early official projection of the candidacy of Mr. Hull:

1. Mr. Garner has become the rallying-point for opponents of the President's policies, and already more than 200 delegates have been offered to him by State leaders who are in a position to deliver. Between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Garner differences of opinion have multiplied, and the masks behind which both men used to conceal these are halfway off their faces. To the White House and the New Deal inner circle encouragement of Mr. Garner's candidacy by any Democrat is considered tantamount to hostility to the President.

2. Because of the fact and psychology of this situation, the nomination of Mr. Garner would be publicly accepted as a repudiation of the President and the New Deal. Therefore Mr. Roosevelt could not fail to use all his powers to prevent the nomination; and, if it were accomplished over his protest, he could not give to the ticket the hearty support generally regarded as indispensable to its success. This would be true even if his faithful manager, James A. Farley, were selected at the same time for Vice President.

Little Chance for a New Dealer

3. The President might, and doubtless does, prefer another candidate than Mr. Hull, who is but a lukewarm New Dealer. Among his choices are Mr. Farley, Secretaries Hopkins or Wallace, Frank Murphy, the Attorney General, and Robert H. Jackson, the Solicitor General. But with the exception of Mr. Murphy there seems to be little chance for any of these. And the strength already assured to Mr. Farley ould automatically give him a place on the ticket, which would eliminate Mr. Murphy.

4. By the process of subtraction this makes Mr. Hull the ideal compromise candidate between the bitterly split wings of the party. The President could not effectively oppose him without injuring his own prestige even more than the prospects of the ticket. This will be especially true if Mr. Farley is nominated for Vice President.

5. Mr. Garner, if he has enough delegates to have an important voice in the nominations, likewise could find no good reason to oppose Mr. Hull. They think sympathetically on public questions and are old associates in Congress. The Garner delegates could not bring up the point of age, for the Vice President and the Secretary are not far apart in years.

This is the outline of the argument made by those who are striving to prevent a party split and who hope for the cordial support of Mr. Roosevelt in the 1940 campaign. They concede that the Secretary's age is a handicap (he will be 69 in October, 1940). But they assert this gives extra importance to the Vice Presidential nomination of so loyal a supporter of Mr. Roosevelt as the Postmaster General.

But What of the Negro Vote?

There is another factor, however, that disturbs the compromisers. It concerns the Northern Negro vote which Mr. Roosevelt captured overwhelmingly from the Republicans in 1932 and held in 1936. The nomination for President of a Southern Democrat, it is presumed, will increase the probability that the Republicans will make greater inroads on this vote than they did in 1938. But the accompanying choice of Mr. Farley would, according to these party peacemakers, offset some of this effect. Mr. Farley is very popular with the Negro community. And it is privately conceded that a serious defection of Negro voters must be expected in 1940 anyhow.

So there is a strong subterranean movement to encourage the formal appearance of Mr. Hull as the candidate of Tennessee's Democracy before Mr. Garner has gathered too much strength. Friends of both the President and the Postmaster General are participating in it.

..., although Mr. Farley has held aloof from all camps and has no sort of alliance or understanding with any.

Finally, the proponents believe Mr. Hull could match Mr. Garner in one particular which would apeal commonly to the President, the party and the voters at large: Because of his age he could promise not to be a candidate for re-election, assuring the fact that a certain kind of politics would not enter the White House. Renomination politics, usually begining the day a President is elected, has in the past been exceedingly costly to the country.

Of course, this does not dispose of the fact that a Vice President elected under such circumstances would begin running for the next fr... ...al term immediately.

MICHELSON'S AT IT AGAIN

All of the men who have been mentioned for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency are experienced statesmen and the wealth of candidates indicates that there is confidence among Democrats that their party will win a smashing victory next year, in the opinion of Charles Michelson, publicity director of the Democratic party in his release to newspapers this week.

Mr. Michelson is quite cagy in his reference to President Roosevelt and the possibility that he may be a candidate. While not listing the many Democrats who have been suggested, Mr. Michelson very significantly says:

"I do not include in this list the President himself for so far, to the best of my knowledge, he has discussed the matter of a third candidacy with nobody. My guess has been, and continues to be, that he has not the slightest desire to go in for four years more of the terriffic effort and tremendous task that confronts the next President. In other words, I believe that he would not take it unless he had to."

Famed as the greatest "smearer" the Democrats have ever had on the reservation, Mr. Michelson proceeds to dismiss the most prominently mentioned Republican leaders as representing a "dearth of experience in national and international affairs, and unfamiliarity with the vast issues, economic, domestic and foreign with which the President must deal."

On order he "knocks down" Hoover, Senator Vandenberg, Thomas E. Dewey and Senator Robert Taft. Of Mr. Taft, he says:

"There is a young Mr. Taft of Ohio, new-fledged Senator who never held a public office before, except as a member of the State Legislature and whose main qualification appears to be that he is the son of a former President; and a knowledge of government, in this country at least, is not hereditary.

Of the redoubtable Thomas E. Dewey, Mr. Michelson says:

"We come to Mr. Dewey of New York, whose sole venture into the field of political administration lies in being defeated for the Governorship of his state last year. . . . If his own state did not consider him good enough to be Governor it might seem a likely deduction that his party at large might not think him worthy or capable of being the kind of President we are going to need during the next four years."

We conclude from Mr. Michelson's writing that not a single man in the Republican party is worthy of being either the nominee of his party or of being President. He could have said so in fewer words than he used in his column, but we daresay his job as publicity man requires that he be lengthy, even to the exclusion of being logical.

We wonder if Mr. Michelson is aware of the extent to which the "Roosevelt name," made famous by Theodore Roosevelt, helped Franklin D. to his place in the world. If so, why belittle the possession of a good family name as he does in the case of Senator Taft?

We wonder if Mr. Michelson recalls how definitely the defeat of Abraham Lincoln for the Senatorship from Illinois made him later President of the United States. If so, why dismiss the possibility of history repeating itself in the case of Thomas E. Dewey?

We wonder if Mr. Michelson knows just how many folks all over the country, are sorry to their hearts over having taken his advice that it would make times better if the country would only get rid of President Hoover? If so, why not admit that the American people might refuse in 1940 to listen to the false prophet who misled them in 1932?

We wonder if Mr. Michelson actually believes anybody else in the Democratic party has a chance to be elected except President Roosevelt. If so, why does he bother with reading the Gallup poll which even this early, shows a definite national preference for a Republican President if somebody other than Roosevelt is nominated?

Mitchell Wants Third Term For Roosevelt

Pittsburgh Courier 5-13-39

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—F. D. Roosevelt for a third term is the belief of Congressman Arthur Mitchell, from Illinois, according to an announcement made by him through the local press last week. Mr. Mitchell, while of the opinion that Mr. Roosevelt should run for a third term, thinks that the president will realize the nomination in favor of some other person favorable to the New Deal administration and plans.

First Time In History Of America

Atlanta World

Atlanta, Ga. 1-18-39

Prominent Men, Women Dined By Congressmen

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—Last Friday night, for the first time in history, a group of prominent Negroes dined in the Nation's Capitol building when they attended a banquet served in the dining room of the speaker of the house of representative and were guests of several congressmen who have fought steadfastly on the floor of the house for social legislation for Negroes and wage increases for low-paid government employes.

The solons who made the historic dinner possible permitted its arrangement under auspices of the Elks' Civil Liberties league, headed by J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler, and Edgar G. Brown, District Director of the Civil Liberties, D. C. Elks and president United Government Employes, who acted as toastmaster.

MRS. McDUFFIE ATTENDS

Representatives who fronted the fight at the last session of congress for the anti-lynch bill, wage increases and other legislation favorable to Negroes and who attended Friday's banquet, were Congressmen McKeough, Chicago; Gavagan, New York City; O'Neal, Louisville; Sweeney, Ohio; Dingell, Detroit, and Snyder, Uniontown, Pa. All of the congressmen spoke, as did Mrs. Elizabeth McDuffie, treasurer, UGE, and Dr. William J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds, D. C. J. Finley Wilson delivered an eloquent response to the after-dinner speeches.

Those attending the history-making event were Bishop R. E. Jones, M. E. Church, Columbus, O.; Mrs. Elizabeth H. McDuffie, Washington, treasurer United Government Employes; J Finley Wilson, Elks' Grand Exalted Ruler and Mrs. Wilson; Edgar G. Brown, president UGE; Thomas J. Davis, president Ohio State Democratic league; Mrs. Bessye T. Bearden, U. S. Deputy Internal Revenue Collector, NYC; Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, president Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.;

MANY OTHERS THERE

Dr. J. B. Watson, Pine Bluff, president Arkansas A. and M. college; Dr. William J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds, Washington, D. C.; Senator Charles C. Diggs, Detroit, Mich., and Mrs. Diggs; Albert G. Barnett, Chicago, Associated Negro Press; George W. Murphy, member Baltimore Housing Authority and vice president Afro-American Publishing Co.; W. R. Valentine, president Bordentown (N. J.) Training school.

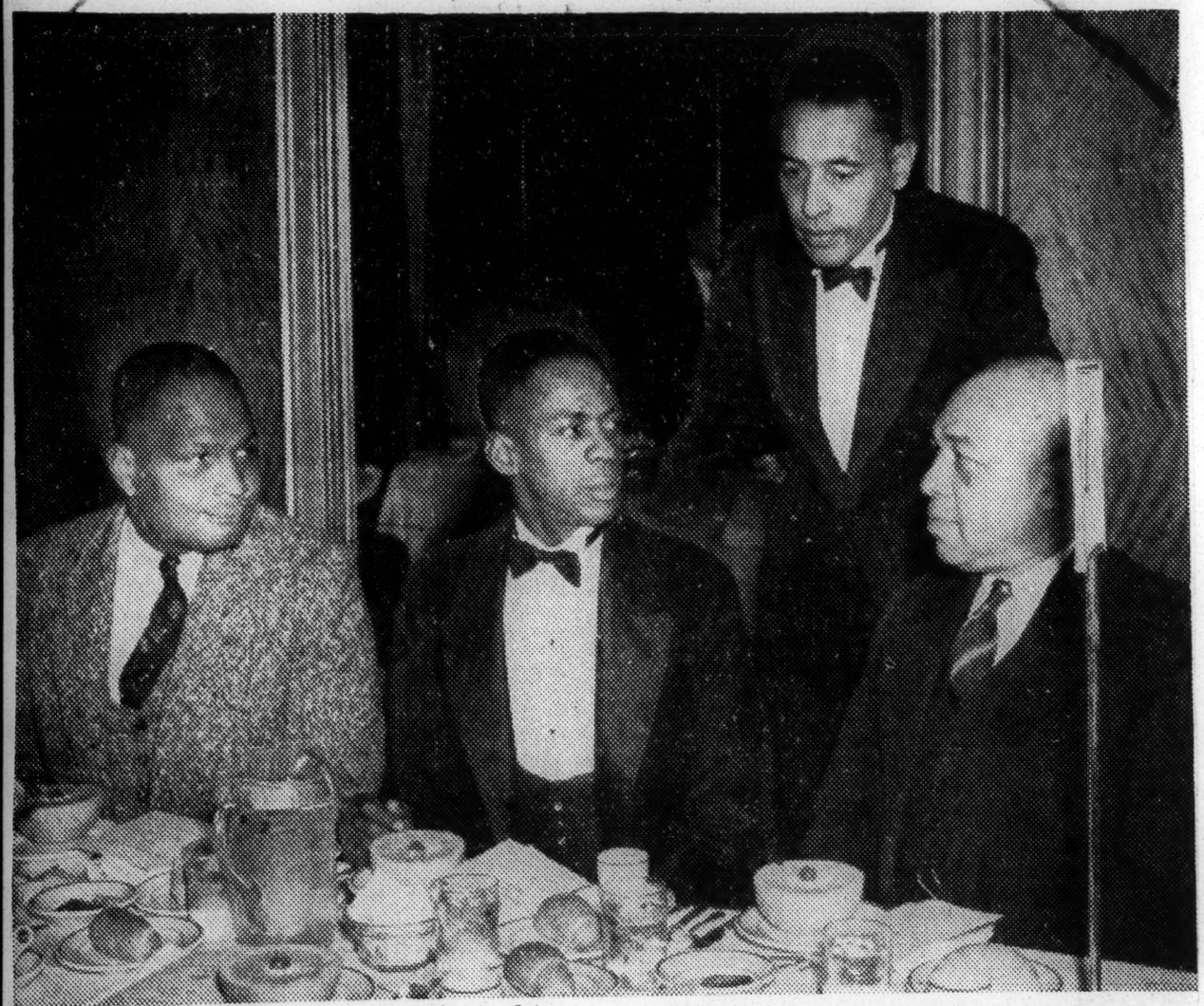
Roscoe Dunjee, editor and publisher Oklahoma Black Dispatch; Dr. E. A. Graham, Daytona Beach, Fla., member board of trustees, Bethune-Cookman college; Mrs. Marion Hubbard, Deputy U. S. Marshal, Cincinnati; Joseph H. James, chairman banquet arrangements committee and executive secretary Jacksonville, Fla., Negro Welfare league; G. N. T. Gray, National Alliance of Postal Employes; Mrs. Addie W. Dickerson, Washington, Welfare Office; Mrs. Alethia Fleming, civic and political leader, Cleveland, O.;

Rev. John E. Colmer, Episcopal church; Miss Jeanette Carter, Washington Representative Chicago Defender; Mrs. Mabel K. Staupers, U. S. Colored Nurses' Association, NYC, and Dr. Garfield Rogers, Tampa, Fla., president Central Life Insurance Co.

POLITICAL - 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

THE FAITHFUL PAY $100 FOR A MEAL



A man or woman must sure love his political party to dig down for $100 to cover the cost of a dinner that could be purchased in any first class restaurant for $2.50. The quartet above did just that and tho. we won't say they thought nothing of it) enjoyed it; they are, left to right: Fletcher Amos, Common Pleas Court employee; Samuel L. Evans of the Philadelphia Youth Movement; Samuel Holmes and Democratic Committeeman Joseph Roberts, all of Philadelphia.

Afro American
4-39
Baltimore Md.

POLITICAL - 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Some Things The Democratic Party Must Do

In our last week's editorial column we attempted to point out some of the things that the Republican Party must do in order to win back the Negro votes lost to the Democratic Party. This week we will attempt in a brief way to point out some of the things that the Democratic Party must do if they are to keep the Negro votes.

Oklahoma City 10-27-39

The breaking away of the Negro from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party will, perhaps, date back as far as twenty years. Twenty years ago it was considered an unpardonable sin for a Negro to even talk about being a Democrat. And he was looked down upon as a traitor to his race, a traitor to Americanism and a character unfit to have the the liberty granted him by the Constitution. It, perhaps, was not until 1924 that it was noticeable that the Negro was seeking prominent places in the Democratic party. They left and identified themselves as Progressive Democrats. In 1928 still a larger number left and in 1932 the Negro was a decided factor in the election of the President of the United States. There are many reasons why the Negroes left the Republican party. However we will not attempt to state any of them here because it would perhaps consume several volumes. Nevertheless, the Negro today has divided his eggs and some are Republicans, some are Democrats. There were inducements that the Dmocratic party offered the Negro that caused him to vote the Democratic ticket in 1932. Under the New Deal setup Negroes have been given more patronage than under the Republicans. He has been given more executive positions in our Governmental branches. Numerous appointments in some of our major cities have been given Negroes under the Democratic Administration. And Negroes have been elected to high public offices under the Democratic Administration and on the Democratic ticke where they were not even given a possible chance under the Republica Administration.

Kansas City Kansas.

Now that the Negro has identified himself with the Democratic Part we contend that if the Democratic Party expects to hold the Negro vote there are still a few things that will have to be done or the Negro wil be playing both sides against each other and trying to be with the winner Of course we assume that both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party would perhaps like to eliminate the Negro all together but becaus of his vote, and because of the animosity that exists between the tw party systems it would be foolish to ignore the Negro vote.

The Democratic Party is looked upon as being divided into two group the Conservative Democrat and the Progressive Democrat. The Conserva tive Democrat comprises those of the deep South and is headed by suc men as John Nance Garner, vice president of the United States, Cotto Ed Smith of North Carolina, ex-Senator Tom Heflin of Alabama and other who do not believe that Negroes have any rights as American citizens or any rights that a white man should respect. The Conservative Democrat is so narrow that he is willing to sacrifice all opportunities for political advancement and attaining political power and running the Government rather than admit Negroes to his primaries and allow them to exercise their rights as full citizens in the South. The Conservative Democrat does not believe the Negro has a right in any way to be a member of the Democratic Party.

The Progressive Democrats headed by our Honorable President, Franklin D. Roosevelt and others, are smart enough to realize the importance of the Negro in building any political organization and maintaining influence and control over the Government. The Progressive Democrat has been liberal because he realizes that the Negro was a good business proposition that would enable him to get, power, to remain in power and run the government. The Progressive Democrat is smart enough to realize that without the Negro vote and because of friction that exists between the two wings of the Democratic Party that to lose the Negro vote would put them out of the picture.

Now let us see what are some of the things that the Democratic Party must do to hold the Negro vote.

1. The Democratic Party must admit the Negroes to the Democratic Primaries in the South and gve them an equal opportunity to exercise their franchise free from terrorism just as other Americans.

2. The Democratic Party must see to it that the Negro in the South be given the right to participate in local and municipal government as well as in the Federal Government. This, no doubt, falls on the shoulders of the Progressive Democrats because it is almost a matter of impossibility for any organization to stand divided.

3. The Democratic Party must put an end to the Ku Klux Klan or ganization that terrorizes the South creating the spirit of a double standard of living, one for the whites and one for the Negroes, and breeding class hatred among the rich ruling classes of whites and the poor whites in order that they might hold the poor class white man down and the poor class white man, in turn hold the Negro down.

4. The Democratic Party must make the Negro know that he is more than a mere political friend but a real friend in the American way for Americans regardless of color

5. The Democratic Party must eliminate the "boss" system and the them, and that they may continue to play ball but will be expecting more "lug" system of ordering people around which has come about because considerations to be given. In other words, the Democrats must not make of large number of people being at their mercy in the service of the WPA the fatal mistake that the Republicant made that caused them to los and other relief projects. the Negro vote by trying to pay their political debts without giving the Negro more consideration each step of the way.

6. The Democratic Party must realize that the Negro leaders are cog- nizant of the fact that the Democratic party are using them primarily to build up a powerful and unbeatable machine and that any time they feel that Negroes are not useful they will drop them and leave them holding the bag.

It was the Honorable Alf M. Landon who a few weeks ago said that the real trouble with the Republican Party in the South was not the Civil War nor was it the tragic period of Reconstruction. The trouble was the fatal error of the Republican Party in believing that it had paid its obligation to the Negroes of the North by appointing Negro delegates to the Convention from southern states.

7. The Progressive Democratic Party must realize that the Negro leaders are appreciative of the many considerations that have been given

POLITICAL - 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Some Things The Democratic Party Must Do

Dispatch 10-27-39

In our last week's editorial column we attempted to point out some of the things that the Republican Party must do in order to win back the Negro votes lost to the Democratic Party. This week we will attempt in a brief way to point out some of the things that the Democratic Party must do if they are to keep the Negro votes.

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7. The Progressive Democratic Party must realize that the Negro leaders are appreciative of the many considerations that have been given

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

The Democrats cannot pay their political obligation to the Negroes by giving them patronage in the North and allowing lynchers, Ku Klux, segregation, injustice in the courts, unequal facilities in educational systems the existence of poll taxes and the down right denial of the right to vote, in the South. The Negro is struggling for his citizenship rights under the Constitution of the United States. He plays his politics with whatever party system that he feels will best advance his economic and political cause. There is not need to think in this intelligent age that the Negroes of today are the same as they were twenty years ago. And any political organization that expects to rule must give the Negro his due and just consideration. There is only one way to hold the Negro down in the gutter and that is by staying in the gutter with him. If a political organization expects to rise to power and stay in power it must help those who put it in power.

One of the biggest differences between the Republican and Democratic Parties as this writer sees it is that the Republicans were smart enough to see the value of the Negro vote before the Democrats, while the Democrat have gotten "Jap" wise in the last few years.

May The Dove of Peace Hover

It is about time that our warring Negro democratic factions in Oklahoma joined their hands together for the common good. It should be apparent to all that no good can be accomplished by many splits and divers squabbling units at present going to make up the 60,000 Negro democrats of this great state. Oklahoma City, Okla.

Selfish interests have been injected into the public life of this state to the extent that for many years the interests of the many have been submerged in the objectives of a few. This must be corrected if Negroes are to secure any benefits derived through the intelligent use of the ballot. Black Dispatch 11-4-39

Messers Williamston and Hill exhibit rare, good judgement in their efforts to call a harmony meeting Saturday, November 4th. We believe both of these two men are honestly desirous of burying the hatchet and that they mutually have decided to work out a forward program within the ranks of Negro democrats.

One of the obvious expressions of their unselfish intentions can be observed in the call issued to the democrats of the state, and appearing on the front page of this issue. The Black Dispatch is sure that the announcement to be found there should allay any suspicion which might arise as to the intentions of these two gentlemen. Both agree that they will not during the life of the present administration be candidates for any office, within the gift of the governor or any of his administrative boards.

Both announce in the open the purpose of the meeting and what will be discussed. It appears to The Black Dispatch that at last we have arrived on the threshold of sanity and good old common horse sense, and that we are about to make the Negro vote an effective vital force in this state.

Minority group technique is in no wise similar to majority group method and action. The sooner Negroes learn this the better for them. Majority groups can afford to divide, but the strength of the minority lies in its solidarity.

If the majority (not all) of the 60,000 Negroes in this state would vote together on issues common to the group, there is no question but that the black vote would become a decisive factor in every election. No office seeker is going to pay attention to a vote not strong enough to put somebody in office, or retire officer seekers from their jobs. It is a simple rule which Negroes could follow to claim respect for their ballot.

We wish the leaders who seek to dominate the political picture in Oklahoma would take time out to visit in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. It would not be a bad idea to visit for a while in West Virginia, a southern state where the black man has learned to use his ballot wisely. The Negroes who live in the states above named could show Negroes how obviously runious is their practice of separation.

The Black Dispatch is hoping that all who attend the Saturday meeting will do so with an open mind. For one time let us sit down together and try to allay suspicions. The present moment is the proper time to get together. Usually Negroes wait until election time to call a meeting. A welfare program for black folk is shoved into the background, while various groups seek preference for their favorite candidate.

In the Saturday meeting no such provocative element will be injected. Those who come should attend dedicating their efforts to an uplift program of use to the group. Certain it is that there are problems facing the Negro now which need to be solved, and it will take the unselfish consecrated efforts of all of the leadership to achieve proper and worthwhile aims.

DAWSON TAKES OVER; OUTLINES WARD PROGRAM

By JOHN H. JOHNSON

The preservation of harmony and the acquisition of more jobs and better living conditions for Chicago's Second Ward were the main points of a program outlined by former Alderman William L. Dawson at a meeting of the Second Ward Regular Democratic Organization last Friday at St. Elizabeth Hall. Dawson was recently appointed committeeman of the ward by Mayor Edward J. Kelly. 11-2-39

In his speech of acceptance the new committeeman, a former Republican leader, said: "I have aligned myself with the Democratic party because I believe that its program of security and economic freedom for the masses of people who need it most, meets the tests laid down for any political group seeking Negro support."

Leaders Pledge Support

Sharing the center of attraction with Committeeman Dawson was Alderman Earl B. Dickerson, who declared: "I am happy for the part I played, be it large or small, in bringing about the appointment of a colored man of Dawson's calibre as committeeman of the Second Ward."

Dawson welcomed all Democrats, Progressive Republicans and Independents back into the fold and expressed keen satisfaction at seeing in the audience Attorney Richard A. Harewood, former member of the Illinois state legislature; Attorney C. C. Wimbish, former assistant state's attorney, who brought his whole organization with him; Attorney A. L. Williams, who also came in with his organization, and Joseph T. Tittinger, the outgoing committeeman. They all pledged their support to Dawson and the Second Ward Democratic Organization. Other prominent persons present were Senator William A. Wallace, Corneal Davis, Fred Smith, Dan Williams and Attorney S. A. T. Watkins.

Dawson urged his precinct capains not to relent in their efforts to fill the Eighth Regiment armory on December 2. On that date the organization is sponsoring a boxing show in order to raise Christmas funds for the needy children of the ward. Mayor Kelly's Christmas Fund will give $2 to the ward's fund for every $1 it raises.

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BURROWS TAKES OVER THE LEADERSHIP

— AN EDITORIAL —

AS WAS PREDICTED in a front-page headlined story in last week's edition of The New York Age, a deal had been made in the 19th Assembly District Democratic fight for leadership. At the time it was reported that Assemblyman Daniel Burrows and Tammany leader Henry C. Perry had decided to combine forces to make Burrows leader in front and Perry the actual leader from behind the scenes.

That deal was not only made but in its execution Thursday night at a meeting of the county committee of the district Tammany used all its old stock tricks and then some so Burrows could take over. To observers present at the meeting, it was perfectly apparent that any roll call vote or individual balloting would end with James Ravenell as the leader.

The meeting was short but not sweet. Inside of an hour's time the county committee had been called individually, voting done by units and Burrows announced as the leader by a vote of 316 for Burrows to 253 for Ravenell. That vote was announced as final and absolute, but when the vote was taken still remains a mystery to all but Burrows and a few of his satellites who completely ignored the Ravenell forces and held a "meeting" as though opposition never existed.

Prior to the calling of the meeting, three Tammany district leaders, Messrs. William Sheldrick, Edward V. Laughlin and Clarence Neil of the 13th, 14th and 20th Assembly Districts, were announced as having been sent by Tammany Hall leader Christopher Sullivan as "observers" only. It was their duty, they informed the county committeemen, to see that the meeting was conducted according to the rules of Tammany Hall and the spokesman announced in no uncertain terms that anyone attempting to disrupt the meeting would be forthwith ejected from the meeting.

There were plenty of persons present who disrupted the meeting but were they ejected? No. because they were the leaders of the group which engineered the deal between Burrows on the one hand and Perry, half-brother of Sullivan, on the other. It is doubtful if such a steamroller has ever been seen in action before; from the effects that it will have on the district we doubt if it will ever again be used.

In plain language Ravenell was robbed of the leadership by one of the most contemptible tricks ever worked and if Burrows is seated after Ravenell appeals against it to Tammany Hall and to the courts, he will find the leadership but an empty symbol. He will find that he will have to build another organization, for to ask the Ravenell forces to be good sports and take that beating would be asking too much of mere humans.

There was a time when Negroes could be duped by political machinations but that day has passed. Negroes are now politically wiser and they will no longer stand up and allow themselves to be kicked around; they will fight back. In this case the fight can be efficacious because a leader must have a working organization behind him in order to be a successful leader. This Burrows will not have.

We have nothing against Burrows except that his leadership will be regarded with suspicion. Anyone receiving the support of Perry must have paid a price for that support. In this instance we believe that unwittingly Burrows will eventually pay a dear price—his future in politics in Harlem. From the very moment that he ascended the auditorium platform and announced himself as elected leader, from that moment on his days in politics were numbered.

By bestowing its blessings on Burrows and making him the leader of the district, Tammany Hall did one thing to its credit, however. It gave Harlem another Negro district leader in name anyway if not in deed or fact. Tammany recognized that Negroes in the 19th would no longer stand for white leadership and so it hand-picked the Negro leader. It did not go into open meeting and allow the two Negro candidates to battle it out on their merits alone as should have been the case. Tammany did not ask the Negro county committee to make the choice or even vote. It outlined the procedure for the meeting and we must say to the credit of the temporary chairman (if credit it be) that he carried out his job with dispatch. Despite objections the roll was called; despite objections the nomination of the permanent chairman was made; despite objections a unit rule was invoked as the means of voting. And despite the fact that no one heard a nomination for either leader or co-leader or a vote, it was announced that Burrows and Mrs. Bertha Greene had been elected.

Tammany has had many lean years what with a fusion administration in control of the city and Roosevelt in control of the nation. And just as long as Tammany condones and encourages the type of "elections" which resulted in Burrows and Mrs. Greene being declared the winners, just that long will Tammany be the symbol of all that is crooked and dirty and against the public interest.

If Burrows should be seated by Tammany Hall and recognized as the duly elected leader and this is more likely than not, we hope that he will remember that first he is a Negro and that it is his job to protect the interests of Negroes of his district. It will be his job to get whatever patronage the district is entitled to and give it to Negroes. It will be his job to see that Tammany Hall gives the Negro its proportionate share of whatever there is to be shared. It will be his job to be the leader, not only in name but in deed. It will be his job to do the leading and not the following. Whether the job will be too big for him is another thing.

Although the 19th got a Negro leader by a circuitous method, the ice has been broken and two years hence, whatever mistakes have been made in the past or will be made in the future can be rectified.

Dawson to Replace Tittinger as Boss of the 2nd Ward

Bee

Former Alderman William L. Dawson indicated late Tuesday that the rumor that he will replace Joesph F. Tittinger as Democratic committeeman of the 2nd ward is not with out foundation.

Speculation has been rife on the southside since it was reported that Dawson, a staunch Republican had deserted G O P ranks in a recent news release in the BEE. Many considered this move significant in view of the tremendous popularity and political power of the former alderman. Dawson in commenting on the rumor stated:

Doesn't Deny Report

"I can't deny the report. There was a lack of harmony and understanding in the ward. Knowing the psychology and needs of my people. I believe that I can be of service." He stated, a'so, that he felt free to choose any party label that will enable him to best advance the interests of members of his race.

Cullman, Ala., Tribune
October 26, 1939

State Press

ON THE OTHER FOOT

From a Republican newspaper, The Union-Banner of Clanton, we learn that the Jefferson County Negro Democratic Club held a meeting the other day in a Birmingham funeral parlor. This Jefferson County Club, so we are told, is the only chartered Negro Democratic Club in Alabama. A New Dealer from Washington was on hand to speak.

These Republicans seem to be learning a thing or two; they are following the old maxim pertaining to turn about being fair play. They remember the day when the Democrats were able to throttle every political effort which they made in Alabama by simply levelling the finger of negro affiliation at them. The Republicans now realize that the shoe is on the other foot; that the watchword of the Democratic Party in Alabama, "White Supremacy," has become an empty slogan—and they intend to make the most of its emptiness. Who can blame them?—The Tuscaloosa News.

The fact that this meeting of colored brethren was held in a funeral parlor indicates their deep interest and abiding loyalty to the cause for which the meeting was held. Negroes don't congregate close to morgues for nothing.—The DeKalb Times.

Savannah, Ga., Press
October [illegible], 1939

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No Southern Democrat

Those of us with long political memories will recall how often and how futilely the Alabama delegation in the National Democratic Convention of 1912 cast its ballot for Underwood for President. The balloting in this way attracted nation-wide attention but didn't get the candidate anywhere. It looks as if there is a plan on foot to have history repeat itself at the Democratic National Convention of 1940. Alabama seems to be preparing to vote for Bankhead for the nomination for President when the opportunity presents itself.

If the incumbent President of the United States doesn't run away with the convention and, defying precedent, offer for a third term for the highest and most important political office in the world, there is promise of a very lively and strenuous fight for the Democratic presidential nomination. And the friends of William Bankhead, now speaker of the lower house of Congress, have been urged by Frank M. Dixon, governor of Alabama, to insist upon a Bankhead delegation to the national convention with instructions to cast the ballot of the state for him as long as there is a suggestion that he might have a chance to win. As Alabama leads in the convention voting, this means the plan is one to at least win attention, as was the case when Underwood was so persistently voted for when everybody knew he did not have any chance for the nomination.

It is quite a compliment to the Democrats of the South to suggest that this section might be favored with the nomination of a Democratic candidate for President. And it is at best only a complimentary suggestion. There is no chance for a Southern Democrat to be nominated for President. Practical politicians recognize this. The nominee will come from some section other than the South. That is why so many look upon the Garner boom in Texas as merely a gesture of good humor—a compliment to a favorite son.

The Democratic nominee for President is coming from the East. That is the section to pick 'em from to win. Cleveland, Wilson, Roosevelt; all Easterners. And the nominee of the party next year will be from that section, whether it is Roosevelt or someone else.

The South has ceased to be a real factor choosing the Democratic nominee for President. The abolition of the two-thirds rule has seen to that. The Eastern Democrats who engineered that plan at the last convention knew they were killing the power of the South when they made a mere majority all that was required to name a candidate.

Some Southern delegates knew this too, but not enough of them. They were Jim Farleyed into a political corner and deprived of their power when the two-thirds rule died.

Again: Negro Democrats in states like New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California do not want a Southern Democrat for President. They want a candidate who will follow the footsteps of Franklin D. Roosevelt who gave them greater recognition than the Republicans ever allowed them.

So while it is pleasing to see a suggestion of a Democratic Southerner running for President, there is nothing politically substantial behind such a plan to make it worth while considering seriously.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
November 24, 1939

South Carolina Contributes

The law enforcement officers of South Carolina, the state, county and city police the governor and the county sheriffs, are Democrats. They are concerned for the re-election of a national Democratic administration in 1940. So are the two senators, Messrs. Smith and Byrnes, and the six congressmen.

In 1932 and in 1936 the negroes in the Northern cities turned from the Republican party and voted for Mr. Roosevelt and other Democratic candidates. This especially they did in 1936, and in that year James Farley, national Democratic chairman, had an organization of negro Democrats, one of his chief lieutenants being the son of a negro congressman of South Carolina in the 1870s.

Now come repeated stories of intimidation of negroes by masked and robed men in the Upcountry of South Carolina, in counties of greatly preponderent white population, Greenville and Anderson.

In Greenville, a negro, a veteran of the World war, was stripped, probably beaten, and left on the doorstep of a former Republican office-holder, a white man.

Masked and robed persons have been riding in the vicinity of negro camps supported by government within ten miles of the state capital.

If these performances continue and state and county offices be slow or powerless to prevent them, will the federal government interfere? Or will Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Farley, Senator Wagner, Senator Guffey and Representative Gavaghan ignore them?

In 1871 white South Carolinians had to submit to President Grant's administration, to the dragging of their people into federal courts. Dozens of them were sent to federal penitentiaries. Federal soldiers swarmed then in South Carolina.

South Carolina is now a New Deal, a "Roosevelt", state. Only Democrats are on guard.

The Roosevelt national party in the North is a negro as well as white party.

Our people would resent federal interference now as they resented it in 1871. (We would resent it.) With what face could they resent it? Do they expect the Roosevelt government to abandon Southern negroes to "Southern outrages"?

The Northern negro leaders are fully informed of what is done in South Carolina The news is in the press dispatches, is printed in a thousand newspapers.

Some politicians have accused The News and Courier of being "Republican." Not in a thousand columns of editorials could it, if so disposed, embarrass the Roosevelt administration as the intimidators of negroes in Greenville and Anderson are embarrassing it.

Not in a thousand editorials could it give the Republicans the aid and comfort that they are receiving from the failure of Democratic and New Deal (humanitarian) South Carolina to punish the malefactors who abuse negroes.

Democratic South Carolina is making hundreds of thousands of votes for the Republican party in 1940.

Its contribution to the Republican party is worth more than would be a million dollars to John Hamilton's Republican national committee.

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Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
April 20, 1939

Might Meet Them Half Way

Leaders of the national Democratic party having lately invited colored people into the organization and given them prominent posts in its convention, is it not surprising that the negro leaders in Southern states have shown no grateful recognition of these proceedings?

The attitude of the national Democratic party toward the negroes has been wholly changed; President Roosevelt regards it a Lincoln Democratic party; it is now not less a champion of negro rights than the Republican party is, a fact which the Northern negroes of the great cities stamped with approval by voting overwhelmingly for the Democratic candidates in 1936.

One has no doubt that Chairman James Farley, Senator Wagner, Senator Guffey, Senator Van Nuys, indeed all the Northern and Western Democratic leaders, would exert themselves for Democratic assistance to the negroes in the South were they given the chance. Were Chairman Farley, Secretary Ickes and other distinguished Democrats invited by a representative committee of the negroes of South Carolina to come to Columbia or other convenient point in the state and address them on the subject of "The Negro in Democracy" they would undoubtedly accept. They could hardly afford to decline; to do so would offend the Northern Democratic negroes and hasten the return of many of them to the Republican camp.

The Democratic party under Chairman Farley's direction surely is not negro in the North and lily-white in the South. The Southern negroes could bring tremendous presure, or turn on the heat, on the national Democratic managers to break down the barriers excluding negroes from Southern white primaries.

Some of these great white gentlemen have already expressed themselves against the exclusion, notably Secretary Ickes, by necessary implictaion, in correspondence with former Governor Blease a few years ago. The secretary would be delighted to respond favorably to a Southern negro invitation. The News and Courier is sure that his reception by the colored people would be cordial, and it would urge non-interference by the white people.

If Mr. Ickes, Chairman Farley, Senators Guffey, Wagner and Van Nuys, also Senator Barkley and Representative Marcantonio, together with their principal colored associates, shall come into South Carolina speaking for negro rights in the Democratic party, The News and Courier promises to do everything in its power to insure them against interruption or molestation by white Democrats. The News and Courier is for free speech.

The leading South Carolina negroes have an opportunity. It seems strange that they do not meet Chairman Farley, Secretary Ickes and the other Northern Democrats half way.

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
April 20, 1939

After Garner

Polls showing popular preference for Vice President John N. Garner as the next Democratic presidential nominee may be entirely accurate as of today but a different situation will exist when convention time rolls around.

Why? Because Jack Garner is a Southerner whose views on many points, foremost among them the negro question in the South, are in direct opposition to the views of top New Dealers.

The national Democratic party has the support of Northern negroes and it would lose them with Mr. Garner as the nominee. Witness the stir caused by his failure to help sponsor the Marian Anderson concert in Washington and the political capital manufactured therefrom by Secretary Ickes.

Democrats outside of the South who now favor Garner will cool off in many cases when these facts are —as they now are being—called to their attention.

Democrats within the South who favor Garner will stand firm, but the part they are privileged to play in national party affairs grows smaller year by year.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
April 23, 1939

THE DEMOCRATIC WAY?

Demagogic orators, seeking to flatter their listeners, their constituents, are prone to laudatory references to "the democratic way" of doing things. And too many of those same listeners are too apt to accept that phrase in the sense of flattering acclaim, greeting it with smug satisfaction that it can be nothing but a brand of 100 per cent perfection.

If that same democracy in which we all take so much pride, rightfully, is to survive it would be well if we sometimes paused for self-analysis, if we took the time to look around at results of the operations of that democratic system over the past 150 years, and ask ourselves if, in all things, we have truly followed "the democratic way" and if, in following, the results have justified the system.

The democratic way, intrinsically, is the only way. For it is the way of human liberty, of free men, dignified and serene in their unalienable rights.

We should remember, however, that neither as a nation nor as individuals have we followed that democratic way in all things, even in many things. For that way is an ideal, a goal of perfection held up for our attainment, but a goal we are still far from reaching.

The evidence is all around us of those things wherein we have been false to that ideal way of democracy. It requires only honest appraisal to see wherein we have fallen short.

It is not the democratic way to denude vast areas of forest land of all the living trees, leaving only barren areas to wash their surface soils into the oceans and to leave gully-scarred wastes of unproductive land, for millions upon millions of acres.

That is the way of greed, and democracy cannot live side by side with greedy men. For democracy depends upon equality for all, equality to enjoy and to benefit by the bounties of nature. There is no equality when selfish men and selfish interests ruin vast areas of God given forests for the sake of a little immediate profit to the few. That is not democracy, it is theft, a ravaging of that which should belong to all.

Neither is it the democratic way to so strip bare the prairies of the west, with no thought for topsoil protection, that they become dust-bowls of desolation and death. That again is thoughtless greed and not the method of democracy.

Distribution of the rich resources of the land so that some possess too much while others starve in the midst of plenty is not democracy. Exploitation of the helpless is not democracy. Usury, taking advantage of the man or woman who is held in the toils of economic necessity, is not democracy.

Excessive profits extorted through any form of monopoly is not democracy.

All these things are but variations of human greed, individual selfishness and the placing of property rights above the human values in the creation of a social system and the enactment and enforcement of its laws.

Grafting office holders and unscrupulous, false seekers after office are but enemies of democracy, not its champions as they would proclaim.

Inciters of racial prejudice and those who would array class against class, are among democracy's most deadly foes.

For, above all things, democracy is honest, democracy is true. Democracy is the nearest approach in the affairs of man and his government, to the ideals laid down 2,000 years ago in the Sermon on the Mount.

Democracy will work, but it demands the unselfish dedication of every individual.

Today, democracy faces its greatest challenge. In other countries new methods of government have driven the democratic idea beyond their borders. In many ways, those new government ideas are working. They are achieving results, at least upon the surface, that democracy has not achieved. They threaten the entire structure of democratic growth all over the world.

The only irrefutable answer that democracy can make to this challenge, is to show, beyond question, that democracy itself can, and does, work.

To show this, calls for wholehearted devo-

tion and sacrifices. It demands that each one of us, individually, shall search heart and mind and that we shall, immediately, so alter our ways of life and our personal habits that we shall purge from our personalities all that greed, that selfishness, that blindness to the rights and needs of others that has led us so far astray.

It is not the democratic way that any child shall be undernourished, uneducated and handicapped from the start of life. It is not the democratic way that human beings shall seek self-sustaining work and be unable to find it. It is not the democratic way that the sick, the diseased, the halt and the lame shall be barred from cure for economic reasons. It is not the democratic way that public service, in public office, shall be the highroad to wealth. It is not the democratic way that natural resources of the nation shall be exploited for, or wasted by, the few.

If we will but return to the road pointed out by the fathers, to that ideal they held before us when the nation was young, then we shall prove, once and for all, that democracy means invincible strength, that democracy can, and does, work for the equal advantage of all her sons and daughters.

"Stop Garner Program" Laid To New Deal

WASHINGTON, D. C. May 4.—By what was considered in political circles here as a "faux pas" of the worst kind the ambitions of Vice President Garner appeared doomed by his refusal to attend the Marian Anderson concert here on Easter Sunday.

The seriousness of the situation was noted this week when Representative Mason (Rep., Ill.) accused the Roosevelt administration of promoting a "stop Garner program." Mason declared that creating an "alliance of New Dealers, labor leaders, radical 'Reds' and Northern Negroes" administration men "hope to block" the vice president out of a chance at the Democratic nomination for presidency next year.

Believe Chance Ruined

Last week Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen in the syndicated column "Washington Merry-Go-Round" asserted "the fact that Vice President Garner failed to attend the Marian Anderson concert before the Lincoln Memorial or even to acknowledge the invitation may ruin his chances for the presidency."

The well-known columnists stated: "The colored vote can swing an election one way or the other in such key states as New York, Pennsylvania, Missouri and Illinois, and Jack Garner, one of the shrewdest politicians in the country is quite aware of the fact."

Third Term

To the Editor of The Post—Sir: The tradition against a third term, rooted in the counsel of Thomas Jefferson, and the example of George Washington, represents the normal attitude of the American mind without regard to political alignment. Other things being equal, it would be suicidal for any party to advocate a third term. But it may be otherwise if other things are not equal. Even Thomas Jefferson was willing to stand for a third nomination if that were the only means of defeating the election of a monarchist candidate, which he so deeply disapproved.

In the presence of a great national emergency, hoary tradition has little more binding force than a coil of smoke. Every strong nation on the face of the earth today, including our own, is conferring upon the government a greater degree of dictatorial power in order to cope with existing emergencies. The recorded Senate vote against a third term in days gone by merely expressed opposition to the third term as an abstract proposition.

Several Democratic Senators who were against the third term under Coolidge's administration but who are now disposed to support the renomination of President Roosevelt need not incur the stigma of inconsistency. Times and conditions change and the minds of men change with them. There certainly was no emergency under Coolidge's second administration which would have justified upsetting the third term tradition in his behalf.

But today the political, economic and social conditions are in a state of flux, and require a strong, experienced captain to guide the Ship of State through uncharted waters. It is not that present-day statesmen hate the third term less, but love Roosevelt more.

The attitude of these distinguished statesmen and patriots expresses that of millions of American voters who believe that the continuance of President Roosevelt in office is necessary to safeguard the economic, political and social welfare of the Nation at such a time as this. KELLY MILLER.

Washington, June 29.

The Answer

To the Editor of The Post—Sir: We have too much improvidence and idleness in America. Regimentation of adults is not the answer. The education of the masses should include teaching little children how to work, how to save time, talent and material, by actually putting it into school programs of doing.

We notice sections where groups of children are absolutely idle around homes where grass needs to be cut, stones picked up, yards cleaned, vegetables planted, fruits planted, and hundreds of constructive jobs lying all around. We notice that these same families buy their vegetables off a truck. The school and the child is where this sort of thing should be stopped.

M. F. D.

Atlanta, Ga., June 28.

White Foresees Negro Support For Third Term

RICHMOND, Va.—Should President Roosevelt decide to seek a third term the Negro vote in this country will go strongly in his favor.

That is the opinion of Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, powerful Negro civil rights organization, which is holding its thirtieth annual conference here.

Not that the N. A. A. C. P. has endorsed or urged Mr. Roosevelt to run, for the N. A. A. C. P. is assertedly a nonpartisan group, Mr. White explained in an interview between conference sessions yesterday, but Mr. Roosevelt seems to fit the N. A. A. C. P. standards of candidacy more nearly than any other potential candidate.

Power Claimed in 17 States

And, as Mr. White put it, if the President does run again, "he undoubtedly will have the support of the Negroes."

Mr. White had explained that the N. A. A. C. P. will urge its members to support the "most intelligent, most liberal and most upright man, regardless of his party." He put even more emphasis on a corallary—"We certainly will not vote for any reactionary."

The Negro vote is a factor not to be regarded lightly, Mr. White pointed out. There are 17 states in which the Negro vote holds the potential balance of power, he said. That is, he added, if the election were reasonably close, the Negro vote might be the deciding factor.

Already the N. A. A. C. P. is studying all the possible presidential candidates and is going thoroughly about the job of documenting the record of each of them, Mr. White said. When the time comes, they will throw their support on the basis of the information they have gathered about the candidates.

As for Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. White said, "We feel that there is now in the White House a man who has a deep concern for the man further down." However, he added, "that doesn't mean we accept him uncritically—we're looking critically at them all."

A rather important part of the credit for the Negro sentiment for the President goes to Mrs. Roosevelt and "her couageous, forthright stand" on various issues, Mr. White said. He mentioned specifically her attitude in the recent controversy arising from D. A. R. refusal to let Marian Anderson sing in Constitution Hall in Washington.

The famous Negro singer will be awarded the association's Spingarn medal for the greatest achievement by any American Negro in 1938 at the final session of the conference in the Mosque on Sunday. Mrs. Roosevelt will present the medal and address the meeting.

The N. A. A. C. P. official foresaw a "marked increase" in the size of the Negro vote for 1940. One reason for this, he said, is that Negroes have become more interested in government in the past few years. And more Negroes are registering and qualifying to vote, he said, even in the Deep South. He found encouragement in the observation that white Southerners are taking a "more and more enlightened attitude."

As an indication of the growing Negro vote, he cited a practice followed by the Richmond and other branches of the N. A. A. C. P. It is emphasized that every N. A. A. C. P. branch member be a registered voter, Mr. White said.

"We don't tell them they must vote for this or that man," he said. "But we want them to be prepared to vote. The important thing is to vote."

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Lexington, S. C. Dispatch-News
June 29, 1939

New Dealers Lining up Negro Vote in South Carolina

"Regardless of what the southern democratic leaders may do in congress or at next year's national democratic convention, it is quite apparent that the national democratic leaders are quietly but effectively preparing to keep the electoral vote of the solid south 'in the bag' and overwhelm any revolt of the white democratic electors by using negro voters to make up for the disaffected white voters," says a statement issued by the Greenville (S. C.) Post, federation of middle classes.

"The cue to this statement was given by a news item which appeared in the Greenville Piedmont, June 7, stating that on the previous Monday 44 negroes had secured registration certificates in this county. The number was so large as to cause comment from Mrs. King, the registrar, who stated the number surpassed any such in her experience in registration although previous opening of the books have been marked by unusually heavy registration of negroes.

"These registration certificates qualify the holders to vote in general or national elections.

"A check of registration in other counties would probably reveal that an unusually large number of negroes are registering with a view of voting in the 1940 presidential election.

"This means that the northern democratic leaders intend to use the negro voters in the south, just as they have in New York, Pennsylvania and other northern states to keep the solid south solidly in the democratic party regardless of the sentiment of a majority of the white voters. They no doubt figure that the combined vote of federal office holders, WPA workers and the negroes will hold the electoral vote of the south in the democratic column in 1940 regardless of whom the party nominates.

"The negro is turning to the ballot box in national elections is trying to better his economic condition, just as other pressure groups throughout the country are doing. He is not interested in voting in our democratic state primaries nor at present in our county or state government. Neither does the matter of social equality have any interest for him at the present, but he is interested in seeing segregation and Jim Crow laws swept aside and his right to work side by side with whites in industry at equal wages obtained.

"In the north the negro has found the C. I. O. and the democratic party the best bargaining agencies for obtaining his objectives nor does he propose to lose his advantages by seeing the solid south slip from the democratic fold. This explains the registration of unusually large number of negroes in Greenville county and no doubt the same thing is transpiring throughout this state and the south.

"The negro is well within his rights in registering and preparing to vote in large numbers in the south in next year's presidential election and any effort to use force or disfranchise him would be ill-advised and no doubt would lead to federal control of our elections.

"The future of the democratic party seems inextricably bound up with the C. I. O. and the negro.

"After the presidential election of 1940 is over the democratic party of the south can no longer be called a white man's party."

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
May 3, 1939

Roosevelt's Service to the South

The talk that President Roosevelt will bolt the national Democratic party in 1940 if its convention shall reject the principles of his New Deal is now common. It is not in the least to his discredit. It means that the president will not, for the sake of party regularity or success, degrade his character by spewing his convictions of right and wrong. It means that the president will place honesty above partisanship.

While there are politicians who hold loyalty to a party organization the holiest of all loyalties (they are honest and good men "according to their lights"), The News and Courier is not of them. It believes with President Roosevelt that there are obligations of the citizen far higher than those that chain him to a party. If he should see the Democratic party convention controlled by "conservatives" in 1940 and turning its back on his "liberalism" we could not censure him for steadfast adherence to a program of "social reform" and "re-making of America" which he looks upon as sacred. The president has consistently from the beginning of the New Deal praised independence, that is bolting the party by Republicans. He praises Democrats, too, when a sense of duty prompts them to bolt their party.

No good man's opinion of the president will be lessened if he shall bolt the party next year rather than betray his conscience.

In the South, bolting the Democratic party organization has been looked upon as mortal sin, on account of the "negro question." Bolters always have been accused of "appealing to the negroes", scuttling "white supremacy", and all that sort of thing, and that the accusations have often been false has not interrupted office-holders in bringing them. Manifestly it is to the interest of the Democratic salariat to keep alive and hot the superstition that a party bolter is a public enemy and worse than an infidel. However, no Southern Democratic politician is saying now a word against bolting, lest he tread on the toes of President Roosevelt.

The national Democratic party under the generalship of Chairman Farley, for President Roosevelt, having received the negroes into full and loving fellowship, the old charges against Southern Democratic bolters from the national organization will not again be laid or, if they shall be, they will be laughed at.

In 1928, when Southerners bolted the nomination of Governor Smith, no word was said by The News and Courier against their right to leave the party however it criticized the reasons or emotions that led them to it. The writer of this article, having been himself a bolter upon occasion, could not object to the exercise of independence by a citizen in casting a vote.

In 1940 we shall hear much of bolting in the South as well as in the North. One will not be surprised by the appearance of independent tickets of presidential electors in Southern states.

Whatever The News and Courier may think and say in opposition to most of President Roosevelt's opinions and policies, it believes that he has served the country well and especially the Southern part of it by his manly and unswerving insistence upon independence in voting as opposed to slavishness to party names and machines.

Chairman Farley more than any other man has promoted political independence in the South, for he has been the distinguished and victorious leader in courting and capturing the negro vote for the party.

Says Negro Needed On New Federal Board

Walkerville Herald
5-29-39

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—The second meeting of the group of representatives of several large national organizations was held last week, re-considering the events which were discussed at the initial meeting and seeking ways and means of furthering the cause of the minority groups of the country in legislation before congress.

Called at the instigation of the Non-Partisan Lobby for Economic and Democratic Rights, the chief problem at hand was that of the federal reorganization bills on Negro government workers.

In analyzing the bill, William P. Robinson, national representative of the body, pointed to the specific agencies into which it is vitally necessary to the welfare of Negro people that Negro administrative, supervisory and planning personnel be equitably integrated.

NEED EMPHASIZED

He emphasized the need for the inclusion of at least one Negro on the New National Resources Planning board, which is to be composed of five members and whose purpose it will be to conserve national resources, "natural and human".

The integration of Negro executive assistants into the central offices and subdivisions of the new federal security agency, the new federal works agency, the new federal loan agency and the Federal Farm Mortgage corporation and Farm Credit administrations.

The conference considered and unanimously endorsed that support be thrown behind the Mitchell Bill, which will remove the discretionary power of the appointing officers to select any one of the three highest applicants on the eligible list and will make it mandatory upon the appointing officers to accept the person making the highest grade on the eligible list.

The Roosevelts And The Negro Race

No longer is it something unusual for the members of our group to have primary contact with the President of the United States and the First Lady of the land. During the past seven years the Roosevelts have demonstrated a democratic attitude in recognizing leaders of the Negro race. Other presidents, perhaps, showed similar courtesies but not in the history of this country has it been so pronounced as it has since the Roosevelts' Administration. Just last week the wife of the President presented the Spingarn Medal to Marion Anderson, internationally known contralto at the annual meeting of the NAACP held at Richmond, Virginia. Mrs. Roosevelt posed for pictures taken with Marian Anderson and gladly greeted more than five thousand with a warm handshake. Mrs. Roosevelt has appeared before numerous Colored gatherings and each time demonstrated a spirit which has uplifted our group and made them feel more like American citizens because of the recognition given them by the First Lady. The President has on several occasions posed for pictures with distinguished leaders of our group, the most recent being on the occasion of Tuskegee Institute when the President paid a distinct tribute to Dr. Carver, noted Negro Scientist. The Negro race like all other people are proud of the President and the First Lady of the land, and have at all times shown the proper courtesies and respect. As members of a minority group they feel honored that the President and his wife are big hearted enough to transcend all prejudice and criticism to recognize them as citizens and treat them with the same courtesies as other groups are treated. The attitude of the Roosevelts has set a standard for others to follow if they are to live up to the letter and spirit of Democracy. Some have criticized the Roosevelts for their overwhelming attitude of courtesy to our group and called it politics. Grant that there is a political significance to their actions, we will certainly have to admit that it is good politics. And if it be politics it serves a twofold purpose in that the Roosevelts have built around them the possibility of a race twelve million strong, and at the same time given them a new outlook on their aspirations of citizenship.

The present day Negro has a long memory and the Roosevelts will not be forgotten. If by chance the Roosevelts seek a third term there will, no doubt, be thousands of Negroes in the band wagon. Not because of the WPA checks but because of the friendly attitude and brotherly spirit that the Roosevelts have shown our race in giving recognition to our achievements, our purposes and programs to advance our economic, social and political status.

So often we help elect men to public office and after they get in office, they won't even speak to us. They are quick in their moving about when they see us coming. Even the lowest office holder in some of our counties can come around at election times, shake hands, tell darky stories and make all kinds of promises. Some of them can bring their wives and daughters around to shake hands and smile, but as soon as they get in office, we are forgotten.

The Roosevelts know you in season and out of season. They know you at campaign times and they know you when the election is over. The Roosevelts are good examples for public office holders throughout the nation. The Negro citizen is more than a mere mess of pottage that can be bought and paid for on election day. The Roosevelts realize that very thing. Of course, thousands of Negroes have been and are still on the WPA, but thousands of whites are on the WPA. No doubt a large number of Negroes will support the democratic party in 1940 because of the WPA, but a large number may support the democratic party because of President and Mrs. Roosevelt.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
June 30, 1939

White Foresees Negro Support For 3d Term

Should President Roosevelt decide to seek a third term the Negro vote in this country will go strongly in his favor.

That is the opinion of Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, powerful Negro civil rights organization, which is holding its thirtieth annual conference here.

Not that the N. A. A. C. P. has indorsed or urged Mr. Roosevelt to run, for the N. A. A. C. P. is assertedly a nonpartisan group, Mr. White explained in an interview between conference sessions yesterday, but Mr. Roosevelt seems to fit the N. A. A. C. P. standards of candidacy more nearly than any other potential candidate.

Power Claimed in 17 States

And, as Mr. White put it, if the President does run again, "he undoubtedly will have the support of the Negroes."

Mr. White had explained that the N. A. A. C. P. will urge its members to support the "most intelligent, most liberal and most upright man, regardless of his party." He put even more emphasis on a corallary—"We certainly will not vote for any reactionary."

The Negro vote is a factor not to be regarded lightly, Mr. White pointed out. There are 17 States in which the Negro vote holds the potential balance of power, he said. That is, he added, if the election were reasonably close, the Negro vote might be the deciding factor.

Already the N. A. A. C. P. is studying all the possible presidential candidates and is going thoroughly about the job of documenting the record of each of them, Mr. White said. When the time comes, they will throw their support on the basis of the information they have gathered about the candidates.

As for Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. White said, "We feel that there is now in the White House a man who has a deep concern for the man further down." However, he added, "that doesn't mean we accept him uncritically—we're looking critically at them all."

A rather important part of the credit for the Negro sentiment for the President goes to Mrs. Roosevelt and "her courageous, forthright stand" on various issues, Mr. White said. He mentioned specifically her attitude in the recent controversy arising from D. A. R. refusal to let Marian Anderson sing in Constitution Hall in Washington.

The famous Negro singer will be awarded the association's Spingarn medal for the greatest achievement by any American Negro in 1938 at the final session of the conference in the Mosque on Sunday. Mrs. Roosevelt will present the medal and address the meeting.

The N. A. A. C. P. official foresaw a "marked increase" in the size of the Negro vote for 1940. One reason for this, he said, is that Negroes have become more interested in government in the past few years. And more Negroes are registering and qualifying to vote, he said, even in the Deep South. He found encouragement in the observation that white Southerners are taking a "more and more enlightened attitude."

As an indication of the growing Negro vote, he cited a practice followed by the Richmond and other branches of the N. A. A. C. P. It is emphasized that every N. A. A. C. P. branch member be a registered voter, Mr. White said.

"We don't tell them they must vote for this or that man," he said. "But we want them to be prepared to vote. The important thing is to vote."

POLITICAL- 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Garner Against Antilynching Law; Opposes White Primary

Vice President Likes Dr. George Carver at Tuskegee

WASHINGTON—Cactus Jack Garner! Or, to be more polite, John Nance Garner, vice president of the United States, potential candidate for the presidency under the banner of the Democratic party.

Before we go any further, discussing John Garner, get any preconceived notion of the man entirely out of your mind. It was with terpidation and suspicion that the appointment for an interview was made—but when a voice on the other end of the phone said, "Why not come down right now?" at 8:30 in the morning, it was the first of a series of shocks for your correspondent.

In the office he occupies, John Nance Garner is an entirely different man from the notion most colored citizens may have of him

BANS QUOTATION

It is impossible to quote him for he refuses to be quoted and will not give interviews either for the daily press, press associations, magazines or any other type of publication.

Garner knows a lot about colored people, is entirely conversant with their problems, and has a lot of ideas about their progress and citizenship surprisingly broad and in many of his attitudes and privately expressed opinions, almost beyond liberal.

Why he has never put them into action is another question, but in private conversation they frequently come to the surface in a most startling fashion.

OPPOSED TO WHITE PRIMARY

Some of the Garner viewpoints, however, are refreshing. He has definitely expressed himself as opposed to the Texas 'white primary,' but is said to take the position that there is nothing which can be done about it right now, unless the supreme court changes the opinion which it rendered in the last appeal which went up to that tribunal.

Garner admits that he is dead set against any group of venal voters whose votes can be bought and delivered having the right to vote, but he also points out that times have changed. Today, he admits the character of the Negro voter has improved to such an extent that he sees no reason why they should not be permitted to vote. Besides, he insists, as citizens they ought to vote according to the law.

This, perhaps, is the keynote to the Garner philosophy. He claims to be a stickler for the law. He wants every man regardless of color to have his rights under the law.

Garner regards the theory that people down in Texas are afraid of social equality as a lot of poppycock.

SOCIAL EQUALITY

Social equality, according to the Garner theory, is a personal thing. It affects a man's home and he is priviliged to invite within its threshold whomsoever he desires. There are a lot of colored people, according to Garner, he would rather have in his home than many of the "honery" whites who are constituents of his district. At least, that is reliably reported to be the position he takes.

Concerning the anti-lynching bill the vice president does not think very much of it. He thinks the strategy of those who push it is all wrong. He believes that what they ought to try to do is to reshape the measure and call it something else so as to avoid the age-old opposition which has been built up in the South. What he would do or thinks its proponents should do is to fashion a bill which southerners who really don't want lynchings at all could support.

For example, a measure which would declare that whenever three or more men committed a murder and it was not speedily punished, that the case automatically be taken to the nearest federal judge who, under the law, would be compelled to impanel a jury.

The reason these lynchers get away with their crimes is because under the present state of things they have no fear of punishment. Let them know, Mr. Garner believes, that they will be punished for these outrages and lynchings which have already diminished to a narrow point will vanish.

Garner is said to have called Sen. Tom Connally of Texas when the last anti-lynching bill was before the senate, and although the measure was "poorly drawn," Connally was urged to stop opposing the bill and to pass it. Garner took the position that looking at the matter from the practical political viewpoint, the colored people wanted the measure whether it was a good one or not.

They had supported the Democratic party in 1932 and in a greater degree in 1936, and he wanted to keep them with the party because they represented the balance of power. Never lose sight of the fact that Mr. Garner is a practical politician of the old school.

ADMIRES DR. CARVER

Mr. Garner delights to tell how Prof. Carver appeared before a committee holding tariff hearings on the peanut at one time. He likes Carver because he believes him honest and second because he thinks he has done more for the development of agricultural products than any man he knows.

Garner's creed is a square deal for everyone under the law. He always adds that "under the law"

Pennsylvania vs. Virginia

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People put Governor Price of Virginia in the middle last week.

The governor wanted whatever reflected glory that could come from appearing on the same program with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the President.

He didn't want to sit on the platform beside N.A.A.C.P. officials and be photographed. As a result, the meeting at which Mrs. Roosevelt presented the Spingarn Medal to Marian Anderson, the singer, was remarkable in that it showed that gracious Mrs. Roosevelt could be far more at home with a Virginia audience than Virginia's own governor.

And this gives us a chance to say something we have known for a long time:

The States where jim crow and segregation prevail are much less productive than free States where such racial separation does not exist.

Men who are kept at half pay are not able to get ahead as fast as those who get a full envelope.

* * * *

Take Virginia, the favorite jim crow State of the South. She has capabilities equal to, if not superior to, any State in the union.

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, she was the most powerful State—her population was nearly double that of Pennsylvania. She was the mother of Presidents and her statesmen boasted of her wealth and her men.

The average Virginian, in addition to himself, was so rich that he owned one slave. Pennsylvania lacked this wealth in slaves.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Virginia seceded from the union and lost her coal mines in the western counties, which remained loyal, and were admitted as a new State—West Virginia.

Now look at Virginia today. The population of Pennsylvania is FOUR times hers. The annual income of Pennsylvania's citizens is SIX times hers, and the average Pennsylvanian can expect any year to earn from $175 to $330 more than the average Virginian.

* * * *

Virginians, sensitive about this backwardness of their State, say that this is due to the presence of a large colored population—650,000. But that is an alibi of a degenerate people. Pennsylvania has as large a colored population as Virginia.

Pennsylvania is increasing in colored population and in white population; Virginia is decreasing in both.

In fact, nearly a sixth of Pennsylvania's colored population were born in Virginia, and nothing can be more eloquent than this in proving what price States like Virginia pay for jim crow and the color line.

White Denies He Advocated Third Term For President

Denial that he as executive secretary of the NAACP had urged members of his organization or Negroes generally to support President Roosevelt should he seek a third term was made by Walter White in a letter sent to the ATLANTA DAILY WORLD.

The denial followed publication of an Associated Negro Press release in which Mr. White was quoted as saying that "Negroes would support President Roosevelt for a third term". The story appeared beneath a headline stating that Mr. White had said that the group should support President Roosevelt in 1940.

Mr. White's letter reads as follows:

"I would be grateful if you would permit me to correct the headline appearing in the WORLD of July 5 reading, 'Walter White Says Group Should Vote for President Roosevelt in 1940.'

"I made no such statement at Richmond or anywhere else. Inasmuch as the Association is strictly non-partisan so far as politics are concerned, I would be violating the principles of the Association if I advocated the election of any particular person.

"I am certain the Associated Negro Press unintentionally rewrote an interview I gave to the Richmond Times-Dispatch. During the course of the interview I was asked the question by the reporter as to how I thought the Negro would vote if Mr. Roosevelt ran again. At no time during the interview did I advocate any particular candidate but merely confined my remarks to the answering of the question as given above. I would be grateful if you would make this clear in your columns."

Arriving the same day as Mr. White's letter was a letter signed by Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press.

Mr. Barnett's letter read:

"I am certain that we quoted Mr. White correctly, at least the story is just as our correspondent, who was there, heard it and wrote it.

"Your changing the word "would" to "should" perhaps is a bit reprehensible, because that implies a suggestion.

"It is probable most of the national legislators regard Mr. White as a supporter of President Roosevelt, and certainly that is his privilege."

Never Backed Any Candidate, He Asserts

Aiken, S. C., Standard & Review
July 19, 1939

COMMENTS BY SPECTATOR

Let us face facts; the time for pussy-footing is over. Are we for White rule, or have we bartered our birthright for generous gestures, nice language and fulsome promises?

That we have been betrayed by our own political party is known; that the principles of our fathers have been trampled on by some of our leaders is known. Now what are we going to do about it?

Three years ago most of the delegates to the National Democratic Convention impliedly accepted, sponsored and promoted negro participation in the Party. Well, is that what you stand for?

Either a trade was made with the negroes, or our Party deliberately deceived them. Somebody was deceived; and somebody was betrayed.

We Southern people do not mean to be bound by any political trades with Northern negroes; we should be square enough to disavow such trades, but, better still we should be above deceiving the negroes or betraying our own people.

Shall we send a delegation to the next Democratic Convention which will join in making the Democratic Party a negro Party?

There is no man who has any claim which entitles him to be chosen a delegate. A few have always aspired to these "Honors", after fighting and trading for the "Honors"; but let's be sure that we send men who represent us; not men who represent some candidate or hope to get some recognition or job.

Poker Playing Liquor Head

John L. Lewis, C.I.O. chief, last week called Vice-President John N. Garner a "labor baiting, poker playing, whiskey drinking, evil old man."

The questions of evil and labor baiting require more argument, but there is no doubt that Garner drinks more liquor and plays more poker than most men. But this isn't news, even though it is the most severe criticism of a Vice-President delivered in our memory.

The last time we had a liquor drinking Vice-President who was denounced in public was March 4, 1865, when Andrew Johnson took the oath of office with President Abraham Lincoln.

Johnson was so drunk he could be sworn in only with difficulty. He never knew when it took place. On March 7, the New York World referred to Vice-President Johnson as "this insolent, drunken brute, in comparison with whom even Caligula's horse was respectable," and expressed alarm that "only one frail life stands between this clownish drunkard and the Presidency."

At Lincoln's death, this vice-presidential liquor head became President of the United States.

He made a poor President, opposed the ballot for colored people, and favored immediate recognition of rebels. Congress not only disagreed with him, but opposed him, overrode his vetoes and finally voted 35 to 19 to impeach him and throw him out of office. Only the fact that a two-third majority was required saved him.

What Lewis wanted was to kill the Garner boom for the Presidency by making him out a gambler and heavy drinker. So far as the church people, the W.C.T.U. and the anti-gambling element of our population are concerned, he has done just that.

But Garner hasn't a real chance for the Presidency by any means. He's too old (past 70) and he's from Texas. We haven't elected a President from a rebel State since the Civil War.

God grant that we never shall elect a President from any State which once left the union until that State has completely repented of its sins and erased all color lines.

Since Lincoln sat in the White House, we have elected thirteen Presidents; five of them have come from Ohio, three from New York, and one each from Massachusetts, Illinois, New Jersey, Indiana, and California.

The dope sheet thus indicates that the next President will come from Ohio or New York, and this may mean Ohio's Taft or New York's Dewey or LaGuardia, rather than Indiana's McNutt or Michigan's Vandenburg.

MITCHELL SAYS THIRD TERM FOR ROOSEVELT

Negroes Will Rule 15 States

5-7-39

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 4—President Roosevelt was endorsed for a third term "if he wants it", by United States Representative Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois, only Negro member of Congress.

Congressman Mitchell who recently named 15 pivotal states which he said will be controlled in the next election by Negro votes, said he believes, however, that the President is "tired of public life and anxious to retire from from office."

"Even so, he will not retire unless he can do so and leave his country in good condition," Congressman Mitchell declared.

He said that "In time of war, there is not another man in the country capable of handling his office."

Praises North Carolina

Congressman Mitchell, who has been making a good will tour of southern states, said:

"North Carolina is setting the pace in Negro education and the other southern states are following her lead. North Carolina is one of the most progressive states in the Union and certainly the most progressive state in the South. North Carolina has done more for Negro education and has done more to build up a common understanding between the races than any other state.

"This development of common understanding is aided by the most liberal university in the country. The University of North Carolina is the most conducive of liberal thought of any school in the South."

The Negro Congressman said that he believes war in Europe inevitable. "Italy, Germany and Japan have their minds set on changing the map of Europe and it is too late to stop them," he said. "However, I think the democracies will triumph in the struggle."

Negro Democrat Speaks

Editor The New York Age:

There recently was published on the editorial page of The New York Age an article by Kelly Miller on "The Negro Republican Brain Trust." The list of race stalwarts "who have done their best to show the Republican Pary, the Negro and the nation the reason for this change of front" did not include a single New Yorker. In this respect, Kelly Miller was guilty of the usual sin of omission when comment is made on the wholesale desertion of Negro voters from the G. O. P. to the Democratic Party, although for years New York Negroes have led in the movement to divide the race vote.

More than a quarter of a century ago Chas. Edward E. Lee, James D. Carr, John McNeil, Robert Wood, Cornelius Hughes and William Chappelle were engaged in weaning Negroes from the Republican Party. The more recent organized and effective activities of Civil Service Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton, United States Minister Lester A. Walton, Dr. Paul A. Collins, the Austin brothers and others were not confined to New York State and city. Messrs. Walton and Morton in particular were cooperating with Democratic National Campaign Committees when those mentioned by Kelly Miller, except Bishop Ransom, were aligned with the Republican Party.

Twenty years ago New York Negroes were setting an example of independence by voting in the thousands for Democratic candidates at which time the Negro vote in other sections of the country was insignificant. Harlem was going Democratic when South Side Chicago was going Republican. A Negro Democrat in Pennsylvania was a monstrosity.

If the political emancipation of American Negro is to be faithfully and accurately recorded, due credit must be given New York Negroes for their outstanding participation and leadership.

Negro Democrat.

New York, N. Y.

Greenwood, S. C. Index-Journal
June 14, 1939

Says Future Of Democratic Party Is Bound Up With The CIO And Negro

"Regardless of what the southern democratic leaders may do in Congress or at next year's National Democratic Convention, it is quite apparent that the national democratic leaders are quietly but effectively preparing to keep the electoral vote of the solid South 'in the bag' and overwhelm any revolt of the democratic electors by using negro voters to make up for the disaffected white voters," says a statement issued today by the Greenville (S. C.) Post, Federation of Middle Classes.

"The cue to this statement was given by a news item which appeared in the Greenville Piedmont, June 7, stating that on the previous Monday forty-four negroes had secured registration certificates in this county. The number was so large as to cause comment from Mrs. King, the registrar, who stated the number surpassed any such in her experience in registration, although previous opening of the books have been marked by unusually heavy registration of negroes

"These registration certificates qualify the holders to vote in general or national elections.

"A check of registration in other counties would probably reveal that an unusually large number of negroes are registering with a view of voting in the 1940 presidential election.

"This means that the northern democratic leaders intend to use the negro voters in the South, just as they have in New York, Pennsylvania and other northern states to keep the solid South solidly in the democratic party regardless of the sentiment of a majority of the white voters. They no doubt figure that the combined vote of federal office holders, WPA workers and the negroes will hold the electoral vote of the South in the democratic column in 1940 regardless of whom the party nominates.

"The negro in turning to the ballot box in national elections is trying to better his economic condition, just as other pressure groups throughout the country are doing. He is not interested in voting in our democratic state primaries nor at present in our county or state government. Neither does the matter of social equality have any interest for him at the present, but he is interested in seeing segregation and Jim Crow laws swept aside and his right to work side by side with whites in industry at equal wages obtained

"In the North the negro has found the CIO and the democratic party the best bargaining agencies for obtaining his objectives nor does he propose to lose his advantages by seeing the solid South slip from the democratic fold. This explains the registration of unusually large numbers of negroes in Greenville county and no doubt the same thing is transpiring throughout this state and the South.

"The negro is well within his rights in registering and preparing to vote in large numbers in the South in next year's presidential election and any effort to use force or disfranchise him would be ill-advised and no doubt would lead to federal control of our elections.

"The future of the democratic party seems inextricably bound up with the CIO and the negro.

"After the Presidential election of 1940 is over the democratic party of the South can no longer be called a white man's party."

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
June 11, 1939

Third Termism Means Despotism

A conference of the Workers' Alliance, composed of "relief clients," adopted a resolution last Tuesday that "Garner stands for that group of Southern big land owners who think only in terms of exploitation of a poverty-stricken mass of the people. He represents the Southern aristocracy ruling over people whose civil liberties and political rights have been limited."

The resolution, introduced by Southern delegates, of course, means by its reference to "limitation of political rights" the Southern negroes who are not admitted into the Democratic primaries.

Can you recognize the "Southern big land owners"? In South Carolina is not a farmer or planter worth half a million dollars, and The News and Courier questions if one is worth a quarter million.

On the same day that this resolution was adopted by the Workers' Alliance two negroes, former Communists, testified before a congressional committee that the Workers' Alliance is Communistic.

That the Workers' Alliance would "keep the New Deal in the White House" is to be expected. The News and Courier tells you Southern, you South Carolina, farmers and business men that if it shall be continued in office after 1940, the Workers' Alliance, confident that the government of the United States is at its back, will invade the South, that it will demand that political rights of negroes shall no longer be limited, that organization of the Southern negroes be effected.

The election of Mr. Roosevelt to a third term would not only fill him with a sense of power never before in the heart and mind of an American; it would make drunk with arrogance and sense of power the Great City Communists, negroes, "Liberals" who constitute the center of the Roosevelt party strength.

In another, a third term, a New Dealer no longer would think it advisable to watch his step. What he wished to do with the South that he would do, and every expression of true New Dealers, including the president, the last six years has been for Southern "democracy." There is no such thing as "democracy" (small "d") that permits discrimination of any kind between the black and white races.

That is what you are facing, you Southerners, you South Carolinians.

In respect of this third term issue has any one of your South Carolinian leaders spoken? Old Smith's position is known.

Third termism means Despotism.

Chester, S. C., Reporter
June 8, 1939

To us Vice President John N. Garner is the embodiment of all that a real Democrat should be; and if there's a man in the party who deserves the nomination of his party in return for long, faithful and efficient service the gentleman from Uvalde, Texas, is the man. But the question naturally occurs, Will Mr. Roosevelt allow his associate to have the nomination, or will he knife Mr. Garner? It has been the general understanding during the six years of their association that Mr. Garner has not hesitated to criticise very freely a great many of Mr. Roosevelt's schemes, although their personal relations have continued friendly, and Mr. Garner's strictures have been at Cabinet conferences and on other private occasions. Another factor operating against Mr. Garner is the fact that he is a Southerner. Many of the Northern leaders, with an eye on the negro vote, will oppose Mr. Garner with might and main, just as they would oppose any other Southerner. His age, of course, is also against him. Notwithstanding all these facts, however, the country may see Mr. Roosevelt running for a third term as the nominee of the regular party organization, and Mr. Garner heading a conservative ticket. If this happens, Roosevelt, a liberal, might win against two conservatives, or Garner might poll a sufficient number of votes to let the Republicans waltz in to victory. At any rate, it promises to be a hectic year, with Roosevelt and Garner both looking more and more like they are determined to run.

Columbia, S. C. State
June 21, 1939

THIS 'MORNING

John Temple Graves, II

"More by your Number than your light,
You common people of the skies,
What are you when the moon shall rise!"

Unimpressed with the polls, the Charlotte Observer and the (Columbia) State agree that Cactus Jack Garner has little chance of getting the Democratic nomination and less of being elected if nominated. This on the theory that no one who is not acceptable to Roosevelt can succeed. Will they agree, too, we wonder, that Roosevelt has only to ask for a third nomination to have the South support him at the next convention? Even though we are against a third term, we believe that the Southern masses will rally to Roosevelt if he calls them. They have come to feel about him as they do about the Democratic party. He is their man, right or wrong. They have been against him on the purges and the supreme court plan and they have a feeling that third terms are all wrong. But that will not persuade them to revolt against him at the convention if he is there, any more than they are going to revolt against the Democratic party.

The rock on which the South may eventually split with the Democratic party is the Negro, the fact that the Negro vote in the North and East may have become more important to the party and more worth making concessions for than the Southern white vote. But that rock is not in sight for 1940.

Aiken, S. C., Standard & Review
June 16, 1939

PREPARING TO USE THE NEGRO VOTE

Forty-Four Negroes Register In Greenville County

"Regardless of what the southern democratic leaders may do in Congress or at next year's National Democratic Convention, it is quite apparent that the national democratic leaders are quietly but effectively preparing to keep the electoral vote of the solid South 'in the bag' and overwhelm any revolt of the white democratic electors by using negro voters to make up for the disaffected white voters", says a statement issued by the Greenville (S. C.) Post, Federation of Middle Classes.

"The cue to this statement was given by a news item which appeared in the Greenville Piedmont June 7, stating that on the previous Monday forty-four negroes had secured registration certificates in this county. The number was so large as to cause comment from Mrs. Kinug, the Registrar, who stated the number surpassed any such in her experience in registration, although previous opening of the books have been marked by unusually heavy registration of negroes.

"These registration certificates qualify the holders to vote in general or National elections.

"A check of registration in other counties would probably reveal that an unusually large number of negroes are registering with a view of voting in the 1940 Presidential election.

"This means that the Northern democratic leaders intend to use the negro voters in the South, just as they have in New York, Pennsylvania and other Northern states to keep the solid South solidly in the democratic party reardless of the sentiment of a majority of the white voters. They no doubt figure that the combined vote of Federal office holders, W. P. A. workers and the negroes will hold the electoral vote of the South in the democratic column in 1940 regardless of whom the party nominates.

'The negro in turning to the ballot box in National elections is trying to better his economic condition just as other pressure groups throughout the country are doing. He is not interested in voting in our democratic state primaries nor at present in our county or state government. Neither does the matter of social equality have any interest for him at the present, but he is interested in seeing segregation and Jim Crow laws swept aside and his right to work side by side with whites in industry at equal wages obtained.

"In the North the negro has found the C. I. O. and the democratic party the best bargaining agencies for obtaining his objectives nor does he propose to lose his advantage by seeing the solid South slip from the democratic fold. This explains the registration of unusually large numbers of negroes in Greenville County and no doubt the same thing is transpiring throughout this state and the South.

"The negro is well within his rights in registering and preparing to vote in large numbers in the South in next year's Presidential election and any effort to use force or disfranchise him would be ill-advised and no doubt would lead to Federal control of our elections.

"The future of the Democratic Party seems inextricably bound up with the C. I. O. and the negro.

"After the Presidential election of 1940 is over the Democratic party of the South can no longer be called a white man's party."

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
June 16, 1939

Color 'Battle' Seen In Party

Middle Classes Group Says Democrats Future Bound Up In Negro, CIO

"Regardless of what the southern democratic leaders may do in Congress or at next year's national Democratic convention, it is quite apparent that the national Democratic leaders are quietly but effectively preparing to keep the electoral vote of the solid South in the bag and overwhlem any revolt of the Democratic electors by using negro voters to make up for the disaffected white voters," said a statement issued today by the Greenville Post, Federation of Middle Classes.

"The cue to this statement was given by a news item which appeared in the Greenville Piedmont, June 7, stating that on the previous Monday 44 negroes had secured registration certificates in this county. The number was so large as to cause comment from Mrs. King, the registrar, who stated the number surpassed any such in her experience in registration, although previous opening of the books have been marked by unusually heavy registration of negroes.

"These registration certificates qualify the holders to vote in general or national elections.

"Many Negroes Register"

"A check of registration in other counties would probably reveal that an unusually large number of negroes are registering with a view of voting in the 1940 presidential election.

"This means that the northern Democratic leaders intend to use the negro voters in the South, just as they have in New York, Pennsylvania and other northern states to keep the solid South solidly in the Democratic party regardless of the sentiment of a majority of the white voters. They no doubt figure that the combined vote of federal office holders, WPA workers and the negroes will hold the electoral vote of the South in the Democratic column in 1940 regardless of whom the party nominates.

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"Negroes Using CIO"

"In the North the negro has found the CIO and the Democratic party the best bargaining agencies for obtaining his objectives nor does he propose to lose his advantages by seeing the solid South slip from the Democratic fold. This explains the registration of unusually large number of negroes in Greenville county and no doubt the same thing is transpiring throughout this state and the South.

"The negro is well within his rights in registering and preparing to vote in large numbers in the South in next year's presidential election and any effort to use force or disfranchise him would be ill-advised and no doubt would lead to federal control of our elections.

"The future of the Democratic party seems inextricably bound up with the CIO and the negro.

"After the presidential election of 1940 is over the Democratic party of the South can no longer be called a white man's party."

POLITICAL - 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Party's Rooster Gone In Mobile Unless Ivey Gwin's Bill Passes

Unless Representative Ivey Gwin, of Jefferson, is able to push his bill preserving the rooster and the words "White Supremacy," Mobile County voters are likely to go to the polls in the future without the benefit of the old Democratic slogan.

Not long ago The Montgomery Advertiser carried the news that the Mobile County voting machine bill sponsored by Senator McCall of Mobile, and passed by the Legislature and signed by Gov. Dixon, did not preserve the fine old traditions of the Democratic Party and omitted to affix the rooster and white supremacy to any ballot Mobilians will vote in the future if voting machines are put into being there.

The Advertiser queried J. M. Bonner, legal adviser to Gov. Dixon Thursday and Mr. Bonner said that the local bill for voting machines in Mobile County did not preserve the cherished Democratic rooster with the words "white supremacy."

"'I have introduced a bill in the House," said Representative Gwin, of Jefferson, "which will preserve the Democratic rooster and white supremacy in every county wherein voting machines are used. We must pass that bill. We cannot afford to abandon the cherished principles of the Democratic Party, the rooster and white supremacy.

The Gwin bill is expected to have the right of way through the Legislature as the ballot reformers in their haste to get something new in Alabama, gave no thought to Democratic Party emblems or principles, it appears.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
September 6, 1939

If White Racial, Why "Democratic"

This utterance is editorial from the Orangeburg Times and Democrat and in it is wisdom:

"The good relations that generally exist between the two races in South Carolina will not be improved by a political campaign that results in a cleavage that is racial. Therefore, the Democrats of South Carolina, in the interests of the welfare of both races, should resolutely stick to the white primary and settle their differences before the general election."

Conceding that the white people of South Carolina should vote in a racial primary excluding negroes, why should it call itself "Democratic"?

Is the national Democratic party a "white man's party"? Senator Byrnes of South Carolina has declared on the floor of the senate that "negroes control" it.

Do not Republicans and members of Labor's Non-Partisan League (political party of the C. I. O.), now vote in "Democratic" primaries?

Is it not the simple fact that before Rule 32 was repealed its enforcement was omitted in numerous precincts?

For a white racial primary is strong reason, but the time is come when insistence that all white men save Democrats be excluded from it may defeat the excellent purpose entertained by The Times and Democrat.

If negroes in South Carolina (most of them adore President Roosevelt) should organize a "Democratic" party and ask for representation in the national Democratic convention, would it be denied them? What if their votes were needed in that convention to prevent the nomination of a "conservative"—to be followed by Mr. Roosevelt's walking out of the party?"

EXCLUSIVE

One-Party System Is Disliked in South

Constitution

Gallup Finds Southerners Believe Two Strong Political Foes Would Aid Dixie, But They Don't Think Second Should Be Republican.

9-25-39

By DR. GEORGE GALLUP.

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion.

PRINCETON, N. J., Sept. 24.—When President Roosevelt toured the south on his famous "purge" campaign last year he was traveling through a section that has been traditionally Democratic in politics since before 1860.

Atlanta, Ga.

It has been "the solid south" in so many elections that the few exceptions—in 1928 for instance—have only proved the rule.

But many southerners have begun to deplore the fact that the Democratic party can nearly always count on the south being "solid," and a majority of southern voters now believe that their section would be better off if it had two strong political parties rather than one.

9-25-39

Survey of South.

The fact is indicated in a survey of 13 southern states which has just been completed by the American Institute of Public Opinion. To a cross-section of the voting population in each of the southern states, from Virginia to Oklahoma, the Institute put the question: "Do you think the south would be better off if there were two political parties in the south, about equal in strength, instead of only one strong party as at present?"

The replies of the southerners were:

YES	**57%**
NO	**43%**

Southern Republicans, of course, were nearly unanimous in saying the south would be better off with two strong parties. But the survey uncovers the interesting fact that nearly half the southern Democrats (45%) regret the virtual one-party system below the Mason-Dixon line.

Their reasons become clear in the Institute's analysis of voter comments.

Chief Complaint.

The chief complaint of southerners who would like to see two strong parties is that "the rest of the Democratic party has begun to take the south for granted." This complaint has been heightened, the comments show, by the decision of the last Democratic national convention to cancel the "two-thirds rule" by which the south exercised a powerful veto, in practice, over the choice of national party candidates.

Others commented merely that a two-party system would mean a wider choice of candidates and consequently "better men" elected to office.

Not Going Republican.

While the sentiment revealed in today's survey may be an important political omen for the future, there is no question at the present time of rank-and-file southern voters embracing the Republican party.

Time and again southern voters qualified their opinions by saying:

"We need two strong parties, but the second party couldn't be the Republican party. It would have to have a different label down here."

On the important question: "Which party would you like to see win the presidential election in 1940?" moreover, southerners have consistently been strongly pro-Democrat in Institute tests. In the latest survey on the question 73 per cent said they favored a Democratic victory; 27 per cent a Republican.

For political leaders of both parties, however, the underlying sentiment revealed today will be something that will bear watching.

19th DEMOCRATIC FIGHT UNSETTLED

Ravenell and Burrows Both Claim Victory; Rivers Defeated

Age

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

With last Tuesday's primary election all but forgotten by the man in the street but still very much alive in the minds of the principals, the Republican and Democratic district organizations settle down this week to the serious business of electing leaders who will rule for the next two years.

9-30-39

Monday night those organizations which had clear and undisputed majorities met and elected their leaders. In the contested district, however, principally in the 17th and 19th Assembly Districts, the Democratic organizations have not yet elected their leaders because results were either too close or the leading contenders could not agree on a choice.

New York

Monday night also marked the close of six years of leadership of the Republican organization of the 19th A. D., by Dr. Mark E. Rivers who, during the campaign, was accused by the opposition as being a "destructive disorganizer." Rivers did not even attend the meeting which unseated him and elected as his successor Sidney E. Davis, formerly loyal worker and captain in the district. The meeting held at the headquarters of the Loyal Republican Club, 345 Lenox avenue, resulted in the unanimous election of Davis as leader; Mrs. Anna Hookey-Hughes as co-leader; Harry C. Cantwell, treasurer, and Mrs. Ruth Richardson, secretary. Primary Day, the Davis forces beat the regular organization by electing 86 out of 110 county committeemen. Eardlie John, assistant Corporation Counsel, was campaign manager of the anti-Rivers forces.

The same evening, Democrats of the 21st A. D. met at the Renaissance Casino and reelected Herbert L. Bruce and Mrs. Ruth Brown Price as executive members of the district. Bruce, who was opposed by Mal Frazier for the leadership, succeeded in electing 637 out of 664 county committeemen in the primary election last Thursday.

19th A.D. Still Undecided

In the most interesting battle in which Negroes were seeking to unseat Harry C. Perry, white Democratic leader of the 19th A. D., both Negro contenders, James Ravenell and Assemblyman Daniel Burrows, were claiming at press time that they had elected the largest number of county committeemen. Ravenell gave the figures as follows: Ravenell, 256; Burrows, 179 and Perry, 135, while Burrows said the figures should be Burrows, 224; Ravenell, 210 and Perry, 114. Both Ravenell and Burrows are attempting to get county committeemen pledged against them to break their pledges when the meeting is called sometime in the near future. In the meantime it was reported that Tammany Hall would continue to recognize Perry as leader until the county committee elects a leader.

In the 13th Assembly District Democratic fight, Assemblyman William Sheldrick is scheduled to be elected new leader of the district this coming Friday night as result of having elected 350 county committeemen to 135 pledged to Andrew B. Keating, who has been leader for 18 years and who incurred the enmity of the Negro end of the district by his utter disregard of them.

In the 17th A. D. Democratic fight, results were so close that both the Solomon and Kantor factions were claiming victory. If the Kantor faction wins it will result in the election of Wilhelmina Adams as co-leader, making her the third Negro member of Tammany's executive committee.

Andalusia, Ala., Star
September 28, 1939

DEMOCRATS BURY HATCHET

When Congress adjourned there was in evidence a definite cleavage between the two major factions within the Democratic Party in both houses. Some Democrats left the capital in a huff. The wiseacres saw that this situation portended no good for the party in 1940. But the European war broke and its breaking necessitated an extraordinary session. The President, sensing the dangers that threatened his party extended the olive branch. He declared against partisan activity during the crisis and called into consultation representatives of all parties and all factions within his party.

President Roosevelt's propasal to repeal the arms embargo found support from many Democratic senators who criticized other administration measures. Such men as Senators Glass, of Virginia; Byrd, of Virginia, and Harrison, of Mississippi, were lined up on the president's side.

In fact, Senator Overton, of Louisiana, was the Southern senator who had declared in opposition to repeal. Overton seldom disagrees with the administration.

That the issue cut sharply into the two sides of the Democratic quarrel was seen by some as a very healthy sign. With an eye to 1940, the party's peacemakers hoped neutrality would dissolve the factions which battled over New Deal legislation earlier this year.

Senate Democrats led a movement to hold the extra session exclusively to the enutrality question. To open the way for general legislation, would have meant certain revival of the old squabble.

A score of Senate Democrats, including some of the administration critics, voted unanimously Friday to exclude all legislation except neutrality. Afterwards, Majority Leader Barkley, of Kentucky, said the meeting was "very harmonious."

One of the questions which threatened to stall the session was the anti-lynching bill, which had won right-of-way for House debate. As in previous sessions, Southerners were prepared to fillibuster it to death if an attempt was made to bring it up in the Senate.

The House leadership, like that in the Senate, was determined to prevent the consideration of any matter except neutrality. Speaker Bankhead said, however, attempts probably would be made to call up various other bills.

The general Southern attitude toward repeal of the embargo could not be determined from the mail senators were getting this week.

The office of Senator George, of Georgia, for example, reported it was running about even for and gainst. Aids of Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, said their mail was heavily against, while Florida senators declared their state seemed to be overwhelmingly for repeal. Senator Glass' office said the mail there indicated Virginia wanted repeal.

POLITICAL-1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
July 24, 1939

Politics

By FRANK R. KENT

COLDNESS OF THE SOUTH

Washington.

THERE is convincing evidence that acquiescence in the third-term-for-Roosevelt idea would impose a heavier strain upon and be more difficult to secure in the Democratic South than in any other part of the country. No secret is made of the unpopularity ot fhe suggestion down there, and it is significant that the White House engineers of the "draft" movement are not pushing it in that section.

RECOGNIZING the facts, spokesmen for the radical group around the President have begun to promulgate the theory that in the next campaign the "solid South" will not be vital because the President will have the "solid West" which, they think, will more than make up for any Southern defections. It is interesting that already they anticipate "Southern defections". It is also an indication of a certain realism about political matters which up to now has been notably lacking in their calculations.

THERE are several reasons for the unquestioned coldness toward the third-term business in the South—a coldness reflected in various newspapers in that section and by its representatives in both branches of Congress. One is that while, except in extraordinary times, the South is unshakably Democratic, it is also strongly conservative and the socialistic trend of the New Deal, hidden under the emergency cloak, never really has appealed to its people. They swallowed the New Deal experiments in the early days because they came from a glamorous Democratic President but they have increasingly lost taste as the failures have become clear.

PARTICULARLY has the South felt aggrieved over the Wage and Hour legislation, over the Administration alliance with the C. I. O., over its tacit approval of the sit-down strikes and over its cotton-control policies which have been little short of disastrous. It is further true that the common sense of the South has revolted against the Roosevelt fiscal policies. Fully grasping the futility of the pump priming of the first five years, the determination of the President to continue along the same spending path has not met with favor in the South. That section has not shut its eyes to the perils of the heavy consecutive deficits, the continued unbalanced budgets and the steadily mounting debt—perils strikingly emphasized by Mr. Roosevelt himself when he was trying to reach the White House.

ALL these things are reflected in the attitude of such outstanding Southern Senators as Glass and Byrd, of Virginia; Bailey, of North Carolina; Smith, of South Carolina; George, of Georgia, and Harrison, of Mississippi. Even Senator Byrnes, close friend of the President as he is, in his heart does not subscribe to the spending theories of the radical group and accepts with difficulty a good many other policies produced by the palace economists. Actually, the only Southern Senator who, without reservation, gulps the whole New Deal dose, is for more and greater spending, a third—or even a fourth term, if possible—is the ubiquitous Claude Pepper, of Florida, who owes his seat in the Senate to a strange combination of White House support, WPA politicians and Townsend plan voters.

BUT there is another reason, perfectly well known to the practical politicians, for Southern hostility to the third-term idea—to wit, the New Deal coddling of the negro vote in the Northern States. In the 1936 campaign the Southern people did not really appreciate the game that was being played by the New Deal political managers. Those deepest and earliest in it believe—and with reason—that the feat of garnering, through relief funds, Federal patronage, special White House and Cabinet attention and a highly financed drive by the Democratic National Committee, practically the solid negro vote in eleven Northern States, while at the same time holding the solid South in line, was the slickest piece of politics ever pulled off in America.

SINCE 1936, however, the South has gotten a clearer view of New Deal politics. As a result a considerable number of people in the South who counted themselves arden Roosevelt fans, feel that somehow they have been played for suckers. In the South, where one way or another the negroes are discouraged from voting, any alliance between the Democratic organization and Northern negroes cannot help but be regarded as a threat to social and civic peace in their section. The basic reasons why the "solid South" has been solid is because the negroes were wholly in the Republican party and the pressure for equal political and social rights for the negro came from that party.

BUT it is different now. The influential negro leaders are pro-Roosevelt — particularly pro-Mrs. Roosevelt—and they operate in and through the Roosevelt Administration. The negro vote in eleven States was essential to Mr. Roosevelt last time. It would be far more so if he ran again. It has become his indispensable political asset and every clear-thinking politician knows it. Under the circumstances, the attitude of the South toward the third term is not hard to understand and it is not surprising the New Deal strategists look more hopefully toward the "solid West".

(© 1939, The Sun, Baltimore.)

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
July 8, 1939

Negroes May Help Third Termers

One has heard much of the progress of the American negroes, and among them are leaders (not many) really and deservedly distinguished. One has heard much of their influence in the New Deal, or Roosevelt, still called "Democratic", party. It has been said by persons of national prominence that they control the Democratic party, and beyond question such conspicuous leaders of public opinion as Mr. James Farley, national chairman and postmaster general; Senators Wagner, Guffey, former Governor Earle, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Secretary Harold Ickes and the president have bestowed upon them a measure of attention indicating that they have faith in that statement.

The literary leader of the New Dealers, Mr. Broun, has gone so far as to say that the Northern negroes would defeat any Southern man that the Democrats might nominate for president.

It occurs to The News and Courier that if the American negroes have made this boasted progress they will assert it. While they have been given numerous offices, some of them well paid, the offices have been minor, of small dignity and generally hidden from the public eye. Mr. Roosevelt has given no colored man a post containing recognition of the race as important in the republic. A Democratic negro is in congress, but he represents a negro district.

The president has not appointed a negro to a federal judgeship, to an office even second to the cabinet secretaries, and so we are persuaded that in this talk about negro power and progress is a considerable element of nonsense and fustian. Why do not these Northern negroes go out and get something from the New Dealers? Are the New Dealers still in terror of the Southern bourbons? It looks that way.

They could, as we have heretofore suggested, demand the Democratic nomination for vice president and, were the demand granted, every voting negro in the country we believe, would vote with enthusiasm for a third term for President Roosevelt.

No negro will get the vice presidential nomination from the Democrats. That would be too public. That would set "race prejudice" afire.

The cunning plan of the New Dealers would be to promise a cabinet office or supreme court judgeship to the negroes. This could be done on the quiet—late in the campaign of 1940. The swiftness with which news passes by word of mouth among the colored people is well known to Southerners.

Walter White, for example, is an abler person than are most of the members of Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet. His equipment for secretary of labor is incomparably greater than that of Miss Perkins; he is a man of more intellectual cultivation than Secretary Ickes or Mr. James Farley. He has devoted his life to the service of his race, and The News and Courier believes that he has, from his point of view however mistaken in respects, been conscientious and unselfish.

If President Roosevelt shall be nominated for a third term, it is highly probable that the Democratic party will make commitments in advance to the Northern negro leaders. It will give them secret pledges of substantial honors and authority in government, or it will not have the support of the negroes that it had in 1936.

The Northern negro leaders cannot be bought always with the tinsel trappings of the Christmas tree. They will insist upon something good from Santa Claus.

Are Big Wigs Plot Against New Deal

WASHINGTON—(CNA)—Negro labor circles were keenly interested this week in the charges made by the La Follete Civil Liberties of an organization campaign by Big Business interests to wreck the New Deal and to block enforcement of the national labor relations act. The act has been generally hailed by Negro trade unionists as a boon to the poorly paid workers of the race.

In a report filed with the Secretary of the Senate, the La Follette Committee described the powerful National Association of Manufacturers as the spearhead of a propaganda and lobbying campaign against the liberal policies of the Roosevelt Adminstration. The report said:

"The committee condemns the deliberate action taken by the National Association of Manufacturers to promote organization disregard for the National Labor Relations Act. Such action by a powerful and responsible organization encourages disrespect for the law and undermines the authority of government."

The report further charges the N. A. M. with conducting an expensive, well-organized drive to defeat progressive candidates and engineer the election of re-actionaries.

It states that several of the country's wealthiest industrialist got together in 1933 and decided to make the N. A. M. the speat' head of their attacks on New Deal policies for slum clearance and Federal housing, WPA, unemployment relief, etc. The group has spent as much as $790,000 a year in a drive to influence voters in the selection of candidates.

Principal backers of the anti-New Deal drive have been E. E. DuPont de Nemours and Co., General Motors Corporation, the National Steel Corporation, United States Steel Corporation, Monsanto Chemical Company, Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, Chrysler Corporation and Bethlehem Steel Corporation

HOUSTON BRANCH OF NAACP WOULD OUST BOOSTER OF GARNER

Say President's Stand Caused Loss of 1940 Convention of National Body

HOUSTON, Aug. 24—(By Van Pel Evans for ANP) The move to hav the president of the Houston branc of N. A. A. C. P. resign or be im peached is gaining momentum da ly. A large number of members o the association members of the ex ecutive committee, have expresse themselves as favoring the oustin of C. F. Richardson as head of th association here because of his ac tion of supporting Vice Presiden John Nance Garner for nominatio by the Democratic party for th presidency of the United States i 1940. A local weekly paper has asked for either his resignation or impeachment.

"That the executive committee o the Houston branch of the N. A. A C. P. publicly announce that it has not at any time or place authorized any of its officers or committeemen or delegates or members to endorse or issue circulars or travel in the interest of the candidacy of the Hon. John Nance Garner, or any other potential candidate of any political party," was the resolution mailed to the national office of th N. A. A. C. P. for the attention o the executive secretary, Walte White, denying its support for Mr Garner.

The letter which accompanied the resolutions pointed out that the president of the Houston branch, i an executive session, had acceptee full responsibility for the circula tion of the circulars. The lette was signed by two vice presidents and the chairmen of legal redress legislation, publicity and entertain ment committees. The presiden was reported ill and did not atten the meeting.

Members of the Houston delega tion aver that the circulation of th pamphlets was the cause of Hous ton not being selected as the con vention city in 1940. Miss Mabl Kilpatrick, a prominent cacher stated in her report to the chambe of commerce, which sent her as a delegate, that in her opinion the Garner circulars were the cause o Houston not being selected. Mrs Lula White, another delegate, mad the same comment. The chambe of commerce, merchants and othe cities contributed to the expense o the delegation, expecting to get the annual meeting next year.

MRS. LEHMAN GIVES A DEMOCRACY CREED

Presents 'Ten Commandments' for Individual Guidance in the Present Crisis

'TELL THE TRUTH' IS ONE

Respect for the Law and for Religious Beliefs of Others Also on Her List

Speaking at America's Town Meeting of the Air at the Town Hall last night, Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman read what was announced as her "ten commandments of democracy" in the present world crisis.

"Some time ago it occurred to me—bearing in mind our compelling indebtedness to the Bible and especially to the Ten Commandments, which are addressed to the individual—that we might work out, in addition, certain modern principles," she said. "Such modern principles would assume the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

"And without infringing upon the right of any one to draw up his own list, I shall repeat the ten modern principles which, it seems to me, daily grow more timely and more pertinent:

"Tell the truth. This procedure is only possible in a democracy where there is a free and unregimented press.

"Treat all men as you would wish to be treated. Observance of this principle would mean a repudiation of all false ideas of race superiority, or race and class hatred, and of group warfare.

"Respect the sincere religious beliefs of every man, even when you do not happen to share them. This is basic for all those who hold to the idea on which America is founded.

"Help those who suffer and who are persecuted because of their beliefs or their racial heritage.

"Try to preserve the democratic heritage of equal opportunity for all men to learn and to earn.

"Remember that freedom of opinion lies at the very basis of democracy and human liberty.

"Distrust all those who sow hatred of other men.

"Respect the law, for it is the guarantee of your own freedom.

"Remember that America is not merely a country—it is an ideal for the whole world.

"Remember that he hope of the world lies in peace and in justice to mankind."

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
October 13, 1939

On The Other Foot

FROM a Republican newspaper, The Union-Banner of Clanton, we learn that the Jefferson County Negro Democratic Club held a meeting the other day in a Birmingham funeral parlor. This Jefferson County Club, so we are told, is the only chartered negro Democratic club in Alabama. A New Dealer from Washington was on hand to speak.

These Republicans seem to be learning a thing or two; they are following the old maxim pertaining to turn about being fair play. They remember the day when the Democrats were able to throttle every political effort which they made in Alabama by simply levelling the finger of negro affiliation at them. The Republicans now realize that the shoe is on the other foot; that the watchword of the Democratic Party in Alabama, "White Supremacy," has become an empty slogan—and they intend to make the most of its emptiness. Who can blame them?

Negro Elected Tammany Leader

NEW YORK. —(ANP)— At a stormy meeting of the Democratic county committee, nineteenth assembly district, held at Public school 68, Assemblyman Daniel L. Burrows was elected Tammany leader of the district and became the second Negro to win a place on Tammany Hall's executive committee.

The only other colored member of the potent Democratic committee is Herbert L. Bruce of the twenty-first assembly district. Burrows, however, encountered stiff opposition for the honor. At the last primary, Burrows elected only 185 of his candidates for the county committee, while his opponent, James Ravenell, also colored, elected 253. But Burrows' "ace in the hole" was the supporteds of Harry C. Perry, former leader of the district, whose 131 votes gave Burrows a total of 316 and a place on the executive committee.

POLITICAL-1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Booneville, Miss. Independent
April 6, 1939

DEMOCRATIC NEGROES

The Republicans have fooled the negroes so long, voted them in teams and used them in every way they wished until they seem to think that the Negroes belong to them and that in the states where they vote they should blindly follow the Republican party and ask no questions. In the past few years many of the Negro race have found it to their interest as well as to the common interest of the country to vote the Democratic ticket and they have done that. Hardly anything else has happened in the Democratic years of success that has so puzzled and perturbed the Republican leaders as the loss of Negro votes sustained by that party.

Speaking of this matter the Daily State, of Columbia, South Carolina, makes the following editorial observation:

WHY NEGROES FLOCKED TO THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Dr. Glenn Frank, head of the Republican program committee and supposed to be the thinker upper of good Republican ideas, has hired a Howard University professor to study Negro politics and learn why the Negroes have flocked from the Republican to the Democratic party. The hiring of the Howard professor, Dr. Ralph Bunche, may lend some kind of impressiveness to the findings subsequently to be announced or secretly pondered, but that's about all it can do.

There is no deep, secret reason why the Negroes have turned to the Democratic party. No prolonged or national study is needed to illuminate the drift—or tidal wave. The New Deal which has been and still is the national Democratic party, has done more for Negroes directly and indirectly, than the Republican party has done in the past thirty or forty years. That's why they turned from the party of Abraham Lincoln. The New Deal gave them money, jobs and political recognition. And that, Doctor Frank, is the answer you are seeking.

Columbia, S. C. State
March 29, 1939

WHY NEGROES FLOCKED TO THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

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Norfolk, Va. Pilot
April 3, 1939

Pepper to Speak At Youth Meeting

Charlottesville, April 2. — (AP) — Senator Claude H. Pepper, Florida Democrat, will head the list of speakers at the Virginia Youth Conference to be held at the University of Virginia April 21 and 22, it was announced today.

The subject of Senator Pepper's address will be "A Program for Young Southerners."

Other speakers will include Congressman John W. Flanagan, of Virginia's Ninth District, who will speak on "The Outlook for Rural Youth;" Dr. Fred M. Alexander, supervisor of the Negro Education Division of the State Department of Education, whose subject is "Looking Forward in Interracial Relationships," and Thomas Bomar Hunter, columnist for the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
April 8, 1939

HULL INDORSED BY M'REYNOLDS

Congressman Says State Party Group Should Act At Once

From Washington Bureau
By J. LACEY REYNOLDS

WASHINGTON, April 7—Rep Sam D. McReynolds today said he "heartily agrees" with the suggestion that the Tennessee Legislature or the State Democratic Committee formally indorse Secretary of State Cordell Hull for the Democratic nomination for the presidency.

The proposal was made by Arthur Krock, New York Times political columnist, who advanced Hull as the hope of those seeking to prevent a split in the party in 1940.

EARLY ACTION URGED

"On the well-based assumption that Secretary Hull is the virtually unanimous choice of Tennessee Democrats for the 1940 Presidential nomination," Krock wrote, "politicians who are laboring to prevent a break between the President and his party at the next Democratic National Convention are hoping Mr. Hull's state organization will shortly indorse him again. Now that the Texas Legislature has formally proposed Vice-President Garner, the feeling grows here among the conciliators that the Tennessee Legislature or state committee, or both, cannot make their move too soon."

Commenting on the article, from the Naval Hospital here where he is confined with a heart ailment, Representative McReynolds said that he heartily agreed.

"Those are my sentiments, exactly," he added.

McReynolds has long been a Hull-for-President backer, having made known his choice more than a year ago.

On the assumption that the party could not win in 1940 if either a New Dealer or a conservative Democrat were nominated, Krock called Secretary Hull "the ideal compromise candidate between the bitterly split wings of the party."

The columnist discussed the effect on the crucial Negro vote, if a Southern Democrat were nominated, and proposed the nomination of Postmaster General James A. Farley for vice-president on the Hull ticket on the grounds that Farley could prevent considerable Republican inroads on the Negro vote.

Continuing, Brock wrote: "So there is a strong subterranean movement to encourage the formal appearance of Mr. Hull as the candidate of Tennessee's Democracy before Mr. Garner has gathered too much strength. Friends of both the President and the postmaster general are participating in it, although Mr. Farley has held aloof from all camps and has no sort of alliance or understanding with any.

"Finally, the proponents believe Mr. Hull could match Mr. Garner in one particular which would appeal commonly to the President, the party and the voters at large: Because of his age, he could promise not to be a candidate for re-election, assuring the fact that a certain kind of politics would not enter the White House. Renomination politics, usually beginning the day a President is elected, has in the past been exceedingly costly to the country."

Leadership Fight In 19th A.D. To Begin In Earnest

The Dahoga Democratic Club of the 19th A. D. will begin its big campaign on behalf of the leadership aspirations of J. Raymond Jones, until recently a Deputy U. S. Marshal from the 22nd Assembly District, with a big housewarming at its headquarters, 306 Lenox avenue, Friday evening.

At the same time that the housewarming was announced, the club also released a statement from Dr.

James W. Thornton, dentist of 1990 Seventh avenue pledging support to the club and its candidate. Officials were jubilant at his statement because Dr. Thornton was one of the first insurgent Democrats in the 19th to seek the leadership. In his statement, Dr. Thornton said in part:

"The reasons for the defeat of Negro candidates in the 19th A. D. are obvious. There have been too many competing. . . . The Dahoga Democratic Club has a program for unity that every thinking Democrat in the 19th A. D. must surely approve. Ray Jones, the candidate of the Dahoga Club, has shown himself a man fitted for the job and I compliment him for his wise and unselfish plan to elect a county committee pledged only to the selection of a Negro leader."

The statement of Dr. Tohrnton was only one of several developments in the leadership fight of the district. The Amsterdam News, which is backing the Dahoga Club to the extent that other clubs say they cannot get any publicity, still remained silent last week on the editorial challenge made three weeks ago by The New York Age to explain its position. From sources close to the paper, it was said that the Amsterdam would not reply to the challenge.

The New Deal Democratic Captains' Association of the district, Dr. Charles Porter, chairman, on Monday released a statement that it thought that the best way to Negro leadership would be to have one candidate named by a committee of prominent Negro leaders representing the churches, lodges, professions, business, politicians and labor in Harlem. The Association, said Dr. Porter, will not support any of the present candidates unless he is agreeable to all clubs, a statement which would indicate that none of the presently-announced candidates will receive the support of these captains and that a new candidate may soon appear in the field.

Florenz Hough, twice chairman of the Colored Division of the New York State Democratic Campaign Committee, entered the fight as an adviser Thursday night when he addressed a mass meeting given under auspices of the Attucks and Citizens Allied Democratic Club, Inc.

Mr. Hough after analyzing the situation declared:

"Everything for unity: nothing for disunity, should be your slogan. Seek a competent Negro in this district whom you feel can ably represent you. Agree upon one Negro to oppose Harry Perry and you will win your battle."

Former Assemblymen James E. Stephens and Robert W. Justice, whose hats are also in the ring for the leadership, are marking time and neither had any statements to make concerning the fight. The general feeling in the district prevails that the fight against Perry will be lost unless one Negro is the candidate to oppose him but how to select that one Negro candidate is what stumps all camps with none willing to give in or subordinate themselves to the other.

WE DISAPPROVE

Vice President Garner is being groomed by the conservative Democrats for the 1940 Presidential nomination, and in view of the growing strength of the Republican vote politicians are asking whether colored voters approve of the Texan, since they will constitute the balance of power in a dozen key States.

We believe we are voicing the sentiment of the majority of colored American voters when we state that the answer is, NO.

And this also goes for Secretary of State Cordell Hull who is being groomed by another group of conservative Democrats.

Messrs. Garner and Hull represent the old South, and colored people think it is about time the rule of the South in Washington ended.

With perhaps the best intentions in the world and with a Northern President in the White House, Washington has become overrun with Southerners and from the time of the NRA to the present we have seen ample evidences of their attitude and handiwork where colored people have been concerned.

The Southern-dominated Administration has worked assiduously to establish color discrimination and segregation as a policy of the Federal government, and to a distressing extent it has succeeded.

If this has happened with a liberal Northerner in the White House, worse will happen with a conservative Southerner in the White House.

Some canny politicians have suggested that Garner or Hull will be more acceptible to Negroes if Postmaster James A. Farley is nominated as running mate, but we are unable to agree with that.

Mr. Farley, like Mr. Roosevelt may personally be tolerant as to race, but politics is politics, and we can see nothing particular in the Postmaster General's New Deal career which would lead anybody to suppose that he would not "play ball" with the South where we are concerned.

If the Democrats do not want to lose a substantial proportion of the Negro vote in 1940, we suggest that they select standard bearers in whom colored citizens can have some confidence.

We certainly cannot swallow either Mr. Garner or Mr. Hull.

Mitchell Wants 3rd Term for F.D.R.

WASHINGTON .— (ANP) — Franklin D. Roosevelt for a third term is the belief of Congressman Arthur Mitchell, from Illinois, according to an announcement made by him through the local press last week. Mr. Mitchell, who is of the opinion that Mr. Roosevelt should run for a 3rd term, thinks that the president will decline the nomination in favor of some other person favorable to the New Deal administration and plans.

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
April 21, 1939

Others Shun Negro Singer

Find Several Cabinet Members And Justices Did Not Accept Invitation

By ROBERT HUMPHREYS
International News Service

WASHINGTON, April 21—(INS)—An alleged undercover New Deal drive against Vice President John N. Garner, based on his failure to serve as a co-sponsor of the recent Marian Anderson recital, appeared collapsing today when five cabinet officers and Speaker William B. Bankhead were found sharing his position.

Marian Anderson, the negro contralto, gave her recital Easter Sunday on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

Ickes Leads Move

High New Dealers, led by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes were reported to have planned to use the Anderson incident to discredit Garner in Northern states should he seek the Democratic presidential nomination in 1940. They proposed to charge him with racial prejudice in states where negro voters have weight at the polls.

Inquiry, however, has since disclosed Speaker Bankhead, Secretary of War Harry Woodring, Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace, and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins also failed to accept invitations to serve as Anderson sponsors. Only Farley had an alibi, writing later he had been out of town when the invitation was sent his office.

Six Supreme Court justices, including Felix Frankfurter, also ignored like invitations.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
June 16, 1939

MITCHELL ASKS PARTY TO DRAFT ROOSEVELT

WASHINGTON, June 15 (AP).—Representative Mitchell (dem., Ill.), the only Negro member of congress, called on his party today to "draft President Roosevelt for a third term."

Mitchell said in a statement he did not believe Negroes generally would support a "reactionary democrat" for president, adding:

"The great bulk of Negro youths would vote for a republican reactionary in preference to a democratic reactionary."

He said he based his views on opinions expressed to him during a recent trip through one-third of the states.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
June 9, 1939

Shall No Southern Man Apply?

While on a recent visit to Texas Mr. Heywood Broun, a contributing editor of The New Republic, a brother in good standing in the C. I. O., who sometimes pickets for the C. I. O., informed the Texans that it would not do for the Democrats to nominate Mr. Garner or other Southern man for president in 1940 because the negro voters of the North would compass his defeat. Secretary Ickes who is assailing Mr. Garner in a magazine, without calling his name, does not repeat Mr. Broun's saying, but Mr. Ickes is the member of the cabinet who in the campaign of 1936 appealed in a great speech to a negro convention in Baltimore in behalf of New Deal "democracy". Of the members of the cabinet he is the especial champion—along with Postmaster General Farley—of the Northern negro voters. As long as the national Democratic party shall be under the domination of Ickes, Farley, Broun, Guffie, Wagner and President Roosevelt "no Southern man need apply". As Senator Byrnes has said in the senate, "the negroes control the Democratic party".

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DEMOCRATIC

Race Holds Balance In Fifteen States Now. Mitchell Discovers

Daily Worker 4-9-39 Atlanta Ga

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(SNS)—The Chicago election which returned New Dealer Mayor Kelly to office was viewed here by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, only Negro member of congress, as "eliminating from the running Democratic party."

ASKED FOR AID

Mitchell revealed that he had been approached by backers of former Governor McNutt of Indiana, but said he had declined to commit himself "until I know more definitely what McNutt's attitude is toward the Roosevelt program, and his attitude on the Negro question."

4-9-39

Commenting on the Chicago election, Congressman Mitchell pointed out that Oscar DePriest, last Negro Republican member of Congress, was overwhelmingly defeated for alderman. And that the Second Ward defeated Negro Republican Dawson for alderman, favoring a Democrat.

Pointing out that Dawson was his opponent in the last Congressional election, Mitchell said:

"The Republican Congressional Campaign Committee spent $2,500 trying to get Dawson elected to Congress, and now we have even defeated him for the job of alderman."

Concludes Black Voters Still Favor New Deal

many reactionary Democratic senators who have been mentioned for the presidential nomination."

Pointing out that the predominantly Negro Ward 2 went Democratic for the first time in the history of Chicago, and that several prominent Negro Republicans went down to defeat, Congressman Mitchell said this was conclusive evidence that the Negro voters want a Roosevelt New Dealer for President.

CONGRESSMAN MITCHELL SAYS NEGRO CAN CONTROL 15 STATES

Chicago Times 4-14-39

WASHINGTON, April (ANP) —Negro voters hold the balance of power in 15 states which will be pivotal in the 1940 presidential election, declared Rep. W. Mitchell of Chicago Thursday night.

He said the Chicago election showed this was true in Illinois and that the Negro voters "will not stand for an anti-Roosevelt Democrat in 1940. If the Democratic party disregards the wishes of Negro voters in these 15 states and nominates an anti-Roosevelt man it means the loss of these states and defeat of the Democratic party."

The pivotal states were listed by the congressman as Illinois, California, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and West Virginia.

dent.

"In order to elect anyone in 1940 the Democrats must carry three-fourths of 15 pivotal states, and they can't carry any one of them without the Negro vote in that particular state," Mitchell declared.

NAMES STATES

"I refer to the states of California,, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and West Virginia," he added, pointing out that there are 2,440,892 Negro voters in those 15 states.

"These Negro voters hold the balance of powers in those states, and the reelection of Mayor Kelly proves conclusively that the Negro voters will not stand for an anti-Roosevelt Democrat," he declared.

"In my mind, this eliminates many men in the United States Senate whose names are now being mentioned and who are known to be anti-Roosevelt Democrats. If the Democratic party disregards the wishes of the Negro voters in those states and nominates an anti-Roosevelt man it means the loss of those states and defeat of the

Garner Absence From Anderson Concert May Cost Him The Presidency

Journal

Washington, D. C. Apr 1 In their syndicated column "Washington Merry-Go-Round" Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen assert, "the fact that Vice President Garner failed to attend the Marian Anderson concert before the Lincoln Memorial, or even to acknowledge the invitation, may ruin his chances for the Presidency."

4-2-39

The section of the column dealing with this topic is entitled "Garner and Negroes" and follows in full:

"Garner and Negroes"

"Little things sometimes swing the tide of poitical events. In 1916 it was Chas. Evans Hughes' failure to shake hands with Hiram Johnson in California that probably lost him the election to Woodrow Wilson. And today the fact that Vice President Garner failed to attend the Marian Anderson concert before the Lincoln Memorial, or even to acknowledge the invitation, may ruin his chances for the Presidency.

"The colored vote can swing an election one way or the other in such key states as New York, Pennsyvania Missouri, and Illinois and J Garner one of the shrewdist politicians in the country is quite aware of that fact.

"Greatly worried Garner has told Senate colleagues that he never received an invitation, and claims Secretary Ickes did not send him one. On the latter point, Garner is correct, but only by a technicality. The invitation was sent not by Ickes, but by his Asst. Secretary Oscar Chapman in cooperation with Caroline O'Day Congreswoman from New York Western Union has a signed receipt showing the telegram was delivered Apr. 3 six days before the concert.

"Two days later, Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peo- and asked why he had not answered the invitation. White talked to Louis Friday competent clerk to the Vice President, and got a definite turndown. Friday said Garner had no intention of lending his name to the concert."

Journal 4-2-39

Winnsboro, S. C. News & Herald
May 18, 1939

"Cactus Jack" He's The Man

(Kelly Miller, in the Springfield Republican.)

To the Editor of The Republican: Vice-President John N. Garner is the first genuine southerner to be seriously considered for the presidency since the Civil War. That titanic struggle so deeply shunted the South from the prevailing national current that no southern man has been regarded as eligible for the presidency for the last three-quarters of a century.

Woodrow Wilson was born in Virginia, but served as president of a great northern college and as governor of the state of New Jersey preliminary to his becoming President. During this probationary period he is supposed to have become nationally minded and freed from the provincial southern spirit.

When Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas was chosen as a running mate of Al Smith, in 1928, the Negroes of the country were greatly upset for fear of the invasion of race prejudice. Politicians searched his congressional record, extending through the previous 23 years, for evidence of unfriendly attitude and unfavorable vote on the race question. But the most painstaking search was unrewarded with tangible results. Similarly, wehn John Nance Garner was nominated on the ticket with Franklin D. Roosevelt, in 1932, his record was searched for unfriendly attitude with similar results.

The political attitudes of the North and South on the race question have gravitated toward a common level. The new deal has baptized the North, the South and the Negro with a new economic, political and social spirit. The section from which a candidate hails no longer constitutes the test of his eligibility or fitness for either end of the national ticket.

When Mr. Garner entered Congress from Uvalde, Tex., in 1905, there could hardly be found in all Congress more unlikely presidential timber. During the past 34 years he has made most remarkable progress in statesmanship and in national understanding. The parliamentary wisdom and balanced judgment which he has manifested during the past eight years proves him to be a man of willing spirit and capable mind for the highest national task. He is undoubtedly the leading conservative Democrat in the country and represents the

conservative mind of the normal Republican as well as of the anti-new deal Democrat.

All of this is hypothecized upon the proposition that President Roosevelt does not "choose to run" for a third term and will not permit himself to be commandeered by the imperitive logic of events. Unless the chief executive positively and categorically forbids the use of his name, it will be wholly futile for any other Democrat to stand for the nomination, or for any Republican to hope for election in 1940.

When Mr. Garner first ran for the vice-presidency, in 1932, he was so deferential to the North wing of the Democratic party that he was satisfied to have "the South receive a ham whenever the North got a hog." It is a far cry from that state of deference to his present-day attitude, which embodies the conservative temperament of both North and South.

I remember having an interview with Mr. Garner, who had then been elected vice-president but was still acting as speaker of the House. The purpose of my interview was to solicit his good offices in helping to secure the appropriation for the heating plant of Howard university, which Congressman De Priest's parliamentary ingenuity had made possible.

Mr. Garner entertained me most genially and we talked for some time over the general situation. He reviewed his past record of 28 years in Congress, during which time he had never cast a single vote or uttered a word unfriendly to the interest of the Negro race, and expressed his conviction that the Negro should have every right of any other American citizen, leaving out of the discussion purely social intimacies, which fall outside of the political equasion.

He stated that, in the long run, the Negro was making a mistake in asking for special consideration of any kind and that he had best cast his lot in with the general average of American citizenship. According to his view, the Negro's lot normally should be cast with the Democratic party, which stood for the welfare of the common man as contrasted with the Republican party advocacy of spe

A Brilliant Chapter in Georgia History

SOME years ago when a crippled man came to Warm Springs, Ga., in search of health, an unprecedented possibility opened for a unique place in world affairs for the state of Georgia. At that time it was not realized who was within our gates. In the mild climate and the mineral waters he was able to regain his strength and vigor. He has brought to Georgia its first honor as having a little White House where diplomats and high functionaries of state have sojourned. In addition to this, many of the great plans of vast importance in this recovery program have been fashioned in Georgia by his having lived in it. Franklin D. Roosevelt, one of the greatest presidents the country has known, is the part-time citizen of whom the whole state is proud.

Early Urged

He has recently bathed in the warm waters and the wholesome sunshine, has rubbed shoulders with the farmers and small townspeople who always welcome their famed squire when he has an opportunity to come to his beloved Warm Springs.

4-10-39

The President has studied Georgia from every angle. There is nothing about the state that has escaped his attention. He is being personally attended by a Georgia citizen and he has striven at all times to do things beneficial to Georgia and her citizens regardless of color or condition.

Atlanta, Ga.

Many of the things we have long complained of are on the road to reckoning because of the sincere study of this great man. Many customs to which the forgotten citizens have been ruthlessly subjected to are being remedied and the whole southern fabric is gradually easing to a spirit of tolerance and genuine brotherhood.

Mr. Roosevelt has not gone about this in a caustic and sudden turn. He has had the patience to love to peace this benighted section and he is loved and admired by even the worshippers of the old customs that made veritable slaves out of many of our people.

The recent news photo of the President greeting Dr. Carver is an epoch of a world event. In that picture there is a portrayal of personality in both, bespeaking the highest types of the two great American races doing most for civilization in their generation. There is no other picture in the archives of our treasuries of more importance and every school boy and girl should place in their scrap books for posterity this one of the most important events in the annals of Negro citizenship.

Georgia is proud of the President for what he has brought to this great state. In future years historians, story writers and those who seek the truth will turn to Georgia as one of the most important places in our country.

Let us hope that Georgians realize fully what this will mean to our state and its people.

Some day it will come true that it is great to be a Georgian after all.

visitors of relatives in Camden Sunday.

We are sorry to hear that Mr. Claude Simms is ill at his home. Friends hope he will recover soon.

A birthday shower was given Mrs. Mamie Driggers by the Spinning room No. 2 Monday morning. She invited her friends to her home that afternoon to see her gifts. After the showing of gifts refreshments were served. She appreciated the gifts very much and hopes to have many more birthdays.

A program was given by the U. S. Mothers Association at the Baptist church Sunday night.

Mrs. T. M. Smith returned

Greenville, S. C. News
June 18, 1939

WHITHER DEMOCRATS?

Party In North Seeking To Lay Members In With CIO And The Negro Voters

Editor The News:

Regardless of what the southern democratic leaders may do in Congress or at next year's National Democratic convention, it is quite apparent that the national democratic leaders are quietly but effectively preparing to keep the electoral vote of the Solid South "in the bag" and overwhelm any revolt of the white democratic electors by using negro voters to make up for the disaffected white voters.

The cue to this statement was given by a news item which appeared in The Greenville Piedmont, June 7, stating that on the previous Monday 44 negroes had secured registration certificates in this county. The number was so large as to cause comment from Mrs. King, the registrar, who stated the number surpassed any such in her experience in registration, although previous opening of the books have been marked by unusually heavy registration of negroes.

These registration certificates qualify the holders to vote in general or national elections.

A check of registration in other counties would probably reveal that an unusually large number of negroes are registering with a view of voting in the 1940 presidential election.

This means that the northern democratic leaders intend to use the negro voters in the South, just as they have in New York, Pennsylvania and other northern states to keep the Solid South solidly in the democratic party regardless of the sentiment of a majority of the white voters. They no doubt figure that the combined vote of federal office holders, WPA workers and the negroes will hold the electoral vote of the South in the democratic column in 1940 regardless of whom the party nominates.

The negro in turning to the ballot box in national elections is trying to better his economic condition just as other pressure groups throughout the country are doing. He is not interested in voting in our democratic state primaries nor at present in our county or state government. Neither does the matter of social equality have any interest for him at the present, but he is interested in seeing segregation and Jim Crow laws swept aside and his right to work side by side wages obtained.

In the North the negro has found the CIO and the democratic party the best bargaining agencies for obtaining his objectives nor does he propose to lose his advantages by seeing the solid South slip from the democratic fold. This explains the registration of unusually large numbers of negroes in Greenville county and no doubt the same thing is transpiring throughout this state and the South.

The negro is well within his rights in registering and preparing to vote in large numbers in the South in next year's Presidential election and any effort to use force or disfranchise him would be ill-advised and no doubt would lead to federal control of our elections.

The future of the Democratic party seems inextricably bound up with the CIO and the negro.

After the Presidential election of 1940 is over the Democratic party of the South can no longer be called a white man's party.

GREENVILLE POST
Federation of Middle Classes

POLITICAL- 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

Mrs. Charlton Is Reported To Party Leaders

Women's Group Asks Committee To Weigh Welfare Parley

When the State Democratic Executive Committees meets here on inauguration afternoon, Jan. 16, one of its members, Mrs. Louise O. Charlton, of Birmingham, will be under fire for her activity at the human welfare conference held several weeks ago in Birmingham. The Alabama Council of Women's Democratic Clubs has called for Mrs. Charlton's resignation from the State Democratic Executive Committee on the ground "she no longer represents the people who placed her there."

Mrs. Charlton was chairman of the human welfare conference that adopted resolutions denouncing Birmingham's race segregation law, demanding full rights of all citizenship for all groups and voting privileges for all citizens, regardless of race or class; opposing any change in the Wagner labor relations act, and demanding the release of the five Scottsboro negroes still imprisoned.

Mrs. Charles J. Sharp, Birmingham, chairman of the Alabama Council of Democratic Clubs, has written to each members of the State Democratic Executive Committee, asking that "special attention be given to the resolutions passed by the Southern Conference of Human Welfare." Mrs. Sharp wrote that she feel that these resolutions were passed by people who did not have the best interests of the South at heart." She enclosed a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Alabama Council of Democratic Clubs in protest of the conference and its actions. "As the official governing body of the Democratic party in Alabama we are presenting these resolutions for your consideration," Mrs. Sharp stated in her letter.

In that resolution, the Democratic women called for Mrs. Charlton's resignation from the State Democratic Executive Commission. The resolution said :

"The anonymous sponsors of this conference, hiding behind certain citizens of the South, including a number of Federal officeholders, deceived our people as to the real origin of the conference and as to its real purpose, it now being clear from the proceedings that it was conceived and directed by scheming left-wing politicians connected with the national administration and professional radical agitators, some of whom have demonstrated their Communistic tendencies, and that its main purpose was to provide a springboard for suitable left-wing propaganda and for a sinister attack on Southern ideals and traditions."

On another page of the pamphlet reviewing the human welfare conference and the mass meeting which condemned it on the night of Dec. 13, Mrs. Sharp issued this statement:

"Our State and city has recently been invaded by a swarm of agitators, professional trouble-makers, and political racketeers who hide under the cloak of human welfare uplifters. Their chief aim, it appears, was to foment unrest and stir up needless strife between two races, who were living in peace and in an understanding of race integrity that it had taken years to build.

"Some of these invaders were out to gain political preferment at the government's expense. Not all were Communists, but it matters not whether they profess Communism or some other radical-ism. They constitute a distinct and growing menace to the happiness, peace and safety of this State.

"It is the aim and purpose of the Council of Alabama Woman's Democratic Clubs, after investigation and with the assistance of officers of the law to denounce this conference and all other such alien un-American activities. It must then be up to the men to shake out and deal with them according to the laws of Alabama. If there are not laws in Alabama covering our situation, we demand of incoming legislators that such laws be enacted."

Negro Democrats Plan Banquet For Legislators

HARRISBURG, PA.—The Negro Young Democrats of Pennsylvania are planning a banquet and reception in honor of the newly-elected, and in some cases, re-elected colored members of the State Legislature. These include the Hon. Homer S. Brown of Pittsburgh; Hon. Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, Hon. Hobson R. Reynolds, Hon. E. Washington Rhodes, Hon. William A. Allmond, Hon. Edwin P. Thompson, all of Philadelphia. Also included among the honored guests are former Assemblyman Hon. Marshall L. Shepard, Hon. John H. Brigerman, and Hon. Samuel D. Holmes, all of Philadelphia. Guest speaker will be F. Clair Ross, treasurer of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The reception will be held in the auditorium of the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, corner Briggs and Cowden streets, Tuesday, January 24, at 8 P. M.

The committee on arrangements is: Miss Viola B. Murphy, chairman; and W. Justin Carter, attorney, both of Harrisburg; Miss Catherine Lattimore of Pittsburgh; Mrs. Bernice Gardiner, Arthur Chapin and Clarence Burton of Philadelphia! and Neal B. Covington of Erie.

ROOSEVELT THEN AND NOW

If government borrowing and spending continues, in the opinion of President Roosevelt, there is a good prospect of our becoming an 80-billion dollar country "in a very short time."

Thus spoke our engaging President in his message to congress this year. He did not get any considerable amount of applause in taking his stand for the "school of thought" which advocates continued borrowing and spending. He did, however, get a big hand when he observed that there was another "school of thought" in this nation which believes that when a country is not collecting in taxes but 60 billion dollars it ought not to spend but 60 billion dollars.

Mr. Roosevelt evidently was surprised to find that the theory of the conservatives, which he offered only for the purpose of ridiculing it, received applause from congressmen in a far greater volume than the very painstaking and eloquent espousal that the Chief Executive gave of the theory that this country should disregard debts and deficits, spend as though the country was taking in 80-billion dollars and the very act of such spending and debt building would shortly usher in the day when the national income would be the desired 80-billion dollars.

Mr. Roosevelt should not have been surprised or annoyed over the failure of congressmen to go along with him on the theory that it is safe to disregard earnings when there is an urge to spend money. The most eloquent defender of the theory that a nation should spend money according to its earnings is a gentleman by the name of the Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt. As for what he has said along this line, let's look at the record:

In a speech at St. Louis, Oct. 21, 1932, Mr. Roosevelt said, "It is my pledge and promise that rigid government economy shall be enforced by a stern and unremitting Administration policy of living within our income."

In a radio address July 30, 1932, he said: "Let us have the courage to stop borrowing to meet continuing deficits. Stop the deficits."

At Sioux City, Iowa, Sept. 29, 1932, he said: "I propose . . . to discuss up and down the country, in all seasons and at all times, the duty of reducing taxes . . . of getting the most public service for every dollar paid in taxation. That I pledge you."

At Pittsburgh, Oct. 19, 1932, when he was running for President, he said: "I regard reduction in Federal spending as one of the most important issues of this campaign. In my opinion it is the most direct and effective contribution the government can make to business."

In a message to Congress January 4, 1935, he said: "The Federal government must and shall quit this business of relief."

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Former Governor Curley last Thursday night "paid his respects" to luke warm and non-cooperative members of his party who profit from the party but refuse to give the party consistent and wholehearted support. He demanded that the party be purged of the recreant and the timorous and that the party reunite for the restoration of Democratic supremacy in the state at the next election.

He spoke at the South Armory at a reception attended by several thousands. It was his first public appearance since his defeat in the election for governor. It had been expected that directly or indirectly he would announce his purpose to be a candidate for the United States Senate against senior Senator David I. Walsh. But his speech left that question unanswered unless one chooses to interpret his castigation of Senator Walsh as a forerunner of a clearer expression of his intention to make a bid for Walsh's seat.

The vigorous interest of the former Governor in the welfare of his party is of deeper significance than a mere advance gesture pointing to a future personal campaign. The Democratic party is traditionally resolute, undisconcerted by defeat. This is clear from its national history. In three-quarters of a century Democrats have elected only three presidents; but in each successive presidential campaign the party was united for a tenacious fight. Although the party took a sound licking in the last state election, the reception last Thursday is proof that the party is up on its feet again and squaring off for another battle. Very important and reassuring is the fact that leadership of the party will remain in liberal and progressive hands. No man in the United States has more earnestly supported Roosevelt's New Deal policies than former Governor Curley.

ED REVOLT

R. L. VANN, Pittsburgh politica leader whose bolt from the Democratic party in Pennsylvania was successful, and he may now dictate patronage in the Republican camp. Mr Vann claims the Democrats did not live up to their promise of ten per cent of state jobs to Negroes, so he "purged" them, throwing out of office David Lawrence Democratic State Chairman, Vann's arch enemy.

EDITORIAL

Text For The Week: "Judge me O GOD, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation; O deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man." 43 Psalm. 1 verse.

Northwest Enterprise

Once gain the state legislature is in session and once again it is time for each and every Negro American to be on the alert, that no precedent for discriminatory laws is passed.

Under a pretext of eliminating marriges between people of different races, certain members of the Legislature have tried unsuccessfully several times to establish a precedent for racial discrimination. Now it is not the desire to prohibit marriage between races or colors that is the main objective of this often proposed legislation. A check up on marriage licenses applied for over a period of a year, will show that the application of mixed couples is practically nil. Those who do apply would go to some other state, or turn from law abiding citizens to law violators.

1-20-39

Seattle Washington

To see what makes anything stand up one must look behind it, and behind these miscegenation bills that appear at regular intervals, is the subversive motives of fascists groups that are thriving in our country, notwithstanding obvious popular opinion against them. These groups that seek control of the nation, to place it under a tolatairian rule, know their only opportunity for success, is to create an element of hate among the citizens of various abstractions and religious beliefs. If this intermarriage bill is ever enacted into law, then all of the guarantees under the civil rights code will be nullified. The marriage law is not the only avenue that these same fascist-minded groups are attempting to establish a precedent for racial discrimination; laws pertaining to the sale, transfer, and occupancy of real estate must be watched, lest the precedent be established through that source.

A three day "gin law" is to be offered by the church groups of Seattle, and while the three day wait between application and issuing of a marriage license is splendid, we must be extra careful that a rider is not attached to such legislation, accomplishing the same results as a miscegenation bill. The race has many friends in Olympia, and many of the legislators are fair minded people who would not abrogate the rights of any minority; yet our vigilance must be the constant reminder of possible ulterior motives behind seemingly harmless proposals.

An unfortunate condition exists in King County where the center of Negro population resides, because of the differences, and continual bickering between the Negro Democratic clubs. Thousands of Negroes vote the Democratic ticket, still they are leaderless when it comes to securing political recognition, because they have no substantial vehicle to present their cause. However, the elections are over; the patronage has been given, and as was to be expected, the Democratic party gave none except a few mops and brooms in Olympia, because the organized Negro Democrats made it impossible for race pressure to be brought upon their party.

As was said the fight for jobs is all over, and the Negro Democratic Clubs, if any wish to serve the community, should join with the 4200 of us that live in Seattle, and fight that the State of Washington will remain a good place to live and raise a family in.

Auburn Speaker Says Presence Of Poll Tax Hinders Balloting

Montgomery Ala 2-14-39

AUBURN, ALA., Feb. 13—(Special)—The Democratic Women of Alabama have evolved some interesting figures on who does the voting in this State, which Mrs. A. L. Thomas presented in a speech this week at the Woman's club of Auburn.

Of the 20 per cent of the adults who vote, the Democratic Women figure that 100 per cent of the politicians vote, and 50 per cent of the white ex-soldiers (who do not have to pay a poll tax). In the Business and Professional Women's Clubs 80 per cent; of the P.-T. A. and the Federated Women's Clubs, 30 per cent. Of the Methodist women, 40 per cent are registered and 40 per cent vote. Of the 30,000 Home Demonstration Club-women only 5,000 vote.

Mrs. Thomas is State legislative chairman of the P.-T. A. "Our organization," she said, "thinks that the removal of the cumulative poll tax will get better results from a larger and more intelligent body of voters."

"This terrible cumulative poll tax" Mrs. Thomas said she believed, was greatly responsible for this small percentage of voters. "The average rural income is now exceedingly low in this State and the poll tax is $1.50 a year for every year since the voter was 21. This tax represents too high a percentage of that small money income. The vote should be a duty and a responsibility and should not represent something that has to be bought and paid for."

Mrs. Thomas pointed out that Alabama is the only state in the Union which has this cumulative poll tax. Seven others have some form of poll tax. J. P. Wright, of Auburn, has figured that of the 18,000 colored ex-service men in Alabama, only 1,500 vote. This proves that the poll tax has nothing to do with the colored vote, she said.

"However, not only the women are lax in their civic responsibilities. Less than 20 per cent of the adult population in our state vote. In West Virginia 83 per cent, in Virginia, 14 per cent, in the Northeastern states about 65 per cent, in the Midwest, 70 per cent and in California 70 per cent."

Mrs. Thomas pointed out that as far as the women are concerned there are many reasons why they do not vote. "There is a lack of inclination, perhaps, lack of training and aptitude. But they do feel an increasing sense of responsibility for the government, which is increasingly affecting their homes and their lives."

The lecturer reminded her audience that in 1919 when the National Suffrage Amendment was passed it was not ratified by the state legislators. "It was literally over their dead bodies," Mrs. Thomas said, "that finally in 1921 our women were premitted to vote."

"Women are receiving splendid training in cooperative project work in their clubs. But we haven't learned to be good enough sports yet—enough to take defeat—enough to run for office without assurance of success."

In summing up her points Mrs. Thomas emphasized her belief that the poll tax as assessed in Alabama laid too heavy a financial burden on the voters and that it shuts out a large body of intelligent, interested citizens.

DEMOCRACY'S GAIN

WITH THE CONVICTION on Saturday of James J. Hines, Tammany leader of the 11th Assembly District in lower Harlem on 13 counts of conspiring with and protecting the policy racket, will be removed from active participation in politics one of the most powerful Democratic figures this city has known.

Gazette

"Jimmy" Hines, as he was known far and wide, was the political overlord of Harlem and with the exception of Herbert L. Bruce, leader of the 21st Assembly District, he had most of the other Tammany district leaders under his thumb. Nothing could be done unless "Jimmy" said so and nothing was done unless he gave it his okay.

3-4-39

Manchester Ga

The removal of Hines from the Political picture presages a new era in Harlem politics with the voters as direct beneficiaries.

Cartersville, Ga., News
August 3, 1939

"A WOOING WE SHALL GO"—

We note with interest, the wooing of Marion Anderson (col), the visit to Tuskeegee Institute (col) and now, the reported issuance of a Bocker T. Washington (col) stamp. When Southern people lick the back side of this stamp we wonder what they will be thinking! There is a reason—the the negro votes hold the balance of power under normal conditions in northern and boundary-line state controlling 227 electoral votes; the 11 Southern provinces have only 135 electoral votes. Naturally the vote getting New Deal is much interested in the negro-controlled states rather than in the Southern provinces, commonly known as "Problem No. 1."

Fayetteville, Ga., Enterprise
August 4, 1939

"A WOOING WE SHALL GO."

We note with interest, the wooing of Marion Anderson (col.), the visit to Tuskeegee Institute (col.) and now, the reported, issuance of a Booker T. Washington (col.) stamp. When Southern people lick the back side of this stamp we wonder what they will be thinking! There is a reason—the negro votes hold the balance of power under normal conditions in northern and boundary-line states, controlling 227 electoral votes; the 11 Southern provinces have only 135 electoral votes. Naturally the vote-getting New Deal is much interested in the negro-controlled states rather than in the southern provinces commonly known as "Problem No. 1."

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DEMOCRATIC

Winnsboro, S. C. News & Herald
August 17, 1939

Garner And The Negro

"There is no middle of the road between a Northern Democratic white-negro party and a Southern white party," clarions The Charleston News and Courier, anent Roosevelt's successful wooing of the Negro vote.

We had always imagined that "Cactus Jack" Garner was a typical example of the "white supremacy" type of Democrat, but Jack is now a candidate for the Presidency. The bee has stung him.

According to Bruce Catton, in the Columbia Recrod, Garner was recently interviewed by a reporter for a Negro publication in Washington. The reporter for the ANP (American Negro Press) found him "liberal" in his views, and so headlined the story. The article declared that the vice president has a lot of ideas about the progress and citizenship of the Negro which are surprisingly broad. It says that the V. P. has definitely expressed himself as opposed to the Texas "white primary" but adds that he feels nothing can be done about it until the Supreme Court changes its opinion.

Another prominent Negro, Dr. Kelly Miller, retired Howard university professor, and incidentally a native of our own County of Fairfield, has paid Garner tribute, saying that he is a high-minded statesman and a true friend of the colored race.

"Cactus Jack" is not by any means one of our heroes and we have no desire to see him the next President of the United States. However, his "liberal" attitude toward the Negro (if he has such an attitude and if all of this is not pretense and peanut politics) would not prejudice us against him. Still, if we are not mistaken, it would prejudice a number of South Carolinians who go in for oratory of the "Cotton Ed Smith" vintage.

Concord N.C. Tribune

[redacted]
August 16, 1939

WHEN "HARMONY" VANISHED

Greenville News.

What was to have been a "harmony" caucus of Democratic members of the national House turned out to be almost the opposite, it is now revealed.

And strikingly enough, the cause of the uproar was one that aptly illustrates one of the reasons for the differences between Northern and Southern Democrats. It was the "anti-lynching" bill of Representative Gavagan of New York, which came into the limelight just before this caucus when six Republicans affixed their signatures to a petition to bring this bill out of the committee for floor action. Mr. Gavagan, the first speaker at the "harmony" caucus, immediately became the target for caustic comment by Southern members of the party concerning this measure.

Most Southerners see in such bills chiefly an attempt of Northern politicians to carry favor with Negro voters by a measure "aimed at" the South. They resent it for that reason as well as for its attempt to inject Federal authority into state affairs without sound warrant. These measures have stirred some sectional animosities and for that reason, perhaps as much as for any other, have deepened the gulf between the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic party.

What Negroes Are Doing

BY OSCAR W. ADAMS

An inspiring meeting of the Jefferson County Negro Democratic Club was held at Smith & Gaston Funeral Parlors Thursday of last week with the chairman, A. L. (Dad) Smith, of the board presiding. A large volume of business was handled and committees appointed.

"Why I Am a Democrat," was the subject of an address by C. L. McKinney, of the Tittusville Community. This provoked much discussion. Mrs. R. M. Neely, Jr., also delivered a talk on the possibilities of the club.

Chairman Smith presented the club charter, issued by the National Democratic Club by its secretary Dr. Thompkins, of Washington, D. C., who is register of deeds of the United States. Dr. Thompkins explained that the Jefferson County Negro Democratic Club is the only chartered Negro Democratic Club in Alabama, and no others are recognized except through their affiliation with this charter.

Committee chairmen were appointed as follows: Speakers committee, G. W. Hartle; voting and registration, Emory O. Jackson; ways and means, and program committee, A. O. Hancock; membership, Mrs. R. M. Neely, Jr.; men's division, T. J. Guice; communications, T. E. Woods, and advertising, R. L. Mabry.

The club will hold its next meeting Oct. 12.

Judge Fight Blocked By Dem Leaders

10-12-39

Henry Attributes Congressional Defeat To Racial Duplicity

IRVIN IS LAUDED

Bishop David H. Sims Also Lays Responsibility At Dems' Doorstep

By JOHN A. SAUNDERS

What was interpreted as being the equivalent of a "death blow" to Democratic hopes for colored support in the November election was delivered by colored Republican leaders at a meeting to support the candidacy of Councilman James H. Irvin last Friday night.

Certain colored Democratic leaders of South Philadelphia, it was charged, are directly responsible for the absence of a Negro judge on the Philadelphia bench.

This charge was made in an emphatic declaration by Magistrate Edward W. Henry, Republican candidate for reelection on the GOP ticket, one of the principal speakers at the meeting, held at the home of Dr. James E Jones, dentist, 4806 Fairmount avenue

Characterized "Stooges"

These colored leaders, characterized as "stooges" and "weak-backed traitors to the Negro race," plotted to keep a Negro off the bench at the advice of white Democrats and succeeded by defeating Magistrate Henry in the Congressional campaign last year, it was charged by Henry.

Had Magistrate Henry been elected to Congress, it was stated, the Democrats would have been forced to appoint a Negro judge to one of the Municipal Court vacancies to "save their faces."

"Therefore, the Negro Congressional candidate had to be defeated to serve their purpose and the white Democratic leaders sent their colored 'stoogies' out to defeat him, and they did," Henry said.

Ridiculing the candidacy of Councilman Irvin's colored opponent, John Boykin, Democrat Councilmanic candidate from the 4th District, Henry said that the Democrats themselves don't even expect Boykin to defeat Irvin.

Political Chicanery

In North Philadelphia, Henry continued, political chicanery has split wide the ranks of colored Democrats.

"These constituents of the 4th Congressional District will challenge the city Democratic leadership by casting a protest vote for Republican candidates in the general election," he said.

"They are aroused and angry because the Democrats 'kicked them where it hurt most, by refusing to slate a colored man for city council in North Philadelphia," Henry declared.

Striking out at colored Democratic leaders for "selling their birthright" for what he described as a "mess of porridge," Bishop David H. Sims, prelate of the First and Ninth A. M. E. Districts, scored Negro Democratic powers for "hampering the drive for a colored jurist."

"We must convince white politicians that we are essential. Europe is at war because the principles of Jesus Christ have been flouted. Magistrate Henry was defeated for Congress because our principles were flouted. We must right the wrong by re-electing both Councilman Irvin and Magistrate Henry," the Bishop declared.

Whites Were Pessimistic

Pointing out that it had been a hard fight to convince Republican leaders of Councilman Irvin's ability to carry the party banner in the West Philadelphia bailiwick, Edward J. Shanagher, GOP leader of the 44th Ward, said the whites were pessimistic because of the Negroes' failure to support Henry in the Congressional campaign.

"Now that Mr. Irvin has proven his strength by polling such a substantial vote in the primary," Shanagher said, "the Committee is convinced that he is this (4th) district's most potent standard-bearer. As to Boykin, we are not bothered about him because he has neither business nor executive ability."

In his plea for the solid support of the entire Republican slate, Councilman Irvin cited his councilmanic record as a criterion for justification of his re-election.

Appointment Record

By way of explanation he credited himself with being entirely responsible for the following Negro appointments: James B. Bannaker, personal secretary; Robert L. Brown, City Council clerk; Dr. Earl Hawkins, Byberry Hospital staff member; Dr. Fred D. Stubbs and Dr. DeHaven Hinkson, Philadelphia General Hospital staff members; William Venable, Department of Supplies and Purchases clerk; Mercer Lewis, Robert D. Baskervill and Harry J. Woodward, attorneys, as assistant City Solicitors, and the re-instatement of 10 former colored policemen on the Police Force.

It was also pointed out that Councilman Irvin obtained more than 400 jobs for Negroes with the Bureau of Highway, the street cleaning department and in private industry. He was also lauded as having been the driving force behind the promotions of Captain Peter Graham and Lieutenant George Singleton in the Fire Department.

Included among the speakers were: Dr. Charles A. Lewis, Robert D. Baskervill, William B. Webb, exalted ruler of Leonard C. Irvin Elks Lodge; Rev. George F. Ellison, pastor of Reeve Memorial Church; Samuel H. Reading, J. B. Davidson, Harry Battis, Republican committeeman of the 24th Ward; Herbert T. Millen, attorney, chairman of the Colored Republican Campaign

Is "All" All?

President Roosevelt has just expressed the hope that the birthday balls held annually throughout the nation on his anniversary may be continued after he leaves the White House. It is his desire that all crippled children, not only those suffering from infantile paralysis should be the beneficiaries.

Whether "all" is to be construed literally or, in the usual American way, is to be modified to exclude a certain portion of the population is of the greatest interest to us.

Mr. Roosevelt has captivated the imagination of thousands by his rare exhibition of humanitarian ideals and principles. He enjoys wide popularity with the masses.

But on the subject of anti-lynching legislation he has steadfastly held his peace. On the subject of the integration of the Negro in the federal government (a petition was addressed to him last spring, the question involved was the appointment of qualified Negroes to positions above the ranks of laborer or the lowest-salaried clerk) the Presidential silence was as deep as that which has been maintained on the administration of New Deal policies in the South to the detriment of Southern Negroes.

The ensuing Presidential silence was as deep as that which has been maintained on the administration of New Deal policies to the South to the detriment of Southern Negroes.

Rooseveltian humanitarism is not so deep-rooted or genuine as to brook the displeasure of the solid South—the bulwark of the Democratic party.

Returning to the President's hope and desire already defined herein, we might propound the riddle—When is "all" all?

Man or Idea, But Not Both

If Franklin D. Roosevelt runs again and is reelected, he who made social security our national policy will do it a disservice. Only when administered by someone else, who is not already committed to it, can its worth be known.

Within a short twelve months the American people will decide whether to go along this way or scrap the New Deal wholly or in part. Of the new plan the President is its outstanding champion, but if only he can make it work, and no one else, then it is an idea too weak to stand alone, and impossible in a democracy where control passes from man to man and party to party.

This is no time for partisanship. In spite of growing employment and faster industry, we still have hard times. The old idea that a man is architect of his own fortune has not been restored. Neither has the new idea that the individual has a right to depend on the government for security worked out as promised. It is easy to say it will work out in a few more years, but its shortcomings, not it virtues, may prove to be the stronger.

This country cannot go on the New Deal way with debts piling up billions higher each year. Either the basic idea or the management is at fault. Had social security worked, Franklin D. Roosevelt could run and be elected a third time as a reward of merit. But it is not the perfect plan, either because of the weakness of the human agencies that managed it, or the impossibility of fitting any plan to the varied needs and impulses of the American people. The founder of it has had his chance. Not because George Washington refused to be president a third term, but but of love for his brain child Franklin D. Roosevelt should step aside and let security go to the test, which can come only when a different management takes it over.

Of course if the American people are already of a mind to get rid of the New Deal, it makes no difference whether President Roosevelt is renominated or not. But if renominated and reelected, he dooms his program. What he has not been able to do with the extraordinary powers granted him by Congress and with the whole people wishing him well, he certainly cannot do in a third term with opposition within his party as well as outside.

Our saying that the President is not the one to make social security work, is measuring the future by the past. We grant there are worthwhile ideas in the New Deal but a tool must stand up under use. If he has not been able to finance it adequately, or distribute its benefits equitably up to now, he will not in a third term, because he will have to use the very persons who compose his official family now, the ones who have made the New Deal what it has been up to now.

The New Deal is not bad per se, but its strongest supporters cannot say it is the perfect plan. WPA is not as good for the worker as private employment was. Federal checks and loans do not give business the confidence to increase employment. A growing deficit warns that even if the new steps worked, they cannot be continued indefinitely.

A third term would be a personal triumph for Franklin D. Roosevelt, but at the price of delaying by four years an attack on hard times.

Napoleon's union of European states

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 63

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PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC

NEGRO LEADERSHIP FOR THE 19th

INTO THE BRIGHT picture for success of the Negro leadership fight in the Democratic organization of the 19th Assembly District has come the report of sinister moves behind scenes which now threaten to upset the peace and harmony which have been established by the leaders of rival Negro factions. It presages another cat and dog fight with the white leader, Harry C. Perry, again coming out on top.

The New York Age learned this information from reliable sources but at the present time is not at liberty to divulge the nature of the behind-the-scenes perfidy of some well known Negroes. An attempt is being made to show them the errors of their ways but if this attempt fails then an expose of this treachery will appear in the columns of this newspaper and we will not hesitate for a second to tell everything.

It may have been coincidental that this information came to our ears just as we started out to write an editorial on the leadership situation in the 19th. It may have been providential, too, for in the subject matter we would have written the names of some of the very persons whom we now have been informed are dealing treacherously in this situation. What appears to be peacefulness and serenity is in reality another tempest in a teapot. We only hope that it won't boil over.

It is unfortunate that this has had to happen just at this time for never has the picture been so bright for those desiring to see a Negro Democratic leader elected in the 19th A. D. While no candidate has been mentioned as yet, it is safe to say that all of the various independent Negro clubs of the 19th, which have merged into one big club for the benefit of the race, will be united on one man for the leadership. And it is safe to predict that that man will be elected leader IF this most recent and startling undercover maneuvering is squashed before it comes out into the open and disrupts the prevailing peace.

As The New York Age has time and again pointed out the only way for a Negro to be elected leader of the 19th A. D. Democratic organization is for all Negroes to unite behind the movement for a Negro leader and elect one. So long as Harry C. Perry remains as leader of the district just so long will Negroes be kicked aorund politically in the district. And so long as there are Negroes willing to sell out their brothers for a mess of political pottage there will be white leadership in the district.

We should not like to have to expose to the world the names of the individuals in the sinister game which is now being played behind closed doors. Such an exposure would reflect no credit on the race but this paper gives fair warning now that it shall not hesitate to expose anyone guilty of treachery in what now appears to be the most hopeful chance for Negro leadership.

Charleston S. C. News & Courier
February 20, 1939

Democratic Scalawags?

The saying of Mr. Heywood Broun that the Northern negroes will not permit a Southern man to be elected president by the Democrats and that therefore Mr. Garner should not be nominated deserves attention because it confirms the saying of Senator Byrnes of South Carolina that the negroes control the Democratic party. Mr. Broun is a person whose political expressions have weight on their own account. He is a clever man, distinguished as a columnist and the conductor of a page in The New Republic, a supporter of the New Deal. He is, moreover, active and prominent in a union of writers called "The Newspaper Guild", which is affiliated with the C. I. O. and which has negroes in its membership.

Undoubtedly Mr. Broun is familiar with the policies and opinions of the negro leaders of the Democratic party in Northern cities. One of these leaders is a lawyer of Boston named Rainey, son of a negro member of congress from South Carolina in the "Reconstruction period".

It is not to be said that Mr. Broun is speaking for Rainey, a person with whom he may not be acquainted, but Rainey is a political lieutenant of Mr. James Farley. It is not unlikely that Rainey has more influence on Southern affairs than ever his father had when he represented the Georgetown, S. C., district. In the late Congressman Rainey's time the Northern Democrats in congress, Thurman, Hendricks, S. S. Cox, W. S. Holman and many others were reliable friends of the South.

Who of the Northern Democrats, including the president, can be relied upon to stand by the South against the Northern Democratic negroes if they attempt to boycott Southern men as candidates for president?

Shall Southern "Democrats", by "sticking to the party", assist negro Democrats to boycott Southern candidates? Shall we have Democratic scalawags?

Charleston S. C. News & Courier
February 18, 1939

Vote for Negroes

To The News and Courier:

I read an editorial in your issue of the 15th inst. under the caption "Negroes to Stop Southern Democrat". The editorial deals with the negro vote, and begins with: "The white people of South Carolina, Democrats, may no longer have the disposition to resist the negroes in political affairs", etc. The statement which especially arrested my attention was the last one in the first paragraph: "They (the negroes) are amazingly indifferent". I somehow feel that the learned editor allowed this expression to escape from a heart of sympathy. Personally, I am free to confess that it does seem to appear that the negroes are "indifferent". But when our white friends conclude, under the circumstances, that the negroes are indifferent as it relates to their rights in general, or to their ballot in particular, it is just a positive proof that they do not understand the negro as well as they imagine. All who really know the negroes will admit there is no more sympathetic and docile a race on earth. And he is quick to forgive an injury, and slow to forget a kindness. Possibly no race can so easily forget troubles, and look for the "bright side".

The fact that the white people have been "resisting the negroes in political affairs", and have been doing so so long in the fair state of South Carolina; and the fact also that the negroes feel that the ballot is not worth such a condition as was experienced in Wilmington, N. C., about forty years ago, suggest to many negroes that the wise thing to do is to stay a "safe distance". But this apparently indifferent negro is quite positive that when the time comes to pay taxes he will not only be allowed to "vote", but required to do so. Colored people are quite mindful of the fact that though they are not "intelligent" enough to put a ballot in the box for a man they think to be a friend to humans and justice, they will be considered quite qualified to bare their breasts to the bullets of a dangerous enemy when loyal citizens and brave soldiers are needed. It is then that "this is our country and our state".

The negroes somehow have enough faith in God and the good white people to feel that finally the ballot will come to all people alike, and that the negro will get the ballot, and a fair distribution of taxes, in school buildings, and in the school terms, and school teachers. The negro still has some faith in what we call "Christianity". Though we confess that we often wonder what we mean by democracy. Our white friends are mistaken when they think that the negro does not know what kind of a man he would like to elect to office. So far as the negroes as a whole are concerned, there are certain white men below the "Mason and Dixon line" whom they would vote for in preference to others above the "line". Locality does not make justice nor honor. The negro knows quite well that some of his best friends are in the South. Right here in Charleston, and right here in South Carolina, were it not for many white ladies and gentlemen who believe in the Golden Rule, the negro would have to take passage to Mars. Let me say here that if the negroes of Charleston could have voted for Mr. Maybank for governor, there would have been no need for an unpleasant "recount" here.

Give the negro an opportunity to vote in the primary. Put up a man who is known to be fair and just against one whose record is not so good, and the negro will give a concrete demonstration of his "indifference".

JESSE E. BEARD.

WE'RE WAITING

TWO WEEKS AGO, on behalf of the Democratic voters of the 19th Assembly District, we asked the editors of the Amsterdam News to answer seven questions pertaining to the leadership fight in the district. We also requested an answer to those questions in two weeks time.

The two weeks will be up ere another edition of The Age goes to press and our contemporary will have had sufficient time in which to answer the questions which we asked. We hope that when the Amsterdam appears on the streets this week those questions will not go unanswered for the issue is too big to go without explanation any longer.

LEADERSHIP FIGHT QUIET

J. Raymond Jones Says He Will Resign U. S. Post To Run For Leader

Age

The fight for the Democratic leadership of the 19th Assembly District was at a standstill this week as leaders and their followers marked time awaiting reply by editors of the Amsterdam News to the challenge, issued two weeks ago by The New York Age to explain their stand in the fight.

Two weeks ago The New York Age editorially asked the Amsterdam News to answer within a fortnight seven questions regarding the leadership fight and as this week's issue will mark the deadline, the leading contenders for the leadership have held in abeyance their plans pending publication by the Amsterdam News of its answers to the seven important questions.

The only active work done during the past week was in the camp of the Dahoga Democratic Club, the club which the Amsterdam News has publicized to the practical exclusion of all other existing Democratic clubs in the district. This activity took the form of announcement by the club that it has designated J. Raymond Jones Deputy U. S. Marshal, and until recently resident of the 22nd Assembly District, as its candidate to oppose Harry C. Perry, incumbent Tammany leader.

In announcing acceptance of the designation Mr. Jones, who told The New York Age earlier that he had his residence transferred to the 19th A. D. so that he could vote in this year's primaries, declared that he would resign his position in the Marshal's office to actively campaign against Perry.

"I will, for the sake of the campaign, be the candidate of the Dahoga Club," he said. "The district primary fight does not elect a leader, it elects a county committee. It is customary in every political club to pledge the county committee to its candidate before the county committee is selected to enter the contest. This I shall not do. The county committee of the Dahoga Democratic Club shall be pledged to no man, but rather to the principle of ending the present leadership. They shall be free to elect any person that they think has the necessary qualifications for the task—but he must be a Negro."

LAUNCH CAMPAIGN TO RID HARLEM OF WHITE LEADERSHIP

NEW YORK, Mar. 23—(ANP)—Picking a fight with an Irishman on St. Patrick's day is dangerous and unusual for Negroes to do, but the Dahoga Democratic club of Harlem attempted it Friday night when they formally launched their leadership campaign against Harry C. Perry, white, long time Tammany leader of the Nineteenth Assembly district of Harlem.

The insurgent group seeking to replace Perry with a Negro leader of the district opened its headquarters at 308 Lenox Avenue Friday, with a St. Patrick's day party. Festivities included political speeches, free eats and beer and all the trimmings—except wearing of the green.

Principal speaker at the party was J. Raymond Jones, former deputy United States marshal, who has recently resigned his post as deputy to lead the fight against Perry. He was named as the leadership candidate by a coalition of half a dozen political groups which opposed the Tammany leader in the last contest.

Oscar Godfrey is chairman of the coalition group which will push the fight against Perry; Joseph Pinckney is secretary, and Dr. P. M. H. Savory, treasurer.

Scores of Harlem organizations have endorsed the program of the Dahoga Club in its fight for Jones as the next leader of the Nineteenth A. D. Jones was named to lead the fight at a meeting held Feb. 28 by the coalitionists. They claim that Negroes comprise 95 per cent of the voting strength of the district, and that Perry was re-elected in 1937 solely because five colored candidates opposed him in the primary, thus dividing the strength.

In accepting the designation as leader in the fight against white leadership in the district, Jones said, "I will, for the sake of the campaign, be the candidate of the Dahoga Democratic Club. I shall only ask that the Dahoga Club be pledged to the principle of ending the present leadership and they shall be left free to elect any person they think has the necessary qualifications for the task—but he must be a Negro."

Charleston S. C. News & Courier
March 30, 1939

Independent Backsliders

From an article by Earl Brown in The Herald Tribune, New York, the provocative information is derived that "the Reverend Marshall I. Shepherd, who opened a session of the Democratic national convention with prayer in Philadelphia, when Senator Ellison D. ('Cotton Ed') Smith 'took a walk' from the convention hall," is now classed among the "would-be negro Democratic rebels" drifting or moving back into the Republican party. Julian D. Rainey, son of the late "Reconstruction" colored congressman from the Georgetown district of South Carolina, is said to be another of the backsliders. For the Northern negroes political independence is probably the best policy. The News and Courier is an independent newspaper and commends independence.

Charleston S. C. News & Courier
March 30, 1939

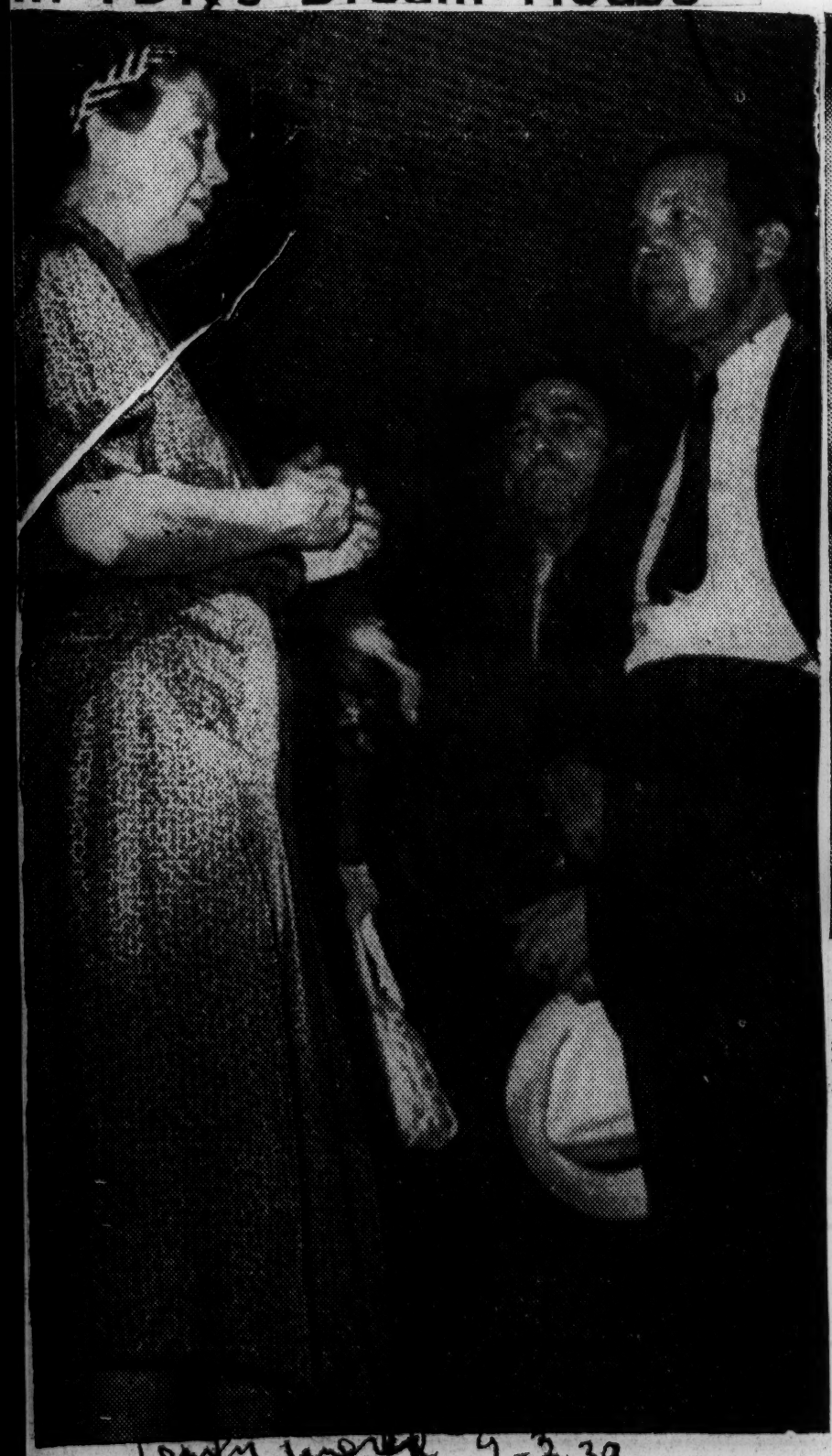
Spreading Abroad the Truth

At all times The News and Courier welcomes Mr. Heywood Broun, stern New Dealer and invaluable contributing editor of The New Republic, New York organ of Bigger and Better Relief, when he comes into the South and warns that the Northern negroes will defeat any Southern man whom the Democrats might nominate for president in 1940. Truth crushed to earth will rise again as long as Heywood Broun shall be loose in the country with no bridle on his unruly member.

POLITICAL - 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC---MRS. ROOSEVELT

Present Negro Art To Go In FDR's Dream House



Lenly Weekly 9-2-39

James H. Hubert, executive director of the New York Urban League, who as chairman of a committee of New Yorkers is shown shortly after he had asked and been given the assurance of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt that a few select pieces of Negro art would be accepted in the President's Dream House at Hyde Park. Mrs. Roosevelt was praised for her liberal stand.

9-3-39 Delineator

Lou Swarz Sips Tea With First Lady

LOU SWARZ, St. Louis actress who was a recent sensation in Town Hall, New York, with her one-man acting recital, is here being served tea at the Hyde Park home of the first lady of the land, when, as one of a group of New Yorkers, Miss Swarz visited Mrs. Roosevelt last week. The Mound City actress was introduced as the "colored Ruth Draper" by James H. Hubert, executive secretary of the New York Urban League who headed the group. Mrs. Roosevelt expressed a hope she would be able to see Miss Swarz in recital at the White House sometime in the near future. —Photo by Blanche.

Task Is To Unite All Races, Says Mrs. Roosevelt

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Aug. (CNA) In a direct and unequivocal reply to the question of a Negro girl Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the President, told sixty boys and girls, students from this country and abroad that the persecution of the Jews in Germany and the Negro people in this country was inherently similar.

Mrs. Roosevelt spoke to the group of students at the First Work Camp for Democracy in West Park, N. Y., opposite Poughkeepsie, as they swarmed about her to tell her what they were learning of democracy. She was eager to know.

Negroes and Jews are both minority groups, Mrs. Roosevelt pointed out in reply to a question whether there was not a similarity of attitudes towards Jews in Germany and the Negro people in the United States. The possibility of likeness in prejudices both groups encounter was inherent, whereas the problem of democracies was to make all groups work together, the First Lady declared.

Mrs. Roosevelt Compares Lot Of Negro And Jew

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Sept. 8 —In a direct and unequivocal reply to the question of a girl, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the President, told 60 boys and girls, students from this country and abroad that the persecution of the Jews in Germany and the Race people in this country was inherently similar.

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Mrs. Roosevelt Finds No Un-Americanism

One of the most travelled citizens in the country, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, has seen no evidences of subversive or un-American activities.

"One can, of course, always hear stories of Communist and Fascist meetings and activities," she says, but it does not seem to me that these groups have any real hold on the people. Mrs. Roosevelt declares she is not "foolish enough" to believe it impossible for these groups to increase but thinks there is little to fear from their influence "if all of us make an effort to live our democracy day to day."

Mrs. Roosevelt

Writing on her monthly question and answer page in The Democratic Digest, publication of the women's division, democratic national committee, the President's wife says she has seen all kinds of places, people and conditions, and in her opinion the number of Communists has "not increased greatly in the past few years." Only on rare occasions, after a lecture, has she been asked a question which might indicate the questioner belonged to a Communist group.

MIGRATORY WORKERS

The condition of migratory workers might be improved by organizing these workers so it would be possible to know in advance the appromixate number coming to any locality during any harvest season the First Lady writes in answer to another question. Mobile schools and better camp conditions could then be provided.

In the case of industrial workers Mrs. Roosevelt suggests 'better co operation between state and Federal employment services to give better opportunities for finding work" and an improvement of skill of the workers.

As for other workers, loans from the Farm Security Administration "enabling them to establish themselves on new land" and become independent farmers again ma offer a solution, she says.

The question on subversive activities was asked by Mrs. Verd Barnes, national vice president o the Young Democrats, and the on on migratory workers by Mrs Kathryn S. Flohr, president, o Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Women.

MY DAY

Interest More People In Government Homestead

By Eleanor Roosevelt.

HUNTINGTON, W. Va.—The last time I came through Huntington was toward the end of a very long day's motoring and my recollection of the city was somewhat vague.

This morning, however, after a press conference at 9 o'clock, Mrs. Gibson, Mrs. Allen and Mrs. Long came for me and we drove past Marshall College, where Mr. Dwight Morrow was once president. We saw the site of a new housing project. Then we went on our way to Red House. It took about an hour and a half to drive there, but this is interesting country and the roads wind among the hills and beside the river.

The Charleston, W. Va., Business and Professional Women's Club is sponsoring a shop in this government project to encourage the women to learn various handicrafts. This will be useful in making articles for their own homes and at the same time they may learn to make a variety of things for sale.

I wish more people in Charleston would take an interest in their government homestead, for there is so much that can be done for these communities if people near by lend a hand. I have never felt that the government should be expected to carry the burden alone. These people on government homesteads would ordinarily have been charges on the local communities.

The government inaugurated an experiment, by which it was hoped a way to a better standard of living for a great many people could be found. The government built houses and tried to rehabilitate the morale of people who had been without work and in dire need for a long time. In doing this work was provided for the homesteaders.

Now the near-by communities have an opportunity to show their interest and help the government. They can assist by getting industries to move in near these localities to give work, or they can find work for these people in existing industries near by. Their homes and their gardens will give them an added measure of security.

Like all government undertakings, this one is dependent on the co-operation of the neighborhood, to be a real success. At present the men who do not find work outside the project have only part-time work, paid at the standard government rate. This is very low for a big family and not too much even for a little one.

I am glad to find the Business and Professional Women's Club of Charleston starting the interest ball a-rolling. I hope they will find an outlet in Charleston and in neighboring towns for some of the things which the women and young people on the project are learning to make.

On the way back we stopped at the Morris Memorial Crippled Children's hospital. The WPA is furnishing the labor for these buildings and they are a monument of which the workers may well be proud. The pool is one of the most delightful I have ever seen and it will certainly be of benefit to the children of this region when the hospital operates at capacity.

We leave tonight for Washington, D. C.

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DEMOCRATIC --- MRS. ROOSEVELT

Farm Wives Thrilled; Mrs. Roosevelt Walks In Kitchen. Sits Down To Chat

Defender 11-11-39 Chicago

By JAMES C. DICKERSON

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Nov. 10—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt paid Memphis a surprise visit Monday and hurried out to Millington, where she visited 12 farm families at the FSA field project.

Defender

Residents there had thought someone was playing a Halloween prank when they heard early Monday that Mrs. Roosevelt was coming to visit. Most of them had to hurry from their fields. Others were in the midst of their Monday washing.

Not only did the First Lady enjoy speaking to them informally at their spacious community center, but she talked with them in their living rooms, bedrooms and kitchens warmed her hands at their crackling stoves—and even climbed up in their haylofts unassisted.

"I really didn't come to make a speech," she said apologetically. "I just drove out to see how the project is faring," Mrs. Roosevelt declared.

Mrs. Roosevelt walked across a field to the first home on her inspection tour, that of Mr. and Mrs. Leroy Johnson. "Hello," she said as she entered the house." Mrs. Johnson said: "I'm certainly thrilled to have you in my home!"

Mrs. Johnson told the First Lady how they had advanced from tenant farmers to independent land owners. Mrs. Roosevelt inquired about every detail of the family's live-at-home program. Mrs. Johnson showed the First Lady 620 cans of vegetables and fruits. "And I just had 12 cans three years ago when we were tenants." she explained.

When Mrs. Johnson apologized for not having the house "cleaned up" because "we didn't know in time that you were coming," Mrs. Roosevelt laughed: "It's very spic and span. There is nothing more anyone could want."

When Mrs. Roosevelt got to the Laughlin house, she became interested in the children. "Want to see the barn?" Mr. Laughlin asked. "Yes, very much," said Mrs. Roosevelt.

Seeing Mrs. Roosevelt's interest in cows, a reporter asked: "Did you ever milk, Mrs. Roosevelt?" To which she quickly replied, "Oh, yes, I've lived on a farm."

Mrs. Roosevelt arrived in Memphis Monday morning en route from Birmingham to Oklahoma City

MY DAY

Democracy Is Heritage Of Every Youth in U. S.

By Eleanor Roosevelt

Consolidation 12-2-39

WASHINGTON.—I must confess to being somewhat embarrassed last night at the 135th anniversary dinner of "The Churchman." Both the speeches and the actual presentation of the award made me feel somehow a bit unreal. When you sit and hear whom you admire and respect, say things which might well apply to somebody else, but can't apply to you, and find that you have to get up and accept all this—well, it's disconcerting. It would be idle, however, not to acknowledge that it is pleasant to be well spoken of, and that it does give one courage to keep on trying to be more worthy of all that has been said.

I went to the station after the dinner, just in time to catch the 12:50 a. m. train, and found there a group of young people whom I know, members of the American Youth Congress and other organizations. Mr. Will Hinckley, who was chairman of the American Youth Congress some three years ago, was subpoenaed to appear before the Dies committee in November, but that date was postponed. Between 4:30 and 5 o'clock yesterday afternoon, a wire was received stating that Mr. Hinckley would be given an opportunity to be heard before the committee at 10 o'clock this morning.

It is usual, of course, when one appears before as important a committee as a congressional committee, to have information and all material that may be called for near at hand. Of necessity, this group of young people, none of whom are affluent, had to do some tall hustling to get anything together and be in Washington this morning, particularly as Mr. Hinckley had been ill for several days and was just out of bed. Some of the group went down on the train with me, some of them sat up all night in a day coach on the next train, because Pullman berths cost money. Youth is remarkably resilient, however, and when I went into the committee hearing this morning, they all looked to me quite wide awake. They were, however, not testifying and I listened for an hour to a rather able witness who, however, told me nothing new.

I have two real interests in this situation. One is that as far as is humanly possible, I give to young people whom I know and trust, the feeling that in any situation, particularly a difficult one, they may count on my assistance. My second interest is a desire to observe to what extent the government is not only striving to uncover un-American activities, but is giving to youth the assurance that their government does not look upon them with suspicion until they are proved guilty, and is anxious to help them in every way to build up the faith and trust in democracy which should be the heritage of every youngster in the United States.

A number of people lunched with me and I am now going back to the committee room in the hope of hearing testimony given by Mr. Hinckley, the former chairman of the American Youth Congress

Mrs. Roosevelt Florida Bound

Courier

'First Lady' Will Speak at Mrs. Bethune's School in February.

12-30-39

DAYTONA BEACH, Fla., Dec. 28—At the 50th anniversary celebration of Bethune-Cookman college, February 16 to 18, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt will deliver the principle address. Also included in the celebration are a youth conference, an alumni get-together and an all-states day. The governor of Florida has been invited, and many outstanding political figures are expected to crowd into Daytona to give the First Lady a fitting welcome.

POLITICAL - 1939
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DEMOCRATIC ----(MRS. ROOSEVELT)

MY DAY

BY

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Post

NEW YORK CITY, Wednesday—We had an uneventful trip to New York City yesterday afternoon. On arrival, we went to dine at a French restaurant where crepe suzettes are done to perfection. It seems to be the favorite dessert of the friends I had with me. Then we went to see "Mamba's Daughters," largely because Katharine Cornell, whose husband, Guthrie McClintic, staged this play, told me Ethel Waters really achieved a remarkable dramatic success in the character of "Hagar."

Unforgettable Evening

For me it was an unforgettable evening so real that I could hardly believe that I was not actually on the plantation, or on the waterfront in Charleston, S. C. Poor defenseless people, betrayed often by their virtues! It is to me an extraordinary, artistic success.

I went first to see Mrs. Thomas Lynch this morning before her husband's funeral and I marvel at her self-control. She felt that after seven years of happiness, her world had fallen to pieces about her, for she and her husband and their little girl had seemed to live on a little island of intimacy. When you have been so happy, it is hard to be resigned.

Attends Funeral

I had not expected to see my mother-in-law in the church, but I was hardly seated when she came up the aisle, and so I went home with her afterward and sat for a while and talked with the three sisters—Mrs. Forbes, my mother-in-law and Mrs. Price Collier. Mrs. Collier is, of course, much younger, but as I looked at them all I thought what a wonderful trio they are—so full of vitality. Even Mrs. Forbes is still beautiful, with features and spirit which age apparently cannot touch.

While there, I looked down and discovered I had a run, clear up my stocking and decided I would have to go out at once to buy another pair. But my mother-in-law came to my rescue and insisted she could provide me with an entirely new pair. I put them on and wore them out of the house, warning her that they probably would never be returned!

An hour with the dentist and then to lunch with my aunt, Mrs. Stanley Mortimer. By 3 o'clock I was back at my apartment to attend to a number of things.

First Lady Offers Art, Craft Prize

Plan Art Exhibit For Meeting of Colored Women

Special to Journal and Guide

KANSAS CITY, Kan.—Women from all over the United States will compete for a loving cup presented by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt to be awarded to the state having the best exhibit of dresses when the art exhibit, to be held in connection with the annual national convention of the National Association of Colored Women is staged in Boston, from July 29 to August 5.

Already the national chairman, Mrs. Susie V. Bouldin of 611 Parallel Avenue, Kansas City, is laying plans to make the event this year, one of the best in the history of the association.

In a formal letter sent out this week, Mrs. Bouldin urges each woman and girl in the National Association of Colored Women and the National Association of Colored Girls to contribute toward a collection of articles which may be entered from various states. Every state is expected to be represented in the National Arts and Craft department.

For its 1939 convention, the department chairman has outlined a very ambitious program.

The exhibition building will be divided in sections. Each state will exhibit within its own regional. Each regional will compete for one of the beautiful Loving Cups which will be awarded. The Senator Arthur Capper Regional Loving Cup will be contested for by the five regionals. The regional having the most outstanding display of all lines of art will be awarded this trophy. The Southwest regional was the winner in 1937 at Fort Worth.

TWO CONTESTS

A beautiful, hand painted satin evening cape, valued at $75, will go to the contestant reporting the largest amount over $15, in the popularity contest to be sponsored by this department. One or more contestants from each state are asked to enter this competition.

Persons entering must be recommended by the state president or by some well known reports to the national department at the convention, in Boston.

This beautiful evening cape will be awarded on National Arts and Craft Night. Further details regarding the contest will be sent to persons who wish to enter.

Contestants are already registering, with the national chairman, in the contest to win the beautiful full size, seven-piece gold taffeta, hand painted bed room set (spread, two pair draperies, three piece vanity set, and dresser scarf). To the person reporting the most over $25, the bed room set will be awarded.

The second prize is a beautiful silk hand painted piano cover, or living room table cover.

This contest, however, closes the last week in April in Kansas City, Kan. Date for reports to be sent in will be awarded later.

Any members of the NACW or older girls of the NACG are eligible to enter this contest, upon presentation of the proper recommendations. Fifty punch cards with $2 each in five cent punches will be furnished all contesants free.

All contestants in the National Arts and Crafts department are being sponsored by the national chairman with the assistance of members of the national committee and with the approval of the national administrative board and the national president, Mrs. Jennie B. Motom. Further information regarding the contests will be sent to persons interested.

Persons who will not be able to attend the national convention in Boston, are urged to send their art work by a state representative, or send it by parcel post addressed to the national chairman to the address that will be sent out later to all states.

Address all communications to Mrs. Boundin in Kansas City.

MRS. ROOSEVELT MOST GENEROUS 'TIPPER

Courier

NEW YORK, Feb. 9.— Mrs Franklin D. Roosevelt is the most generous tipper among women riders on transcontinental railroads, according to a vote by members of the Dining Car Employees' Union, made public last week.

Mrs. Roosevelt At Auditorium This Evening

Advertiser

Mrs. Roosevelt, wife of the President, will arrive here at 9:55 a.m today by train for a one-day visit that will include a crowded round of entertainment and a lecture tonight at 8 o'clock in the City Auditorium under auspices of the Montgomery County Council of Parents and Teachers.

Mrs. Roosevelt

Mrs. Roosevelt will come here from Gadsden, where she lectured yesterday. U. S. Senator and Mrs Lister Hill will meet her at the depot and accompany her to the Whitley Hotel, where she will be a guest of the management.

Mrs. Roosevelt, in talking to Senator Hill yesterday in Gadsden, expressed the desire to visit Tuskegee Institute and Auburn while here. Mrs. Roosevelt and the Hills will motor to the two cities this afternoon. 9-14-39

The party will return here in time to dress for tea at 5 o'clock, at which Gov. and Mrs. Dixon will be hosts in the executive mansion. Members of the Legislature and their wives will be guests.

Following, a dinner has been arranged for Mrs. Roosevelt in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Hopson Owen Murphee in Prattville. Among the guests are to be Col. and Mrs. Bibb Graves, Col. and Mrs. Marion Rushton, Mrs. Marie Bankhead Owen, Senator and Mrs. Hill, Will Howard Smith, Miss Dorothy Murphee, Carlie G. Smith, Richard C. Foster, president of the University of Alabama.

Mrs. Roosevelt is to speak on "Problems of Youth."

See - Ed. Tuskegee Inst. Commentator.

CACTUS JACK IS LIBERAL, BUT SOFT PEDALS IDEAS

Afro American 9-15-39 Baltimore, Md

(By ANP)
WASHINGTON.

Cactus Jack Garner, or, to be more polite, John Nance Garner, vice-president of the United States is a potential candidate for the Presidency under the banner of the Democratic party.

Look at the Congressional Record for his biography: "John Nance Garner, was elected to fifteen Congresses (58-72 inclusive); elected speaker of the house, December 7, 1931; re-elected to the seventy-third Congress, but resigned, having been elected vice-president of the United States, November 8, 1932; re-elected vice-president, November 3, 1936."

Liberal in Views

Garner knows a lot about colored people, is entirely conversant with their problems, and has a lot of ideas about their progress and citizenship, surprisingly broad and in many of his attitudes and privately expressed opinions, almost beyond liberal.

Why he has never put them into action is another question, but in private conversation they frequently come to the surface in a most startling fashion.

Born in Red River County, Texas, some distance from where he now lives, Garner grew up in a section where colored outnumbered whites five to one. His playmates were colored boys, one of whom, Rube, still lives and counts the vice-President his best friend.

Opposes White Primary

Garner has definitely expressed himself as opposed to the Texas "white primary," but is said to take the position that there is nothing which can be done about it right now, unless the Supreme Court changes the opinion which it rendered in the last appeal which went up to that tribunal.

Garner admits that he is dead set against any group of venal voters, whose votes can be bought and delivered, having the right to vote, but he also points out that times have changed.

Today, he admits the character of the colored voter has improved to such an extent that he sees no reason why they should not be permitted to vote. Besides, he insists, as citizens they ought to vote according to the law.

Stickler for Law

This perhaps, is the keynote to the Garner philosophy. He contends that he is a stickler for the law. He wants every man regardless of color to have his rights under the law.

Garner regards the theory that people in Texas are afraid of social equality as a lot of poppycock.

Social Equality Views

Social equality, according to the Garner theory, is a personal thing. It affects a man's home and he is privileged to invite within its threshold whoever he desires. There are a lot of colored people he would rather have in his home than many of the "onery" whites who are constituents of his district. At least, that is reported to be the position he takes.

And in speaking of private homes, Garner said to a reporter that he did not mean places of public accommodation, but that all citizens should have a right to go any place which was open to them under the law.

Antilynch Bill

Concerning the Antilynching Bill, the vice-President does not think very much of it. He thinks the strategy of those who push it is all wrong. He believes that what they ought to try to do is to reshape the measure and call it something else so as to avoid the age-old opposition which has been built up in the South.

What he would do or thinks its proponents should do is to fashion a bill which Southerners who really don't want lynchings at all could support. For example, a measure which would declare that whenever three or more men committed a murder and it is not speedily punished, that the case automatically be taken to the nearest Federal judge who, under the law, would be compelled to impanel a jury.

Garner is said to have called in Senator Tom Connally of Texas when the last Antilynching Bill was before the Senate, and although the measure was "poorly drawn," Connally was urged to stop opposing the bill and to pass it.

Garner took the position that looking at the matter from the practical viewpoint, the colored people wanted the measure whether it was good or not. They had supported the Democratic party in 1932 and in 1936, and he wanted to keep them with the party because they represented the balance of power.

Connally would not budge, however, because he had to be re-elected from Texas and he knew that his electorate wanted the bill defeated.

Civil Service

The Civil Service photograph requirement is not a law, but this reporter did not know that until Garner pointed the fact out. It is just a regulation.

The way to get around it, according to Garner, is to abolish the rule whereby those in charge of employment can select from the first three on the list. If the highest man on the list were appointed, that would do away with favoritism and give every man a chance.

The President could bring about such a state by an executive order, and one who has heard Garner talk believes that he would put such an order in force.

F.D.'s Would-be Successor Aware of Color Problems

Democracy's Task Is To Unite All Races Mrs. Roosevelt Says

Journal

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y. Aug.—(CNA—In a direct question of a Negro girl, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife and uneqpivocal reply to the ci to Presidents, told sixty boys and girls students from this country and abroad that the persecutions of the Jews in Germany and the Negro people in this country was inherently similar.

9-7-39

Mrs. Roosevelt spoke to the first Work Camp for Democracy In West Park, N. Y., opposite Poughkeepsie, they swarned about her to tell er they were learning of democracy. She was eager to know.

Journal Ga.

Negroes and Jews are both minoriy groups. Mrs. Roosevelt pointed out in reply to a question whether there was not a similarity of attitudes United State. The possibility and the Negro people in the towards Jews in Germany of likeness in prejudices both groups encounter was inherent, whereas the problem of democracies to make all groups work together, the First Lady declared.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
October 16, 1939

Lady, Please Stay Out!

(The Wiregrass Farmer)

THEY are making a bugaboo out of the charge that our Fust Lady, Mis' Roosevelt, drinks tea at lawn parties with Communists.

News. We didn't know, one that Communists had leisure to attend lawn parties, or that, two, they would stoop to so incipient a drink as tea. We had thought that what Communist did was to foment sit-down strikes, sabotage industries, and scoff at the Christian religion.

As for Mis' Roosevelt, everyone knows that she is a sort of law unto herself. If she wishes to waive the color requirement, which is still prevalent in most sections of the country, and to consort with Radicals of all sorts of nondescript breeds from as many nondescript countries, we, the people, long ago decided that was her business, a personally prerogative.

But if she wants to pass laws —say, the anti-Lynching Bill—in order that these queer friends of hers may be mollified, then, according to all the old rules, that becomes our business and swings over into the realm of our prerogatives.

The anti-Lynching Bill may be forced on Congress during the present special session. In a fight of that kind, ladies, be they ever so self-assured and broad-minded, have no more call to trample people's rights than any ordinary men.

We trust Mis' Roosevelt, admirable as she is in so many departments of life, will have the good political judgment, if nothing else, to stay out of that fight if, as it now appears, it eventuates.

POLITICAL- 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

DEMOCRATIC -----MRS. ROOSEVELT

America's First Lady

Measured by the yardstick of being the wife of a president, the United States has had many "first ladies". They have held this exalted position by reasons incident to marriage, and the nation duly and properly honored them as the First Lady of the Land.

This nation today, has A Frst Lady in her own right, untarnished by the thought that she is anything other than the brilliant, scintillating, justice-loving personality America knows her to be. In her thought, notion and expression of democracy, Eleanor Roosevelt, America's First Lady, is to employ the language of another:

"As pure as the icicles which hung in the Temple of Diana and as chaste as the vestal virgins."

Democracy is an all-inclusive something, and the wife of Franklin D. Roosevelt has since the moment she entered the White House, been making it a platform from which she has not only spoken of, but practiced the conception of democracy in which she believes.

All who tuned in on the nationwide radio broadcast recently, when Mrs. Roosevelt presented the famous Spingarn Medal to Miss Marian Anderson could not help but feel that here is a woman who not only believes in making this nation a place where civil liberty and opportunity is an actuality, but who has the courage of her convictions.

It will be recalled that when Mrs. Roosevelt first entered the White House and began to use it as a sounding board, narrow-minded southerners immediately began to take advantage of her liberality, and in the usual manner sought to derail her activities in the gutter of ridicule. A one time when Mrs. Roosevelt was being escorted from a meeting where she had addressed a Negro audience, she was photographed stepping into her car, assisted by a youthful Negro cadet. This picture was scattered all over the Southland at the time the President ran for reelection.

Those who saw Mrs. Roosevelt stand, recently, for perhaps fifteen minutes while photographers, both black and white, flashed their cameras and made a score of pictures which were flooded over the nation realize that in Mrs. Roosevelt the nation has a First Lady who is not so much concerned about what other folk think, following consultation with her own conscience and standard of ethics.

And the important effect, resulting from Mrs. Roosevelt's attitude and courage rests in the fact that southerners now accept her approach to what we call America's race problem as a matter of course. The First Lady not only shows a keen understanding of what democracy means, but she is forcing her views upon America. We are sure that the governor of Virginia would not have been upon the platform but for the fact that America's First Lady set the pace. The governor came, confident in the fact that he could afford to step in the firm social tracks made by the wife of the President of the United States.

All over the Southland there are many fine, liberal-minded white southerners, who would like to take a more human attitude towards their black neighbors, but they hesitate to openly and publicly express their views fearing social ostracism and the contrary winds of prejudice. Mrs. Roosevelt's fine attitude and spirit is liberating these timid souls; she is liberalizing the social outlook of thousands who were born below the Mason and Dixon line.

We have often wondered, especially on such occasions as Lincoln's birthday, why those who offer lip service to the memory of the Great Emancipator cannot realize or conceive the cause of Lincoln's greatness. They praise the rail-splitter president, but somehow, someway, sotherners fail utterly to see that Lincoln would today belong to the forgotten crowd of his day had it not been for his peculiar notions about human freedom and his desire to help the "sparrows" of humanity.

On several occasions we have stood on the inside steps of the nation's capitol and look at the picture of Lincoln signing the immortal Emancipation Proclamation, and we have wondered why the representatives and senators who seek to re-enslave black folk, with present-day legislation cannot grasp the thought and vision of Lincoln. If what Lincoln is found doing in that picture made him immortal, what does the conduct of those who see to undo his task do for them?

Noble members of the white race like Lincoln and America's First Lady who have the fortitude and courage to battle against public sentiment of their period; who are willing to make social sacrifices in support of their ideals; who many times suffer mental, physical and financial setbacks in order that minority groups may have a better break in life offer the world God's pattern of real democracy, for after all Lincoln and Mrs. Roosevelt believe in that philosophy written in the Golden Rule:

". . . . whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them . . ."

She Sang Before Royalty

MRS. ROOSEVELT, carrying further her protest of the treatment of Marian Anderson, made the opportunity for the country's greatest contralto to sing before the King and Queen of England. Thus the colored group of America was represented in high cultural and artistic form before His Majesty and Her Royal Highness, King George and Queen Elizabeth.

From her they gained must knowledge of the talent and great possibilities possessed by the lowly race, which has commanded so much attention in the new world. They were swayed in the lilting and soothing, caressing tenderness of the great artist and beyond doubt carried with them the consonance of musical rendition that will follow them to their last days.

Mrs. Roosevelt does not belong to that group which takes pride in advertising its pride in its regimented illiteracy by going to the back washtubs and cook pots for somebody to say. "I sho is glad to see yah."

She presented for our representation the best the nation had in its shop and instead of the king and queen going away with the insulting vibrations of cracked dialect and of the opinion that the colored race is America's illiterate problem number one, they had the very highest from which to draw conclusions.

Those small pin head columnists who took cracks at Mrs. Roosevelt for this are those who glory in the style in which the Negro, regardless of his educational qualifications, is quoted in the language of Aunt Jemima advertising from every billboard in this country, to the tune of "MAMMY GONNA MAKE SOME MO' SHORTENIN' BREAD."

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Mrs. Roosevelt, due to the Roosevelt tradition put the best foot first. The group is indebted to this great woman for her gentleness, her fairness and determination to do something dignified at the strategic time sufficient to knock into a "cocked hat" the little pygmies who sought to wrong Marian Anderson and her group.

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If we had more citizens, both men and women in high places, who had the spirit of the First Lady it wouldn't be long before America would be a real land of the brave and free. Mrs. Roosevelt acted like a free woman in her contact with the people. She did not treat them as untouchables but addressed them as citizens. She is undoubtedly a woman living in advance of the prevailing thought of the people of her day. Long may the First Lady of the land live to continue her service to her fellow man.

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Troy, Ala., Messenger
September 23, 1939

MRS. ROOSEVELT COMMENTS ON VISIT TO POINTS IN ALABAMA—

Of interest to all Alabama citizens are the comments of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt on her recent visit to Auburn and Tuskegee in her syndicated newspaper column "My Day". Excerpts from the column follow:

"I think our Southern friends are among the most hospitable hosts that one can find anywhere in this country, but I sometimes wonder if they are as conscious of the passage of time as the rest of us. Last night we drove from Gadsden to Birmingham after my lecture. Nobody semed to be in any hurry to get off, in fact I wondered if I had made a mistake about the distance, for one of the ladies driving with us remarked 'Oh, we'll be home again soon after midnight."

"It was then nearly 11 o'clock and I thought we would not reach Birmingham until after midnight. As it turned out I was right. When I went to bed after packing everything for an early morning start, I thought of my poor hosts driving wearily homeward and not arriving at their destination until somewhere around 2 o'clock in the morning.

"I think the Alabama State Capitol is one of the loveliest state capitols I have seen. The approach up a long avenue is impressive. Over to the right is Jefferson Davis' home in which he and Mrs. Davis lived when he was President of the Confederacy. We stopped there, for I was very much interested in seeing the house and many of the historical pieces of furniture. The portrait of President Davis is very fine and shows a rare and sensitive spirit.

"After lunch with Senator and Mrs. Hill we went to the Alabama Polytechnic Institute beyond Tuskegee. This institution has profited greatly by the help given by the Federal government through PWA and should be able to meet much more adquately than ever before the needs of the young people in this area.

"From there we drove to Tuskegee Institute, a privately endowed ~~institution~~ for colored people established by Booker T. Washington. The State as well as private funds and individuals contribute to its support."

FIRST LADY HOPES U. S. CAN STAY OUT

Mrs. Roosevelt Speaks At Capital, Visits Auburn And Tuskegee

News

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(AP)—Hope was voiced here last night by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt that America may remain out of the European conflict, and she said: "No president ever by himself put the nation to war. Public opinion does that."

This was in answer to a question during a forum: "Can the president lead us into war?"

"Can the United States stay out of war?" the first lady asked, and replied: "All I can say is I hope so! But I haven't the faintest idea."

Mrs. Roosevelt lectured here under auspices of the Montgomery County Council of Parents and Teachers, discussing "Problems of Youth." The questioning, mostly about war, came at the end of her talk, when she turned the meeting into a forum.

Earlier yesterday, she visited Auburn and Tuskegee.

At Auburn, the college military unit drew up in formation on Bullard Field, and the women students, led by Miss Virginia Adams, West Point, Ga., brought flowers, to welcome the first lady. Mrs. Roosevelt, standing in the exact spot where the president addressed the student body last March 30, told the students: "I am indeed glad to see this remarkable institution."

She was accompanied to Auburn and Tuskegee by Senator and Mrs. Lister Hill, and Mrs. Frank Dixon wife of Alabama's governor.

Addressing 3,000 Negro students faculty members and townspeople in the chapel of Tuskegee Institute, world's largest institution of higher learning for Negroes, Mrs. Roosevelt referred to Booker T. Washington, institute founder, as one of the great men of our country and one who gained the respect of the great people of the world.

Later, in an interview at Montgomery, Mrs. Roosevelt said American women, as citizens, should "keep calm" during the European crisis, adding: "Women today are citizens, just like men are. The part of both in keeping us out of European conflict should be the same. We must keep calm, and we must check carefully all the information that comes to us. We must make our decisions thoughtfully—not emotionally." Mrs. Roosevelt spoke emotionally."

Mrs. Roosevelt spoke Wednesday night in Gadsden. She was en route today to Danville, Ky., and from there will return to Washington.

My Day: What Are the Goals Of Our Schools?

By Eleanor Roosevelt.

SEATTLE, Wash.—It certainly is fun to visit one's children. I found myself marveling at the strength of my youngest grandchild yesterday. He is the most friendly, happy baby I have seen in a long while. As he sat in his father's lap at breakfast this morning, I couldn't help noticing how alike the two heads are in shape, though I can't say I have ever been able to see close resemblances in features when a baby is only six months old. The older children are fascinated by him and when he grows up I suppose it will be hard to keep them from spoiling him.

Anna, Sistie and I took a walk yesterday afternoon with the two Irish setters. "Jack" never forgets me and greeted me warmly, but "Jill" is a fickle lady and took very little interest in my arrival, but she has no objection to be petted, which some will say is a woman's trait.

My trip out this time was very uneventful, though the rain and fog kept us two hours in Billings, Mont., which gave us a chance to go to a hotel. I had a bath at 5 a. m., and breakfast at the airport at about 6:30 mountain time, which was 5:30 Pacific time, and this meant I was very pleased when we sat down to lunch here in Seattle. I don't think one feels really weary until evening, but I have to own that I was practically falling asleep standing up when I finally went to bed at 9:30 p. m.

I hope that the October issue of the Survey Graphic will be read by everyone who can possibly get a copy. It deals with the schools of our country and tries to answer some of the questions which most of us have been asking ourselves these last few years. You cannot see a great deal of our young people without being concerned over what our system of education really accomplishes for them. In this October number are observations of 31 expert educators and journalists who try dispassionately to answer three questions with which we are all concerned.

1. What are goals of our schools? Are they meeting the tests of American education in the American way?

2. Are our children learning how to think for themselves as citizens of a democracy, or are they likely to fall in line behind a rabble rouser?

3. Can we cut across economic and racial barriers and really provide equal opportunities for education for every young man?

Some of us know, for instance, that approximately 200,000 children in the U. S. A. did not attend school last year because there either was no school owing to the poverty of their neighborhood, or they belonged to a family which was too poor to provide them with clothes and books, etc. We also know that because of economic conditions in certain parts of our country, the school year has been curtailed, in some cases only a few weeks, but in some cases several months.

It is true that some great men succeeded without schooling, but most of them somewhere along the line came in contact with a great teacher who pointed out the way whereby they might educate themselves. In many places we are giving little thought to the development of great teachers today. We think more about curtailing their salaries than we do about improving their qualifications. A really good teacher can never be paid, and they do not develop well on starvation wages.

POLITICAL- 1939 GENERAL
PARTY AFFILIATION

Dr. Emmett J. Scott

—Replies To—

Dean Kelly Miller

On Vital Political Issues

Text of a statement issued by Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Assistant Publicity Director of the Republican National Committee in charge of Negro Press activities follows:

FOR TWO SCORE years and more, he who ventured to enter a tournament to tilt lances with the redoubtable Dean Kelly Miller usually found himself in a contest which tried his mettle to the utmost. This observation is made before seeking to reply to his news release of the present week commenting upon my recent designation by Chairman John Hamilton as one of the Publicity directors and advisors here at Republican National Committee Headquarters. Defender 9-16-39

For more than 30 years, I have enjoyed Dean Miller's warm, personal and affectionate friendship. He is one of the most beloved of Howard University's myriad group of alumni, and is probably more affectionately regarded by the nearly 300 graduates who leave the institution each year than any individual who has ever been connected with the institution during the 72 years of its educational history.

He is also beloved by countless thousands of others, black and white, who admire his scholarship, his eloquence, and his manly and spirited defenses of his race.

He is probably our best known publicist and polemical writer. His sword has known no brother where the vital interests of his people were concerned.

For his kindly references to me personally, I make due acknowledgment, and express, with due humility, my grateful thanks. There can be no quarrel between us, as we clearly and frankly understand each other's position with respect to present day political conditions.

The New Deal challenges Dean Miller's unrivaled panagerics under all conditions and circumstances. None of the abuses, none of the brutaltarian tactics employed to humiliate unfortunate colored people in the administration of the NRA, AAA, FSA, USHA, FHA, Resettlement, The Wage and Hour Law, and other alphabetical agencies, have challenged, or aroused, his resentment, or criticism.

With all of his high praise, I cannot accept Dean Miller's dictum that, while I have remained loyal to the ideals and traditions of the Republican Party, "the majority of the most outstanding and influential members of the race have been enticed away from their political mooring by the allurement of the Democratic Party and the New Deal."

RACE REMAINS ON OUTSIDE

While it is true that a large number of colored men have been placed in executive relationship in Government agencies, it still remains true, in my opinion, that many of these men, as well as thousands and thousands of others, outside of public office, have not been slow to recognize the fact that, despite such dramatic gestures as have been made, the race, itself, taken as a whole, actually has remained relatively outside the limits of New Deal processes.

Whatever small gains have been made, have been more than overbalanced, swamped, as it were, by the inequities of administration.

The Second National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth unsparingly called attention to glaring discriminations and mischievous tendencies in the agencies.

In the case of one of them, the Conference noted "a tendency to use Federal funds for purposes of fixing residential patterns according to local prejudices, thereby establishing segregated areas and racial ghettos,"—reference being made to the Federal Housing Administration.

Many similar instances of glaring discrimination were pointed out. Particularly, failure to appoint Colored men to positions in administrative and policy-making bodies, where the greatest influence and wisdom are most necessary to safeguard minority rights.

KEPT OUT OF PRIVATE INDUSTRY

There has been no effort made to integrate Negroes into private industry. The great masses of Colored people still remain "reliefers" or "dolees." In the field of Relief Administration, the Second Conference on Negro Problems pointed out that "experience has shown that Relief Administrators in many states and municipalities either lack sympathetic understanding of the problems of minority groups, or as desirous of preventing Negroes from equitably sharing the benefits of relief programs."

I cannot bring myself to believe that Dean Miller, in his fulsome praise of New Deal activities, is in agreement with these discriminatory techniques.

I need not point out, of course, the most recent discriminatory action of the Secretary of War in refusing to set aside, sums of money to be made available that Negro Youth may take its proper place in the various armed services of the Government, at a time when the menace of war may be all but impending. Discrimination and segregation of Negro citizens in the armed forces of the government are still rampant.

Dean Miller places great reliance upon the "allurements" of the New difference is that I believe in the saving grace of the sanity of Negro Americans, and that they are subject to the same educational processes of democratic government as other citizens of the Republic.

In their evaluation of so-called New Deal "benefits," I believe Negro Americans are cultivating a long-range vision, and that they are just as much opposed to centralized administrative machinery for partisan purposes as other groups of forward-looking citizens. The chief "allurement" upon which the New Deal seems to be depending for Negro support is "relief."

RELIEF FOR NEEDY, NOT POLITICIANS

I believe that Negro Americans believe, and insist, that relief should be administered for the needy, and not for politicians as has been so largely true in the past. If the Negro people are to have a solid, industrial foundation they cannot accept a philosophy which accepts relief as a cure for unemployment.

Further, I cannot believe that a mere subsistence level is what Americans without regard to race, creed or color desire.

I insist that what Negro Americans need and desire are steady jobs with decent American wages. If these fail them, practically everything fails. Enlightened intelligence resents placid acceptance of relief as a necessary palliative for unemployment.

It certainly remains true, as of this date, that with all of the Billions spent during the last six and one-half years, the American economic machinery "has stalled on dead center," as the New Deal-dominated Monopoly Committee has recently pointed out.

So much then for argument, if argument be needed.

It is not necessary for me to characterize the failure of the New Deal Administration in so far as they relate to our Colored population. I certainly can use no stronger words than those of a leading newspaper, The Pittsburgh Courier, which supported the New Deal in the 1932 and 1936 elections. Apparently in deep disappointment and disgust, The Courier said:

FAILURE OF NEW DEAL SHOWN

"The New Deal has done little to end color discrimination but a great deal to prolong it. Beginning with the NRA it bowed to the will of the reactionary south both inside and outside the south. It had a wonderful opportunity to show America how the Negro ought to be treated, but it lost this opportunity through cowardice and political opportunism. Most Americans would have approved a Square Deal Policy, but instead the Southern tail wagged the Democratic dog. "For the Negro, the New Deal has been the Old Deal in new clothes. With powers almost as great as those of Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini, the Democratic Administration has winked at discrimination in NRA,

FHA, PWA, CCC, WPA, and a dozen other alphabetical set-ups. Worse, it has helped spread Jim-crowism over the country where it had never before existed, and Negro New Deal officeholders have approved of it by silence or hollow apology.

"Washington, D. C., is as Jim-crow as ever, if not more so, but no single word of criticism has come from Mr. Roosevelt. He has expressed shock over the beating of Jews abroad, but not over lynching of Negroes at home. Mr. Roosevelt could have at least deplored the fact that Negroes are pariahs with the shadow of the White House, but he preferred to make speeches condemning the dictators for doing the same thing to Jews, Catholics and others abroad.

"The President embarked enthusiastically upon an intra-party political campaign against Democrats refusing to endorse his New Deal politics, but evidently approves of Senators and Congressmen who endorse the Old Deal of Negro persecution. He has yet to voice any criticism of flagrant color discrimination in relief and other New Deal set-ups.

REMAINS SILENT ON JIM CROW

"The President has a wonderful opportunity to teach America an object lesson in fair play toward a loyal minority. If this was impractical in the North, East and West he could at least have said something. He chose to remain silent although supplied with documentary evidence of color discrimination in almost every New Deal set-up."

C. W. Rice, editor of the Negro Labor News, and president and manager of the Texas Negro Business and Laboring Men's Association, has just returned to his home after making a study of Negro labor conditions in practically all of the Southern States, and in many of the Northern and Eastern States. A summary of his findings follows:

"That Negroes, both in the North and in the South are disappointed with the New Deal. Economic and labor conditions are worse, fundamentally, than at any time since Emancipation. In the South, the New Deal crop control policy has thrown millions out of work, and evicted them from their cabins in the cotton fields, thereby causing privation and starvation, for which the Government provides only meager relief that barely holds body and soul together.

CITES COLOR BAR ON LABOR ACT

"Now comes the Labor Union Movement, under the National Labor Relations Act, which gives fifty-one percent of the workers in a given plant the right to form a union, which becomes the sole bargaining agency for all the workers in said plant. Most of the labor unions have the color bar and discriminatory practices against Negroes. The closed shop agreement with employers is causing the wholesale replacement of Negroes on practically all jobs, including railroads, cotton industries, cafes and hotels in all sections of the country.

HIRES A FEW, REPLACES OTHERS

"I find that in Government employment, even at Washington, Negroes are being replaced as messengers, elevator operators, janitors, etc. Aside from dole jobs (WPA), about the biggest thing New Dealers are doing for Negro employment is the hiring of some few Negroes in strategic positions to travel over the country and picture Utopias to the working class of Negroes, if they will only continue to be loyal to the New Deal.

"I am thoroughly convinced that the great majority of Negroes, even in the North, are disgusted with such promises, which have failed to materialize. They are realizing that industrial conditions are going from bad to worse."

With these words from a prominent newspaper that helped elect the New Deal, and from a leader of better labor conditions ringing in their ears, it rather occurs to me to say that thoughtful Colored Americans will keep in mind these strictures, and will, in my opinion, want to find their way back to a party of which it may be said, that, at least it has always stood for the basic principles of American democracy; and, that not a single discriminatory, repressive or disfranchising law; not a single Jim-crow law; not a single peonage law; not a single Government regulation setting up regional wage differentials, has ever been passed by any state dominated by Republican public opinion, or by any Republican administration at Washington.

ISSUES ARE VERY IMPORTANT

These things of which The Courier and Mr. Rice complain are of importance to us. They cannot be condoned, overlooked or forgotten. Our first concern must ever be for the preservation of the basic guarantees of our civil and political rights, our absolute equality before the law, and our right to fair consideration in all the pursuits of happiness.

It must still remain for the great masses of Colored voters to decide by their votes whether the guarantees written into the Federal Consitution by the Republican Party shall be preserved by that party, or whether they will support that ancient opposition party which has consistently sought to abrogate and destroy them.

In all I have written, it is as a citizen of the Republic, deeply and seriously concerned with ith Present and Future, particularly the welfare of Colored Americans, who love their country and its institutions, and wish its National economy preserved, and its destiny along progressive lines, assured, for what concerns the future of other Americans is of deep concern to them also.

EMMETT J. SCOTT

EXCLUSIVE

One-Party System Is Disliked in South

Gallup Finds Southerners Believe Two Strong Political Foes Would Aid Dixie, But They Don't Think Second Should Be Republican.

By DR. GEORGE GALLUP.

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion.

PRINCETON, N. J., Sept. 24.—When President Roosevelt toured the south on his famous "purge" campaign last year he was traveling through a section that has been traditionally Democratic in politics since before 1860.

It has been "the solid south" in so many elections that the few exceptions—in 1928 for instance—have only proved the rule.

But many southerners have begun to deplore the fact that the Democratic party can nearly always count on the south being "solid," and a majority of southern voters now believe that their section would be better off if it had two strong political parties rather than one.

Survey of South.

The fact is indicated in a survey of 13 southern states which has just been completed by the American Institute of Public Opinion. To a cross-section of the voting population in each of the southern states, from Virginia to Oklahoma, the Institute put the question: "Do you think the south would be better off if there were two political parties in the south, about equal in strength, instead of only one strong party as at present?"

The replies of the southerners were:

YES	**57%**
NO	**43%**

Southern Republicans, of course, were nearly unanimous in saying the south would be better off with two strong parties. But the survey uncovers the interesting fact that nearly half the southern Democrats (45%) regret the virtual one-party system below the Mason-Dixon line.

Their reasons become clear in the Institute's analysis of voter comments.

Chief Complaint.

The chief complaint of southerners who would like to see two strong parties is that "the rest of the Democratic party has begun to take the south for granted." This complaint has been heightened, the comments show, by the decision of the last Democratic national convention to cancel the "two-thirds rule" by which the south exercised a powerful veto, in practice, over the choice of national party candidates.

Others commented merely that a two-party system would mean a wider choice of candidates and consequently "better men" elected to office.

Not Going Republican.

While the sentiment revealed in today's survey may be an important political omen for the future, there is no question at the present time of rank-and-file southern voters embracing the Republican party.

Time and again southern voters qualified their opinions by saying: **"We need two strong parties, but the second party couldn't be the Republican party. It would have to have a different label down here."**

On the important question: "Which party would you like to see win the presidential election in 1940?" moreover, southerners have consistently been strongly pro-Democrat in Institute tests. In the latest survey on the question 73 per cent said they favored a Democratic victory; 27 per cent a Republican.

For political leaders of both parties, however, the underlying sentiment revealed today will be something that will bear watching.

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RESPONSIBILITY VS. "HANDPICKING"

The hullaballoo about the "handpicking" of a National democratic committeeman to succeed Judge Leon McCord, resigned, is bogus, and The Advertiser feels confident that the state democratic executive committee will so regard it and proceed to discharge its plain duty to the party by naming a committeeman without batting an eye nor yet by looking either to the right or the left.

Advertiser

There is a vacancy in this honorary office that must be filled and filled at the earliest convenient moment. The natural lawful and proper course for the state democratic executive committee to follow is to assume the responsibility of filling the vacancy, temporarily, and to discharge that responsibility without apology.

1-25-39

Only two counter suggestions have been made—first that a special Democratic election be called to name a committeeman, second that a ticket be submitted to the people along with any constitutional amendments that may go to Alabamians this year.

Both suggestions are absurd on their faces. In the first place there is no money with which to pay the heavy cost of a special party election, and everybody knows it; in the second place all of the citizens of Alabama are not Democrats — there are some 40,000 Republican voters, some Socialist voters and even a few Communist voters, and maybe voters that are pledged to other parties. Constitutional amendments are acted on by all of the people, regardless of party affiliation. It is not customary anywhere, least of all in Alabama, to invite Republicans to participate in the selection of Democratic party officers, nor for Republicans to ask Democrats to participate in the selection of Republican party officers. Neither party cares to meddle with the internal affairs of the other.

The Democracy of Alabama needs a national committeeman NOW and The Advertiser hopes and believes that the state executive committee will have the courage to do without hesitation what its sense must tell it that it should do, namely, elect a committeeman!

In the spring primary next year provision will be made for the election of a committeeman for a four-year term. There will be no statewide Democratic primary in 1939 otherwise as a matter of course candidates for committeeman should go before their fellow Democrats in a free-for-all. This year there will be elections called to pass on proposed constitutional amendments, but it is nonsense to say that a private party matter should be referred to voters in all parties. The proposal is unthinkable.

The governor of Alabama may appoint a United States senator to serve until a special election can be held; the governor can appoint judges of all state and county courts to fill unexpired terms without regard to special elections to fill vacancies. He can appoint a chief justice, an associate justice, a president of the court of appeals or an associate justice of the court of appeals, he can appoint any constitutional officer except lieutenant-governor, and of course any statutory officer, he can appoint any constitutional county officer—in fact under the law, he must appoint to fill these vacancies.

Surely the state democratic executive committee, representing all of the counties and districts of Alabama may venture to elect a Democratic national committeeman to serve a year in the absence of other accepted provision for filling the vacancy.

The Democratic national committeeman ordinarily is a weighty man in party councils; his work is important, but it is purely honorary and patriotic. The national committeeman does not even receive car fare when traveling, there is no fund to buy his 1-cent postal cards, none to pay his secretary's salary, none to pay for steaks and highballs. He is not even allowed a sales tax token. Ordinarily the position goes to a party worker of prestige, experience and private means. Leon McCord is the only poor boy the Democracy of Alabama ever retained as its national committeeman.

The national committee does not name nominees for President, it does not adopt party policies and principles, yet the committee, as heretofore suggested, is influential, but it is influential largely because its members have unusual political intelligence. They have little authority, but they are not wanting in sense.

But members of a Democratic executive committee, in The Advertiser's opinion — and The Advertiser is opposed on principle to "handpicking"—are quite capable of filling vacancies, especially in emergencies.

The Alabama Press

SOUTH NEEDS A DIVORCE

The proposal that the South divorce itself from both parties and form an "independent Southern national party," that could coldly bargain for what it wants sounds too good to be true. In fact, it cannot be true for some time—but the day is coming when we will wake up and realize that a "solid South" leaves us open to any form of discrimination. The Republicans won't do anything for us because they know they can't get us, and the Democrats won't do much for us because they know they have got us. Bum English, perhaps, but it is a sad fact.—Brundidge Sentinel.

Birmingham, Ala. Post
January 12, 1939

Johnson

Political Unity Can't Be Obtained By Threats

By Hugh S. Johnson

NEW YORK CITY, Jan. 11.—To the gentle art of political name-calling the President's Jackson Day speech added two new records. A Republican who does not agree with him is a tweedledum. A disagreeing Democrat is a tweedledee and he is invited to get the hell out of the Democratic Party and join the Republican or Tweedledum-Tweedledee Party.

The whole speech was much milder than usual and surely a Democrat who disagrees if he has to be called anything would rather be called a tweedledee than Southern feudalist. It was milder but the theme is the same. If a Democrat doesn't agree with the boss on everything from "making America over" to horning into the world's war madness, he is no liberal, no Democrat and his place is in the doghouse in the outer dark.

* * *

Disorganized Mob

In the Jackson Day speech we were told to agree if we expect to save America from the Liberty League. In the state-of-the nation speech we were told to agree if we want to save America from Hitler and Mussolini.

There are lots of people who would prefer to agree when they think the boss is right and disagree in the contrary sense. There are many who think they were Democrats long before the strange and distinctly non-Democratic theories of extravagance, centralization of Federal power, unbalanced budgets and class-struggle were heard of as Democratic doctrine and certainly long before such Republicans or Socialists or neutrals as Ickes, Wallace, Hopkins, Perkins, Corcoran, Cohen and Eccles were known as Democratic leaders.

The truth, fortunately or unfortunately, is that while the G. O. P. always used to have a pretty fair party discipline and regularity, the Democrats never have had either for very long. As one loyal life-long but realistic Democrat many years ago put it, "The Democrats have always been a disorganized mob and the Republicans an organized appetite."

* * *

Ready-Made Policies

Dough and danger whipped the Democrats pretty well into line in the perilous days of the depression and up to the last Congress. Then some of them rebelled at being whipped into line on policies which were the very negation of democracy. For part of the disunion of which the President complains, he has his own policies to blame—exclusively.

Such were the attempts to weld into one party on a complete revolution in party doctrine such opposed interests as the Solid South and the Northern Negroes, mid-Western agriculture and the more radical elements in the labor movement, "states rights," Democrats and totalitarian Socialists or even Communists. If you put a cat and terrier into the same pen, you may have an interesting and exciting experience but unity is a little too much to expect.

Neither in the Democratic Party nor in the nation can politcal unity be obtained by threats, whether of an unlikely military assault or that the Liberty League will get you if you dare to think. The leader of that party and of the nation would get more unity if he would let more policies develop within the party or the people instead of handing them down so many ready-made from the top.

WHAT IS DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT?

The Atlanta Constitution asked this question a few day go. "What is this democracy?" If the Constitution ha eference to our form of Government: We answer, that th Jnited States of America, is a democracy, but if our esteeme contemporary, has reference to the practice of our Government ve answer, we have a dectatorship, just the opposite of democ acy. Webster defines democracy to be, "a government for th people, of the people and by the people, government where th sovereign power, is lodged directly in all the people, or indi rectly in representativess, chosen by all the people at stated imes."

The Constitution in answering its own question sensibly remarks: "We have, many of us, failed to understand the real meaning of democracy, we have merely announced from the housetops that it is our political faith without searching ing our own hearts to know whether we accept it as a national creed. We have not realized, as the fathers of the Nation real ized, that democracy is something alive, something for which we should, at all time, be prepared to sacrifice to the utmost, and something which must be a constant part of each individ uals's daily life."

The American white man mistakes loyalty to his race or cause for democracy, never taking time to think through the principles of popular government to the individual, which would lead him to see, and to know, that democracy means equality among all people, living under the same form of government; and that democratic government is the direct opposite of class and autocratic government. Wherever a part of the people rule the government, to the exclusion of the other part of the people, that government violates every principle and sentiment of constitutional democracy. When the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution were ordained and promulgated, the founders of the Republic, had only white folks in their minds, and no thought of the Negro, though he helped the white man to win the Revolutionary War, and gave the first blood on Boston commons for American independence.

It never occurred to the white man that the Negro was a part of American democracy, until Abraham Lincoln brought the thought in his race for United States Senator against Steve A. Douglas in Illinois. Lincoln accomplished his purpose un der God, and placed the Negro in the picture, at great cost and sacrifice in human blood and money. But the American Govern ment has not accepted Lincoln's political faith in the full spiri of democracy; knowing well, that if we do not accept it, in full faith and equality, before the law, our democracy mus die, and perish from the face of the earth. In theory the Negr has been accepted by the white man as a part of our democracy but in practice, he has been denied equal protection and benefit under the law; denied a voice and vote in making and enforc ing the laws by intimidation and the one organized effort o American democracy, has been to put the Negro out of the picture industrially, economically and politically.

Our esteemed contemporary in its further discussion of democracy, says: "Democracy must remember that the present Fascist states of Europe abandoned their own democracy only after it had failed to solve their pressing problems. Perhaps contributing factors made it impossible for democracy to work, for them. Perhaps they were not ready as nations, for its high ideals. But this country knows and understands, better, what democracy is, and what loss is involved in its downfall. Yet, even here, it is essential that we make democracy work, that we so direct it that it can provide the solution for our troubles."

"And, by the very essence of this democracy, the responsibility for making it work is an individual responsibility, a duty that comes directly home to each of us. It will not live of itself. Neglected it will die.

We, as individuals, must cherish the dream, not realized, of successful democracy. We must make the dream more nearly true, by wiping out of our own hearts those cancers of indifference, or greed, or prejudice and hate, which, if unchecked, must some day end the dream in disillusionment."

The immaculate utopia in government will come, that the Constitution writes about, when we have real democracy. The kind of democracy the Constitution pleads for in theory, and opposes in practice. When Christian statesmen directs the affairs of the public under God the Constitution and its amendments; the millennium will come. Freedom and democracy are individual questions to be decided by each person for himself, and no government is democratic that sets up a different or class privileges and opportunities for its citizens. All rights, privileges and opportunities must be the common heritage of all in a democracy. It matters not how exalted, or how lowly the individual may be.

—Union-Review.

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Richmond. Va., Times-Dispatch
May 7, 1939

Garner and the Negro

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—Vice-President Garner is the first genuine Southerner to be seriously considered for the presidency since the War Between the States. That titantic struggle so deeply shunted the South from the prevailing national current that no Southern man has been regarded as eligible for the presidency for the last three-quarters of a century.

Woodrow Wilson was born in Virginia, but served as president of a great Northern college and as Governor of the State of New Jersey preliminary to his becoming President. During this probationary period he is supposed to have become nationally minded and freed from the provincial Southern spirit.

When Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas was chosen as a running mate of Al Smith, in 1928, the Negroes of the country were greatly upset for fear of the invasion of race prejudice. Politicians searched his congressional record, extending through the previous 23 years, for evidence of unfriendly attitude and unfavorable vote on the race question. But the most painstaking search was unrewarded with tangible results. Similarly, when John Nance Garner was nominated on the ticket with Franklin D. Roosevelt, in 1932, his record was searched for unfriendly attitude with similar results.

The political attitudes of the North and South on the race question have gravitated toward a common level. The New Deal has baptized the North, the South and the Negro with a few economic, political and social spirit. The section from which a candidate hails no longer constitutes the test of his eligibility or fitness for either end of the national ticket.

When Mr. Garner entered Congress from Uvalde, Texas, in 1905, there could hardly be found in all Congress more unlikely presidential timber. During the past 34 years he has made most remarkable progress in statesmanship and in national understanding. The parliamentary wisdom and balanced judgment which he has manifested during the past eight years proves him to be a man of willing spirit and capable mind for the highest national task. He is undoubtedly the leading conservative Democrat in the country and represents the conservative mind of the normal Republican as well as of the anti-New Deal Democrat.

All of this is hypothecized upon the proposition that President Roosevelt does not "choose to run" for a third term and will not permit himself to be commandeered by the imperative logic of events. Unless the chief executive positively and categorically forbids the use of his name, it will be wholly futile for any other Democrat to stand for the nomination, or for any Republican to hope for election in 1940.

When Mr. Garner first ran for the vice-presidency, in 1932, he was so deferential to the North wing of the Democratic Party that he was satisfied to have "the South receive a ham whenever the North got a hog." It is a far cry from that state of deference to his present-day attitude, which embodies the conservative temperament of both North and South.

I remember having an interview with Mr. Garner, who had then been elected vice-president but was still acting as Speaker of the House. The purpose of my interview was to solicit his good offices in helping to secure the appropriation for the heating plant of Howard University, which Congressman De Priest's parliamentary ingenuity had made possible.

Mr. Garner entertained me most genially and we talked for some time over the general situation. He reviewed his past record of 28 years in Congress, during which time he had never cast a single vote or uttered a world unfriendly to the interest of the Negro race, and expressed his conviction that the Negro should have every right of any other American citizen, leaving out of the discussion purely social intimacies, which fall outside of the political equation.

He stated that, in the long run, the Negro was making a mistake in asking for special consideration of any kind and that he had best cast his lot in with the general average of American citizenship. According to his view, the Negro's lot normally should be cast with the Democratic Party, which stood for the welfare of the common man as contrasted with the Republican Party advocacy of special privilege. He finally assured me that although, as speaker, it was not his custom to interfere in measures before the House, he felt confident that the university would secure the appropriation, which it did.

From that time I have followed Vice-President Garner's career with interest and have found nothing from a sectional or racial point of view to disqualify him for the exalted office of the presidency. If President Roosevelt is not to be the candidate, John N. Garner's name looms large among the presidential possibilities of 1940.

KELLY MILLER.

Washington, D. C.

Lexington, S. C. Dispatch-News
July 13, 1939

WOULD CAUSE UPRISING

If a Republican occupied the White House and he and his family were as thick with the negroes as the present occupants the South would raise cain, but due to a false sense of loyalty men in high postions and newspapers keep quiet. The time will come when they will be ashamed of their silence.
—Carolina Free Press.

THIRD TERM TALK

A DEFINITE CAMPAIGN is underway to build up sentiment for a third term for President Roosevelt. The argument is that he is the only "liberal" in the Democratic party who can win that it is essential that a "liberal" be elected in 1940 to preserve the gains made during the past two terms. By inference it is suggested that the nomination of John N. Garner or any conservative Democrat would be just too bad for the party and country at large.

The result is that a split is likely to develop within the party that may give the Republicans a chance for recapturing the White House and both branches of the Legislature.

The argument that no one is quite so wise, or so liberal or so capable of leading the people as is the present leader would sound better coming from a dictator like Hitler or Mussolini than it does coming from the head of a democratic government, or his chief satellites. The theory of the two-term limit to the Presidency was that there would always be another equally capable in carrying on the government, and to permit a President to remain in office too long would tempt him to build up so strong a personal machine that it would be next to impossible to oust him.

If Mr. Roosevelt is contemplating a third term it seems that he has little regard for tradition, and less for the welfare of the party through whose machinery he was able to rise to a position of supreme power. He would be well advised to publicly announce at this time that he is not a candidate for a third term and thus put an end to the "Third Term" clubs being organized about the country.

His silence in the matter would indicate that he intends to run again and that those now working for his re-nomination are doing so with his full knowledge and consent.

GARNER VERSUS BLACK

Perturbed by the Garner-for-President boom launched by the Southern conservative bloc of the Democratic Party, New Deal insiders have started a boom for Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black as Vice-President representing the New Deal and Southern "Liberalism," possibly to run with President Roosevelt.

These New Deal insiders are arguing that a Southern "Liberal" is needed to offset the boom for Garner and hold the Solid South when President Roosevelt or someone of his choosing is nominated for the Presidency.

They are also arguing that Black's former membership in the Ku Klux Klan has been offset by his staunch espousal of New Deal measures in both the Senate and the Supreme Court, and that this will win him the Labor and Negro vote.

We believe the Democratic Party will make a serious mistake if it chooses either Vice President Garner or Supreme Court Justice Black to head its ticket in 1940 in the hope of attracting the strategically important Negro vote.

American Negroes do not trust either reactionary politicians like Garner or former Klansmen like Black.

In his lifetime at the political trough, Garner has neither said nor done anything to merit the Negro vote.

As for Justice Black, all his "liberal" record cannot wipe out the fact that he did join the Ku Klux Klan and did accept its political support; and once a Klansman, always a Klansman.

So far as we know, neither of these politicians has ever favored an anti-lynching law or ever spoken out against the economic, educational and political discrimination Negroes suffer in the South.

If the Democrats are eager to hold the Negro vote, they will have to select men to head their ticket whom Negro voters can trust.

New York,

6-17-39

1940 Worries Black Cabinet Still With F.D.R.

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown, goes the old saying, and the crown princes and princesses of the New Deal are reported uneasy.

If someone could peer into the future and reveal the secrets of 1940—tell the boys and girls who is going to win the election, whether Democrat or Republican will grace the White House in 1940—he could make for himself a fortune comparable to the fabulous princes of the Arabian Nights.

For 1940 has them worried, all along the line—from the highest to the very lowest—and no great help to the brethren was the Hatch bill.

In fact, at a recent meeting, the "Black Cabinet" experienced one of its most unusual and dull events. There were those who assumed a "save my job" attitude when asked where they stood in the matter of "fighting for the cause" as it were.

Dire forebodings overcast the entire group, with one outspoken gentleman neatly evading the issue confronting the master minds by referring not too gently to the provisions of the Hatch bill as the saving grace.

Another, not so fearful of the results of the election, blew up and read the riot act and let it be generally known that fear was not included in the vocabulary of that member.

And so on into the night, with Mrs. Bethune still pledging her allegiance to Roosevelt and his policies, despite the annoyance of a reputed replacement in the form of a former Bostonian, which is said to have completely upset all plans; others half heartedly going along with her in her determination to stand by Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Withal, the entire group has a definite fear that the untoward attitudes they are assuming will get into the public prints. And for that reason, they bar newspapermen and women at their closed conferences—but in parlance of the underworld, "the heat definitely is on" and members of the "Black Cabinet," who have held their positions through the Roosevelt regime—some with distinction, others with less distinction—are looking with fear and trepidation, "viewing with alarm" as it were, the fateful year of 1940.

Rallying the fallen or rather crestfallen and half-hearted support of the various heads of departments will be a terrible job and whoever is responsible to Mr. Farley, generalissimo of the Roosevelt forces, will find him or herself in a spot when the day of reckoning comes.

POLL TAX DISFRANCHISEMENT

Eight states have in force laws which require the payment of poll taxes as a condition to voting in local and national elections. They are Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Texas, all of them in the south. Through the operation of the poll tax statutes thousands of the adult population in each of the eight states are disfranchised. The laws hit both white and colored low-income families, who are unable to raise and to spare from their meagre earnings the necessary amount of money to meet the requirement for registration and voting. The effect is to restrict the right of suffrage to the well-to-do upper and middle classes who are able to pay.

In an attack upon this restriction, Congressman Leo E. Geyer of California introduced a bill which would outlaw the poll tax in Federal elections. In effect it is an amendment to the Corrupt Practices Act. It is sponsored by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and was introduced at the request of that organization of progressives. If the bill is enacted, the law would make it "unlawful for any person, whether or not acting under the authority of the laws of a state or sub-division thereof, to require the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting or registering to vote, at any election for a President or Vice President or presidential elector or Senate or member of the House of Representatives of the United States." Progressives are vigorously pushing for the enactment of Congressman Geyer's amendment. They point out that as matters now stand the "poll tax is frequently paid for whole blocks of voters by unscrupulous politicians and thus furthers corrupt elections."

Spurring action for the bill's passage is the notorious fact that it was the Southern Congressmen, led by Representative Eugene Cox of Georgia and Howard W. Smith of Virginia, who were chiefly responsible for the sabotage of New Deal measures. Leaders of the progressive and liberal forces argue that the abolition of poll tax laws "holds the only hope for liberalism." The poll tax system "makes it possible for the Coxes and Smiths to be elected year after year, despite their anti-labor and anti-liberal records."

No Longer a "Solid South"

The "moonlight-and-magnolia" tradition of our South, thinks The New York Times, has been debunked during recent years. This is a view held by Prof. Avery A. Craven, of the University of Chicago. He holds (1) that the South was never ruled by a slave-holding aristocracy; (2) that no more than 20 per cent of its population ever had even a remote connection with slavery; (3) that relations between the white and colored races are not peculiarly a Southern problem, and that more discrimination against the Negro is shown in the laws of some Northern states than in any Southern state; and (4) that persons have frozen to death in all but two of the states of the "sunny South."

An even more important point, thinks The Times, is that in the sense of a block of population, all feeling and acting alike, there is no South, although there are differences of dialect, of customs and of cooking among the Southern states quite as wide as those between any Southern state and any Northern state.

The Southern States, contends The Times, "have not even a common economic status. But poverty, especially agricultural poverty, is no doubt their most widespread problem."

The "solid South" tradition goes back to the Reconstruction era. It was the Thad Stevens of that era who solidified the South against the Republican party. They failed to oust Andrew Johnson from the presidency, but they controlled Congress and enacted most hostilely oppressive laws against the Southern people, while they seized and prostituted the governments of Southern states, law or no law. It was thus that the very word "Republican" became anathema to Southerners. For generations they fought the Republican party regardless of whatever might have been its professed principles or actions. Until after the Great War the South was always solid against the Republicans in national elections simply because they were Republicans.

Some senseless prejudice against Republicans still ingers in the South; but the average Southerner no longer casts his vote against a man merely because he is a Republican. The Southern people have outgrown their subserviency to the Democratic party simply because it opposes the Republican party, just as the Negroes have outgrown their subserviency to the Republican party because Abraham Lincoln was a Republican.

And, best of all, the South is fast coming to realize that its handicap is not political but economic, and is beginning to exert itself to free its people from the conditions which have blighted so many of them with the bondage of poverty and ignorance.—Louisville Courier-Journal.

Mrs. Bethune Policy on Delegations In South Hit by Landon

Atlanta-Dispatch

ATLANTA, (AP)—Alfred M. Landon, titular leader of the Republican Party, is opposed to Republicans weighing down their Southern delegations to national conventions with Negroes, the Atlanta Constitution says in a copyrighted dispatch from Washington.

The dispatch, written by the paper's executive editor, Ralph McGill, quotes the former presidential candidate as saying:

"The real trouble with the Republican Party in the South was not the War Between the States, nor was it the tragic period of Reconstruction. The trouble was the fatal error of the Republican Party in believing that it had paid off its obligations to the Negroes of the North by appointing Negro delegates to the convention from the Southern States."

A two-party system, Landon was quoted, "would be the finest thing which could happen to the South" and would assure better government in both local and national affairs.

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GENERAL

The Negro and Future Politics

THE NEGRO IN REALITY

As the political atmosphere changes and attention is being focused upon the 1940 election the Negro vote looms as one of the major issues. Already political soothsayers and commentators are making predictions as to how the Negroes will vote in 1940. This editorial is not an attempt to make any predictions either pro or con, but an attempt to state briefly some of the interesting developments and facts about the Negro voter.

The Negro's plight of progress has attracted national attention, and today he is not a mere possibility, but a reality in the economic, political, social and spiritual life of this nation.

Plain Dealer
2-24-39

SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

No longer are the leaders of our group halted between what is known as the Booker T. Washington and Dubois schools of thought. The leaders realize that there are twelve million Negros in America, and that it is foolish to idle away the time debating whether it would have been better for the race to follow the course of industrial education or acquire social and economic independence through politics. Our political system functions through two major organizations. Negroes are members of both of these organizations. Since the Emancipation Proclamation until recent years the Negro was a member of one organization, the Republican party. Today he is identified with both the Republican and Democratic parties. There are some who advocate that the Negro is a Republican at heart and it is impossible for him to be otherwise. However, the fact remains that the Negro race is divided on our political system, and it looks like we will be divided for a long time just as other races are on partisan politics. In recent years the Negro has learned the benefits of organization. And under the Democratic administration accomplished a great deal for the race in patronage, observation and general advancement. The advancement made under the present administration can be continued and perhaps greatly increased under the Republicans, if the Negro Republican leaders play the game of politics jam up

REPUBLICAN STRENGTH

The history making records of the Republicans in the November election points to the possibility of a come back in 1940. Without a doubt the Democratic administration is losing its popularity and the tide is turning. In the last election the Republican party had an increase in the House of from 89 to 170, and gained eight new seats in the Senate. The present administration is feeling the come back efforts of the Republican party as a result of the election in several important states, among which were Idaho, Kansas, Colorado, Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, South Dakota and Wyoming. These states repudiated the present administration by electing Republican Governers with the aid of Negro voters.

NEGRO STRENGTH

Political leaders differ as to the reason why Negroes left the Republican folds. Most Republican leaders of the white race claim that the major reason that thousands of Negroes joined the Democratic party was for their meat and bread. Granting that this is partly true, the Negroes have come into the Democratic party and the big question is what are they going to do in 1940. Smart political leaders of both organizations are cognizant of the fact that there is great strength in the Negro vote, and that it is dangerous to play around on a fabulous theory that the Negro is a Republican at heart, and that as soon as the Democrats stop giving them bread and meat they will be like the chickens, "Come home to roost." It would be worth while for all leaders to interest themselves in the Negro population in some of the key states, and especially in those that showed a Republican trend in the November elections. In the following states, the Negro population is reported as follows: Massachusetts, 52,365; Pennsylvania, 431,257; Wisconsin, 10,739; Kansas, 66,344; Ohio, 309,304; Michigan, 169,453; Missouri, 223,840; New York, 412,814; Illinois, 328,972; Maryland, 276,379; Indiana, 111,982; New Jersey, 208,828 and California, 81,048.

It is a bit unfair, in our opinion, to call the Negro a "Leap Frog" voter just because he left the Republican party, because thousands of good white Republicans also leaped when the Democratic Administration handed them some bread and meat. Also there are other reasons why the Negroes left the Republican party, and it would be very unwise for Republican leaders to pass that over lightly in the building program for 1940. It is a well established fact that the present day Negro looks upon political organizations as a big business proposition as well as something offering a policy and principles to guide people in their thinking and conduct. It would be foolish to think that the Negro voters will leap back to the Republican party on the theory that "A Negro is a Republican at heart." Under the Democratic administration the Negro has gotten some of the things that he fought for many years under the Republicans. And today as never before the Negro realizes that he must solve his problems of poverty, education, wages and hours, economics, housing, health, leisure time activities and religion by considering himself as a minority group faced with the same problems as other groups. Our problems become more complex as we advance, and we find that we must continue to make adjustment to the problems as they present themselves. Years ago when there were certain types of labor granted as Negro jobs we did not have to worry about where we were going to earn our bread. But today we have entered the arena of economics, government, science, business, industry, art and many other intelligent modes of living, and now we are faced with keen competition with other minority groups. So it is but natural that the leaders of our group look upon our political systems more than a mere sentimental relationship that was brought about because of something in the past. Our leaders realize that they have a great task in shaping and molding sentiment that is for the best interest of our group and their relationship to the Government. The great challenge today to both of our political systems is whether the Republican party will retain the good that the Democratic party has given to Negroes and discard the bad and liberalize its policies enough to give a minority group an equitable share of labor, patronage and protection as citizens, or whether the Democrats will keep the gains they have already set and improve upon that.

The Negro and Future Politics

THE NEGRO IN REALITY

As the political atmosphere changes and attention is being focused upon the 1940 election the Negro vote looms as one of the major issues. Already political soothsayers and commentators are making predictions as to how the Negroes will vote in 1940. This editorial is not an attempt to make any predictions eitner pro or con, but an attempt to state briefly some of the interesting developments and facts about the Negro voter.

The Negro's plight of progress has attracted national attention, and today he is not a mere possibility, but a reality in the economic, political, social and spiritual life of this nation.

Plain Dealer
2-24-39

SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

Kansas City Kansan

No longer are the leaders of our group halted between what is known as the Booker T. Washington and Dubois schools of thought. The leaders realize that there are twelve million Negros in America, and that it is foolish to idle away the time debating whether it would have been better for the race to follow the course of industrial education or acquire social and economic independence through politics. Our political system functions through two major organizations. Negroes are members of both of these organizations. Since the Emancipation Proclamation until recent years the Negro was a member of one organization, the Republican party. Today he is identified with both the Republican and Democratic parties. There are some who advocate that the Negro is a Republican at heart and it is impossible for him to be otherwise. However, the fact remains that the Negro race is divided on our political system, and it looks like we will be divided for a long time just as other races are on partisan politics. In recent years the Negro has learned the benefits of organization. And under the Democratic administration accomplished a great deal for the race in patronage, observation and general advancement. The advancement made under the present administration can be continued and perhaps greatly increased under the Republicans, if the Negro Republican leaders play the game of politics jam up

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DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Dr. Bunche to Delve Into Phenomina of Recent Shifts Of Negro In Past Elections

Noted Scholar Gets Unique Research Job of Analyzing Suffrage Movement

Minority Group Strategy To Be Studied

CHICAGO.—(ANP)—What are the basic political attitudes and thinking of the American Negro today? What are the reasons for his swing from one party to another? How can the political, social and economic needs and desires of the group best be realized and furthered? Given new understanding of racial thinking and psychology, how may the Republican party proceed to prove to a larger share of the race which once was its most faithful ally, that its programs and policies will better serve the group than that of the Democratic New Deal? These are but a few of the interesting questions which Dr. Ralph Bunche, noted authority on political science, doubtless will be turning over in his mind during the next few months and years.

Announcement of the engagement of Dr. Ralph Bunche, chairman of the political science department of Howard university, to make an objective study of the relation of the Republican party's national policy to the problems of the American Negro was made here by Glenn Frank, chairman of the Republican Program committee.

Dr. Bunche's study will be part of the process through which the Program committee is formulating its recommendations to the Republican National Committee. Dr. Bunche is a competent scholar in politics, economics and race relations. A graduate of the University of California and Harvard Ph. D., he has been on the faculty of Howard for many years. He has recently returned from South Africa where, on a Rockefeller fellowship, he has been studying race relations and colonial administration.

Dr. Bunche himself has never had active affiliation with any political party. His study will be as objective and impersonal as that of any great university scholar selected to report upon a given field. His connection with the Program committee may be most clearly explained in his own words accepting the appointment:

"As a Negro and therefore a member of a disadvantaged minority group in this country, I am actively interested in any measures or policies leading toward an amelioration of the problems of my group. Moreover, as a member of the faculty of a university which receives a considerable support from the public revenues, I feel obligated to perform whatever service of a public nature it is within the range of my ability and training to do.

"For these reasons, and because I believe that the procedure you are following is sound, constructive and honestly designed to be of aid to the Negro people, I am willing to assume responsibility for the drafting of a report setting forth the peculiar relationship and needs of the Negro to the general memoranda now completed or in preparation by your committee. I appreciate, of course, that there is no obligation on your part to adhere to the suggestions or recommendations set forth in the report that I am to draft."

Who heads the Political Science department at Howard university, has been selected by the Republican Program committee to make an expert study of the relation of America's national policiew to the problems of the Negho. Dr. Bunch is a graduate of the University of California and Ph. D. from Howard, is outstanding in the field of political affairs. He recently has returned from Africa where he made an exhaustive study of colonial administration. Last week he received the $500 Anisfield award toward publishing a book on race relations.

Political Research

DR. RALPH BUNCHE

Experts associated with the Program committee are studying every phase of American life with a view to developing an effective program to be presented to the Republican party.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
June 8, 1939

An Upcountry Voice

Ben Robertson, writer, who lives at Clemson College, addressed the "Advertising club," of Atlanta, last week and said something. He said that the South should have two political parties, and, speaking as a Democrat by inheritance, habit and tradition, he declared that "he would like to see a strong Republican party in the central Southern states." He "would like to see the South predominantly Democratic but would like to see the time come when there would be so many Southern Republicans that we all would have to fight."

To The News and Courier no good reason appears that Democrats of South Carolina "turn Republican", but every good reason is present that persons convinced that the Roosevelt party is not Democratic, who, like Senator Byrnes, see it a party "controlled by negroes", should be independent of it. To hold on to the white primary for selection of state and county offices is entirely practicable. The Democratic primaries are not "Democratic", they are an arrangement by which white voters of all shades of opinion choose local and state officers.

These are expressions taken from Mr. Robertson's address:

"The Democratic party is neither fish nor fowl in the present political set-up of the United States. . .

"We (Southerners) have lost our position within our own party. The Democratic party in the North has grown so strong that the Southern branch can no longer bargain with it. . . . The Republicans have lost so much ground in the North that they now need bargaining power and the South is in position to bargain with it.

"I do not see why a Republican Georgia could not pull with a Republican Pennsylvania as easily as a Democratic Georgia with the present Democratic Pennsylvania. . ." (A Democratic Georgia pulling with a Democratic Pennsylvania is harnessed with Senator "Joe" Guffey's colored lieutenants, isn't it?)

"I believe we ought to encourage the young folks to study the possibilities of becoming Republicans. . . . They would get along more quickly as Republicans than as Democrats."

Ben Robertson lives in a Piedmont county of overwhelming white population. (In South Carolina the whites outnumbered the negroes more than 150,000 in 1930 and it is not improbable that the census next year will disclose the white majority at 200,000. The Roosevelt administration has made the North, especially the cities, most inviting to the Southern negroes, in which it is assisted by its ally, Labor's Non-partisan League, the political machine of the C. I. O.) For the people living in Anderson, Oconee, Pickens, Greenville, Spartanburg, Cherokee to remain in perpetual bondage to one political organization would be preposterous. Their neighbors across the line in North Carolina are slavish to no party; they voted for Mr. Hoover in 1928, and that has not kept all of them out of high posts in the Roosevelt administration.

The News and Courier, unloosened from belief in the Democratic principles of Lowndes, Calhoun, Cleveland, Hampton, will not swallow Republican principles. It is quite possible, as Mr. Robertson suggests, that "bargaining" would bring the Republican party closer to Southern interest than is to be hoped from the newfangled and deformed Democracy—and "democracy"—of Corcoran, Cohen, Roosevelt, Wagner and Ickes.

A South Carolinian who holds no office and has sought none has "said something." The News and Courier is of opinion that tens of thousands of white men, especially in the Piedmont country, are giving him more than tolerant attention. The Democratic office-holders would have called him names a few years ago. The Roosevelt people, the "Liberals", the Great City New Dealers, have removed the curse from the Republican party in the South. They have made the independent more than respectable. We thank them for that.

Agree or not with Robertson, he speaks ably, bravely and well.

POLITICAL - 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

The Presidential Aspiration Of John Garner

Plain Dealer
Kansas City, Kan.
4-28-39

Vice President John N. Garner is the first genuine Southerner to be seriously considered for the Presidency, since the Civil War. That titantic struggle so deeply shunted the South from the prevailing national current that no Southern man has been regarded as eligible for the Presidency for the last three quarters of a century.

Woodrow Wilson was born in Virginia but served as President of a great Northern College and as Governor of the state of New Jersey, preliminary to his becoming President. During this probationary period he is supposed to have become nationally minded and freed from the narrow, provincial Southern spirit.

When Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas was chosen as a running mate of Al Smith in 1928, the Negroes of the country were greatly upset for fear of the invasion of race prejudice. Politicians searched his Congressional record extending through the previous twenty-three years for evidence of unfriendly attitude and unfavorable vote on the race question. But the most painstaking search was unrewarded with tangible results. Similarly when John Nance Garner was nominated on the ticket with Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, his record was searched with a fine tooth comb for unfriendly attitude, with similar results.

The political attitudes of the North and South on the race question have gravitated towards a common level. The New Deal has baptized the North, the South and the Negro with a new economic, political and social spirit. The section from which a candidate hales no longer constitutes the test of his eligibility or fitness for either end of the national ticket.

When Mr. Garner entered Congress from Uvalde, Texas, in 1905 there could hardly be found in all Congress more unlikely Presidential timber. During the past thirty-four years he has made most remarkable progress in statesmanship and in national understanding. The parliamentary wisdom and balanced judgment which he has manifested during the past eight years proves him to be a man of willing spirit and capable mind for the highest national task. He is undoubtedly the leading conservative Democrat in the country and represents the conservative mind of the normal Republican as well as of the anti-New Deal Democrat. All of this is hypothecated upon the proposition that President sfied to have "the South receive a third term and will not permit himself to be commandered by the imperative logic of events. Unless the chief executive positively and categorically forbids the use of his name, it will be wholly futile for any other Democrat to stand for the nomination, or for any Republican to hope for election in 1940.

When Mr. Garner first ran for the Vice Presidency in 1932, he was so deferential to the North wing of the Democratic Party that he was satisfied to hove "the South receive a ham whenever the North got a hog." It is a far cry from that state of deference to his present day attitude which embodies the conservative temperament of both North and South.

I remember having an interview with Mr. Garner who had then been elected Vice President but was still acting as speaker of the House. The purpose of my interview was to solicit his good offices in helping to secure the appropriation for the Heating Plant of Howard University, which Congressman DePriest's parliamentary ingenuity had made possible. Mr. Garner entertained me most genially and we talked for sometime over the general situation. He reviewed his past record of twenty-eight years in Congress during which time he had never cast a single vote or uttered a word unfriendly to the interest of the Negro race, and expressed his conviction that the Negro should have every right of any other American citizen, leaving out of the discussion purely social intimacies which falls outside of the political equation.

He stated that in the long run, the Negro was making a mistake in asking for special consideration of any kind and that he had best cast his lot in with the general average of American citizenship. According to his view the Negro's lot normally should be cast with the Democratic Party which stood for the welfare of the common man as contrasted with the Republican Party advocacy of special privilege. He finally assured me, that although, as Speaker, it was not his custom to interfere in measures before the House, he felt confident the University would secure the appropriation, which it did.

From that time I have followed Vice President Garner's career with interest and have found nothing from a sectional or racial point of view to disqualify him for the exalted office of the Presidency. If President Roosevelt is not to be the candidate, John N. Garner's name looms large among the Presidential possibilities of 1940.

Kelly Miller.

Political Peregrinations

REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS ARE ALREADY GUNNING FOR THE NEGRO VOTE—HAMMER AND TONG. And the boys aren't pulling their punches either. We read in the paper and we hear in those fabled places where one hears political rumors that the Republicans are planning to open up their money bags and dish out the gold to the sepian politicos ere long.

Dough, especially political dough, is a hard thing to turn down, according to politicians—both black and white. There is, however, one BIG thing we hope the Negro politicos keep in mind: when the Democratic and Republican bigwigs come around with their money bags inviting you to take your cut, get something worth while for your services—if you can render any.

We mean by that only this: the masses of Negroes must not be let down by either the black or white politicians any longer. They must get the things they justly deserve as citizens of the U. S. For instance, what are the Republicans and Democrats going to do now about disfranchisement of the Negroes in the South? Is either party going to accept Negro politicians in their councils on an equal basis with the white politicos as policy makers? Are they going to come out and then do something about integrating the millions of unemployed Negroes into private industry—are they going to abolish the jim-crow civil service barriers against the race? Are they going to pass an anti-lynching bill?

These are only a few things that must be done by either or both parties in order for them to say truthfully that they mean to give the Negro a genuine New Deal. Moreover, these are a few things both Republican and Democratic Negro political leaders must demand if they want to do their race and their country a good turn.

Unfortunately, the race has always been sold down the river by its so-called political leaders. For the leaders have been interested only in feathering their own nests at the expense of the race—and the nation. The Negro vote so-called, is nothing but the American vote. Black and white politicians have a splendid opportunity to put over the Negro vote as the American vote in the next election. Meantime, this can't happen if the black and white politicians continue to sell the race voters short.

Naacp To Study Records Of All U.S. Candidates

Courier
5-11-39

To Determine Stand On Issues Affecting Negro Constituents

Philadelphia

NEW YORK, N. Y.—An exhaustive examination of the record and personal attitude in both public and private life of each person who has been mentioned as a possible nominee in 1940 for the Presidency was announced here Friday by the N. A. A. C. P. Particular stress will be laid, the Association announced, on the records of these individuals on issues particularly affecting the Negro.

It is the intention of the Association to have prepared well in advance of the party conventions in June, 1940, as complete a record as is obtainable on each actual or potential candidate. The facts obtained will be made available to the public through the "Crisis", the Association's press releases, and in such other ways as the N. A. A. C. P. board of directors may determine.

All persons having specific information on these persons in the form of reports, newspaper clippings, affidavits or other form are asked to cooperate by sending these documents or photostatic copies of them to the national office of the N. A. A. C. P., 69 Fifth avenue, New York City.

It was emphasized in the announcement that acts or expression of opinion favorable to the Negro as well as unfavorable are to be included in the records.

Individuals who have been mentioned as possible candidates for the Republican and Democratic nominations, whose records are to be studied are:

REPUBLICAN: Thomas E. Dewey, District Attorney of New York City; Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio; Senator Arthur M. Vandenberg of Michigan; Mayor Fiorello H

... La Guardia of New York; ex-President Herbert Hoover.

DEMOCRATIC: Vice-President John N. Garner; Secretary of State Cordell Hull; Senator Bennett C. Clark of Missouri; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; United States High Commissioner in the Philippines Paul W. McNutt; Attorney General Frank Murphy; Postmaster General James A. Farley; Senator Harry Flood Byrd of Virginia; Secretary of Commerce Harry L. Hopkins; Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace; Joseph Kennedy, American Ambassador to Great Britain; Governor Lloyd C. Stark of Missouri; Supreme Court Justice W. O. Douglas.

N. A. A. C. P. Reveals It Will Study Presidential Aspirants' Records

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Additions to this list will be made as candidates reveal themselves or there is indication that they are being considered

Hendersonville, N. C., Times-News
April 18, 1939

NEWSPAPERS' OPINIONS

THE NEGROES AND 1940

The relative strength of the active and receptive candidates for president in both parties can be measured these days with a considerable degree of accuracy by the attacks of the New Deal spokesmen. The vehemence with which they are assailed is as good a yardstick as any.

At the moment, for example, on the Democratic side their shafts, well-dipped in vitriol, are aimed at the broad breasts of those two stalwart regulars, who show so far ahead in the polls—to wit, Mr. Garner and Mr. Farley. Particularly is this true of Mr. Garner, around whom are centering the frankly anti-New Deal Democratic leaders and who seems likely, if not named himself, to be in position to say who shall be.

A somewhat concentrated effort is being made to smear Mr. Garner as "disloyal" to the president though why it should be disloyal for him to differ with Mr. Roosevelt either in the matter of policies or the matter of politics is not explained. The fact is that the doctrine Mr. Garner quietly preaches now in his cabinet and senatorial conversations is exactly the doctrine Mr. Roosevelt preached from the housetops all through his 1932 campaign. And it was doctrine basic in that 1932 platform, to every word of which he was pledged. However, the New Dealers somewhat heatedly point out the reasons Mr. Garner would make a poor candidate. For one thing, they insist, he is too old; for another, he is regarded as a reactionary; for another, his opposition to the sit-down strike identifies him as unfriendly to labor; for another, he is a millionaire. If, as claimed, he does not want to be nominated, and will not be, one wonders why so much ammunition is used to disparage him.

Those who understand politics and are in position to be detached, derive some amusement from the completeness with which these administration adherents refrain from so much as mentioning the really big Garner liability—to wit, the effect of his candidacy upon the negro vote in New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri and Michigan. The New Deal politicians and publicists do not mention this because they do not care about calling attention to the extent of their own political dependence on this vote.

They dislike discussion of the subject for two reasons—first, because it reveals that their negro support was largely obtained through relief funds and federal jobs; second, because the more it is dwelt upon the greater the resentment in the South where the full facts of the extraordinary New Deal courtship of the Northern negro have never fully penetrated. Nevertheless, it is clear that the so-called Roosevelt landslide of 1936 was primarily due to the 2,000,000 negro votes which were taken out of the Republican party in these eleven states and transferred to the Democrats. Without them some of those states would have gone for Landon instead of Roosevelt. Without them Mr. Roosevelt would still have been elected, but there certainly would have been no landslide.—Frank Kent in Charleston News and Courier.

Columbia S. C. State
June 9, 1939

A BLOW STRAIGHT INTO THE SWEATING FACE OF THE BLACK MAN.'

"Mr. Speaker, there must be intense and blinding zeal at the back of this legislation. (The proposal before the national house of representatives was to erect legal obstacles to the general use of a cottonseed oil product). It is difficult to say whether the bill is distinguished most for its flagrant disregard of constitutional obligations and private rights or for its stupid political blundering.

"It is a blow straight into the sweating face of the black man.....Have you no sense of gratitude for the blind political devotion he gave you for so many years? Is your legislation against him at this session prompted by revenge because he is deserting your ranks and joining the Democracy?"

That is forthright and timely, isn't it? The normally Republican states of the middle Northwest are seeking to prevent the general use of cottonseed oil products, in order to make more general the use of dairy and of hog products. Also, the Negro has been deserting the Republican ranks and joining the Democracy.

Yes, the quoted statement is forthright and timely, but the speech from which that statement is taken was delivered in the house of representatives August 23, 1890, by William Elliott, member from South Carolina.

POLITICAL- 1939 GENERAL

PARTY AFFILIATION

Dr. Emmet J. Scott Replies To Dean Kelly Miller On The Benefits Of New Deal

For two score years and more he who ventured to enter a tournament to tilt lances with the redoubtable Dean Kelly Miller usually found himself in a contest which tried his mettle to the uttermost. This observation is made before seeking to reply to his recent news release commenting upon my recent designation by Chairman John Hamilton as one of the Publicity Directors and Advisors here at Republican National Committee Headquarters.

For more than thirty years, I have enjoyed Dean Miller's warm personal and affectionate friendship. He is one of the most beloved of Howard University's myriad group of Alumni and is probably more affectionately regarded by the nearly 300 graduates who leave the institution each year than any individual who has ever been connected with the institution during the 72 years of its educational history. He is also beloved by countless thousands of others, black and white, who admire his scholarship, his eloquence and his manly and spirited defenses of his race.

He is probably our best known publicist and polemical writer. His sword has known no brother where the vital interests of his people were concerned.

For his kindly references to me personally, I make due acknowledgement, and express, with due humility, my grateful thanks. There can be no quarrel between us, as we clearly and frankly understand each other's position with respect to present day political conditions.

The New Deal challenges Dean Miller.'s unrivaled panageries under all conditions and circumstances. None of the abuses, none of the brutaltarian tactics employed to humiliate unfortunate colored people in the administration of the NRA, AAA, FSA, USHA, FHA, Resettlement, The Wage and Hour Law, and other alphabetical agencies, have challenged, or aroused, his resentment, or criticism.

With all of his high praise, I cannot accept Dean Miller's dictum that, while I have remained loyal to the ideals and traditions of the Republican Party, "the majority of the most outstanding and influential members of the race have been enticed away from their political mooring by the allurement of the Democratic Party and the New Deal."

While it is true that a large number of colored men have been placed in executive relationship in Government agencies, it still remains true, in my opinion, that many of these men, as well as thousands and thousands of others, outside of public office, have not been slow to recognize the fact that, despite such dramatic gestures as have been made, the race, itself, taken as a whole, actually has remained relatively outside the limits of New Deal processes.

Whatever small gains have been made, have been more than overbalanced, swamped as it were, by the inequities of administration.

The Second National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth unsparingly called attention to glaring discriminations and mischievous tendencies in the administration of most of these agencies.

In the case of one of them, the Conference noted "a tendency to use Federal funds for purposes of fixing residential patterns according to local prejudices, thereby establishing segregated areas and racial ghettos", — reference being made to the Federal Housing Administration. Many similar instances of glaring discrimination were pointed out. Particularly, failure to appoint colored men to positions in administrative and policy-making bodies, where the greatest influence and wisdom are most necessary to safeguard minority rights.

There has been no effort made to integrate Negroes into private industry. The great masses of colored people still remain "reliefers" or "dolees". In the field of Relief Administration, the Second Conference on Negro Problems pointed out that "experience has shown that Relief Administrators in many states and municipalities either lack sympathetic understanding of the problems of minority groups, or are desirous of preventing Negroes from equitably sharing the benefits of relief programs."

I cannot bring myself to believe that Dean Miller, in his fulsome praise of New Deal activities, is in agreement with these discriminatory techniques.

I need not point out, of course, the most recent discriminatory action of the Secretary of War in refusing to set aside, sums of money to be made available that Negro Youth may take its proper place in the various armed services of the Government, at a time when the menace of war may be all but impending. Discrimination and segregation of Negro citizens in the armed forces of the Government are still rampant.

Allurements of New Deal

Dean Miller places great reliance upon the "allurements" of the New Deal. Probably, our fundamental difference is that I believe in the saving grace of the sanity of Negro Americans, and that they are subject to the same educational processes of democratic government as other citizens of the Republic.

In their evaluation of so-called New Deal "benefits", I believe Negro Americans are cultivating a long-range vision, and that they are just as much opposed to centralized administrative machinery for partisan purposes as other groups of forward-looking citizens. The chief "allurement" upon which the New Deal seems to be depending for Negro support is "relief."

I believe that Negro Americans believe, and insist, that relief should be administered for the needy, and not for politicians as has been so largely true in the past. If the Negro people are to have a solid, industrial foundation they cannot accept a philosophy which accepts relief as a cure for unemployment.

Further, I cannot believe that a mere subsistence level is what Americans without regard to race, creed or color desire.

I insist that what Negro Americans need and desire are steady jobs with decent American wages. If these fail them, practically everything fails. Enlightened intelligence resents placid acceptance of relief as a necessary palliative for unemployment.

It certainly remains true, as of this date, that with all of the Billions spent during the last six and one-half years, the American economic machinery "has stalled on dead center", as the New Deal-dominated Monopoly Committee has recently pointed out.

So much then for argument, if argument be needed.

It is not necessary for me to characterize the failures of the New Deal Administration in so far as they relate to out colored population. I certainly can use no stronger words than those of a leading newspaper, The Pittsburgh Courier, which supported the New Deal in the 1932 and 1936 Elections. Apparently in deep disappointment and disgust, The Courier said:

"The New Deal has done little to end color discrimination but a great deal to prolong it. Beginning with the NRA it bowed to the will of the reactionary South both inside and outside the South. It had a wonderful opportunity to show America how the Negro ought to be treated, but it lost this opportunity through cowardice and political opportunism. Most Americans would have approved a Square Deal Policy, but instead the Southern tail wagged the Democratic dog. "For the Negro, the New Deal has been the Old Deal in new clothes. With powers almost as great as those of Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini, the Democratic Administration has winked at discrimination in NRA, FHA, PWA, CCC, WPA and a dozen other alphabetical set-ups. Worse, it has helped spread Jim-crowism over the country where it had never before existed, and Negro New Deal office-holders have approved of it by silence or hollow apology.

"Washington, D. C. is as Jim-crow as ever, if not more so, but no single word of criticism has come from Mr. Roosevelt. He has expressed shock over the beating of Jews abroad, but not over lynching of Negroes at home. Mr. Roosevelt could have at least deplored the fact that Negroes are pariahs within the shadow of the White House, but he preferred to make speeches condemning the dictators for doing the same thing to Jews, Catholics and others abroad.

"The President embarked enthusiastically upon an intra-party political campaign against Democrats refusing to indorse his New Deal politics, but evidently approves of Senators and Congressmen who endorse the Old Deal of Negro persecution. He has yet to voice any criticism of flagrant color discrimination in relief and other New Deal set-ups.

"The President has a wonderful opportunity to teach America an object lesson in fair play toward a loyal minority. If this was impractical in the North East and West, he could at least have said something. He chose to remain silent although supplied with documentary evidence of color discrimination in almost every New Deal set-up."

Says South Disappointed

C. W. Rice, editor of the Negro Labor News, and president and manager of The Texas Negro Business and Laboring Men's Association, has just returned to his home after making a study of Negro labor conditions in practically all of the Southern States, and in many of the Northern and Eastern States. A summary of his findings follows:

"That Negroes, both in the North and in the South are disappointed with the New Deal. Economic and labor conditions are worse, fundamentally, than at any time since Emancipation. In the South, the New Deal crop control policy has thrown millions out of work, and evicted them from their cabins in the cotton fields, thereby causing privation and starvation, for which the Government provides only meager relief that barely holds body and soul together. "Now comes the Labor Union Movement, under the National Labor Relations Act, which gives forty-one percent of the workers in a given plant the right to form a union, which be-

comes the sole bargaining agency for all the workers in said plant. Most of the labor unions have the color bar and discriminatory practices against Negroes. The closed shop agreement with employers is causing the wholesale replacement of Negroes on practically all jobs, including railroad, cotton industries, cafes and hotels in all sections of the country.

"I find that in Government employment, even at Washington, Negroes are being replaced as messengers, elevator operators, janitors, etc. Aside from dole jobs (WPA) about the biggest thing New Dealers are doing for Negro employment is the hiring of some few Negroes in strategic positions to travel over the country and picture Utopias to the working class of Negroes, if they will only continue to be loyal to the New Deal.

"I am thoroughly convinced that the great majority of Negroes even in the North, are disgusted with such promises, which have failed to materialize. They are realizing that industrial conditions are going from bad to worse"

With these words from a prominent newspaper that helped elect the New Deal, and from a leader of better labor conditions ringing in their ears, it rather occurs to me to say that thoughtful Colored Americans will keep in mind these strictures, and will, in my opinion want to find their way back to a party of which it may be said, that, at least it has always stood for the basic principles of American democracy; and, that not a single discriminatory, repressive or disfranchising law; not a single jim-crow law; not a single peonage law; not a single Government regulation setting up regional wage differentials, has ever been passed by any state dominated by Republican public opinion, or by any Republican administration at Washington.

These things of which The Courier and Mr. Rice complain are of importance to us. They cannot be condoned, overlooked or forgotten. Our first concern must ever be for the preservation of the basic guarantees of our civil and political rights, our absolute equality before the law, and our right to fair consideration in all the pursuits of happiness.

It must still remain for the great masses of colored voters to decide by the ivrotes whether the guarantees written into the Federal Constitution by the Republican Party shall be preserved by that party, or whether they will support that ancient opposition party which has consistently sought to abregate and destroy them.

In all I have written, it is as a citizen of the Republic, deeply and seriously concerned with its present and future, particularly the welfare of colored Americans, who love their country and its institutions, and wish its National economy preserved, and its desting along progressive lines assured, for what concerns the future of other Americans is of deep concern to them also.

The South's Parties

This question recently was submitted in a Gallup poll to a cross-section of voters in 13 Southern states: "Do you think the South would be better off if there were two political parties in the South, about equal in strength, instead of only one strong party as at present?"

The replies showed 57 per cent of the voters answered in the affirmative, compared to 43 per cent in the negative.

The Republicans of the South were, of course, nearly unanimous, according to Gallup, in approving two strong parties. They were not entirely so, we suppose, because there may be some who think there should be only one dominant party—and that the Republican.

But almost half of the Democrats also favored a two-party system—45 per cent to be exact.

Among the Democrats the major complaint against the present dominance of their party was that as a result "the rest of the Democratic party has begun to take the South for granted." A two-party system, it was also frequently suggested, would provide a wider choice of candidates and the selection of "better men" for office.

It is not only the Democratic national chieftains who, under the present prevalence of Democratic dominance in this section, tend not to worry very much about pleasing the South and meeting its needs when the party is in power. The Republicans, with only the most infrequent chances for gaining electoral votes below the Mason-and-Dixon line, can be entirely indifferent, upon occasion, to the interests of this area.

One of the South's great handicaps is national legislation that operates with discriminatory effect on this region.

The chance for a Southerner to be chosen president, too, is greatly lessened because of the Democratic dependability of the South.

In local affairs it is often said that contending wings of the Democratic party tend to take the place of two strong parties. We do not believe that this is altogether true—not by a good deal. Not only is the choice of candidates wider under a two-party system, but the choice of policies is likely to be wider. Interest in political affairs is likely to be much greater. A broader participation of citizens in government is certain.

* * *

Beyond these specific considerations, it may also be said with assurance that an excessive lease on power is never wise; that is a truism applied to parties as well as to individuals or systems.

The two-party system in America has produced great benefits not so much, perhaps, in its clear delineation of opposing policies as in operating to check excessive power, to provide a critical, watchful opposition and to present a vigorous, healthful political struggle for progress.

Often, the two political parties seem to verge very close to one another in their major policies. But nevertheless their existence always tend to assure a strong competition that has many stimulating, corrective and creative results.

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GENERAL

ATLANTA CIVIC AND POLITICAL LEAGUE IN ANNUAL SESSION

By Benjamin Jefferson Davis, Sr.

Fifty representative citizens, more or less, assembled around the second annual banquet table of the Atlanta Civic and Political League in the spacious dining room of the Butler Street Y. M. C. A., on Lincoln's Birthday, to hear reports and to discuss the 1939 program of the organization. President John Wesley Dobbs presiding with all the happiness and dignity becoming the important occasion. Good will and unity characterized the meeting throughout its proceedings. Dinner was served by Messrs. Arthur Miller, well known caterers.

The president on rising to the guest to order, introduced each individual, one to another; that all might feel at home, as one family with a common purpose, the registration of every Negro adult in the County and State. Mr. Dobbs then introduced the guest speakers, Hon. W. W. Allen of Baltimore and Hon. M. S. Stewart of Memphis. He then called for minute expressions from each of the guests.

Mr. Pitts Steals the Show

After many of the orators had spoken, the president reached the Hon. Howard W. Pitts, 82 year old Republican veteran; who soon stole the show and ran away with it. Mr. Pitts said, all of you have the right to think as you please; I reserve the same right unto myself; but I cannot forget what happened to me when my mother sent me to school in Griffin, Ga., in 1865. I went to school one day; that night the school house was burned down. Our fathers found another school house, it too was burned down, and the same thing happened to a third school house; and the only chance we Negro children had to go to school; the Union soldiers cut off a little room in one of the barracks; and guarded it with guns and bullets, while we studied on the inside. You young set may forget this crime, but I cannot forget it, I went through it, I cannot be ungrateful; may be you can. The Republican party was our friend. The party has not done all possibly, it could have done; but whatever has been done for us, it did it. I am 82, and have voted for every Republican candidate for president since I had the right to vote, and if I live a hundred years more, I'll vote the Republican ticket and if I had one-hundred sons, I'd teach everyone of them to vote the Republican ticket. Lincoln did so much for me and my people, I cannot forget him, or desert the principles he lived and died for, to perpetuate the freedom of the slaves I cannot, but maybe you can forget the sacrifice made that you may sit around this banquet table tonight, on his birthday and not mention his name.

Mr. Abrams of the North Carolina Mutual said when he was reached, that he'd yield his time to the guest speakers, Messrs. Allen and Stewart. Mr. W. H. Smith of the Atlanta Life said, I am not an orator but am happy to be present to re-pledge President Dobbs continued support and encouragement. Mr. Dodson of the Dodson Oil Company said in his jocular way that the Negro teachers and preachers need a good flogging; while he did not favor Klanism, he thought it would help out if we would organize a Klan of night riders; to take out many of the school teachers and preachers who would not register or show any interest in the civic and political welfare of the race and dress them down with a strap. Several of the lady teachers present replied, and Captain Walden coming to their rescue said, in a joke that under the evidence the teachers had been acquitted, and along with them three preachers, and that he moved that a committee of one be appointed with Mr. Dodson as chairman to take out the preachers and strap them for civic and political negligence. Attorney Holmes was called upon and said: "My heart is in this work, I have been with Mr. Dobbs all along and I expect to stay with him until we can show some tangible results registering in different Negro citizens. When Mr. Yates of the firm of Yates and Milton druggist was called upon, he said he would yield his time to Mr. Allen so he could tell Atlanta Negroes how the Negroes in Maryland registered fifty thousand Negro voters in that state out of a Negro population of 140,000.

President Dobbs rose and said he was delighted to present Editor Ben Davis, that he did not feel that it made a man smaller to see and acknowledge greatness in another man. He said it is only men who cannot see anybody in the picture but themselves. I regard Mr. Davis as the greatest editorial writer the race has ever produced and among the greatest editors in the country. And it would be a wonderful thing for the Atlanta World and our race if the management of that paper could secure his service and pay him for it. As an organizer of men I regard him as in a class by himself.

Mr. Davis responding in part said: he would not discuss politics at the banquet, because the League program was broader than any political party; its object was to register every Negro voter and make him ready to fight when the time came without regard to religion or political party. He said Mr. Scott of the World had spoke a truth, when he said our economic and political fortunes were yoked together. One and inseparable. That the spirit needed money and money needed the good idea. Turner King said his spirit, and that young Scott had a father taught him to get the rent or the house, but always use patience and forebearance, and he had not forgotten the lesson; that Mr. Dobbs had made his speech. Captain Walden in his remarks pointed out that there was a vast difference between promises and performance and that we as a rule were long on promises but short in performance. The guest speakers made fine talks, speaking feelingly of the services of Editor Ben Davis and reminded Atlanta that she had never appreciated what Mr. Davis had done for his race and the city, he is a great man and has rendered wonderful service in his day, and America knows it if Atlanta does not. There was only one thing lacking about the banquet, it was Lincoln's Birthday without Lincoln. The only time as we remember that his name was mentioned, was when Mr. Pitts paid his tribute to his memory and service. The banquet reminded us of the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out.

Calvin's Digest

Philadelphia Tribune — FLOYD J. CALVIN

Philadelphia, Pa. 3-30-39

REPUBLICAN SURVEY

We have noted with interest the announcement of an official survey for the Republican Party by Dr. Ralph Bunche of Howard University, on why Negroes have deserted the G. O. P.

First, we wish to congratulate the G.O.P. on taking an intelligent interest in a group which served it long and well, but in which the G.O.P. so obviously lost interest that serious impairment of the Republican lines resulted. We admit that we were once in the Republican fold, and we also readily admit that the reason we got out was because the G.O.P. seemed satisfied we would stay whether anything was done in an administrative way which would please us or not. We also wish to suggest that many of those who left the Republican fold in the year we changed our party will not be lured back so easily, for once a point of view is changed, it takes some great upheaval to bring about its alteration.

Calvin

Dr. Bunche will find that Negroes who went over into the Democratic Party suffered none of the dire calamities which were prophesied would take place when they went over. On the contrary, the Democratic Party has done much more for Negroes than the Republicans ever did in this century.

And what are some of the things which the Negroes have gotten from the Democrats, but which Negro Republicans never dreamed would be forthcoming. First, the Democrats have given good-paying jobs to a large number of highly trained young Negroes. In this the Democratic Party recognized the educated leadership of the Negro race.

Again, the Democrats apportioned government funds with a fair degree of impartiality as between the races. Note P.W.A. expenditures for building programs in the South; note N.Y.A. expenditures on Negro students; and note relief expenditures.

And finally, the Democrats in the White House, including the President's wife, have done more to raise the respect of the Negro in the eyes of white America than any other Democrats (and most Republicans) in our history. Who would have dreamed that Mrs. Roosevelt would have forced the issue on Marian Anderson, and stuck to her guns?

Dr. Bunche can get up a nice report for the Republicans, and our hope is that he will simply tell the truth and let the Republicans read and run. If they can beat the Democrats, then more power to them. What we want is more progress, and if the Republicans are now feeling their oats and can bring on more Negro progress in government, let them come forward with flying colors.

TOLERANCE GROWS

The wave of intolerance abroad is gradually bringing greater tolerance to us here in America. Not long since, it was announced that tolerance would be taught in the New York City schools. Now we note in the current "New York Teacher", a magazine, an article by Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Negro historian, on "Race Prejudice In School Books." In his usual outspoken and incisive manner, Dr. Woodson goes straight to the heart of the question of damning the Negro by omission, or with bare mention where he deserves outright commendation.

Follow The Man Not The Party

It is the man and not the party, s an empty slogan, resorted to by the demagogue to hide his vacillating character. Men who get anywhere n public life in America, must travel the way of party allegiance and loyalty, and no man, who travels any other route has gotten nowhere. Men who argue, it is the man and not the party, care for neither the man or party, and are in the game for what they may get out of it, for themselves. We have government by political party, and there is no other way to the goal except through the party gate. 3-17-39

Political parties stand for definite principles and policies, and their candidate go before the people at stated times, and argues to them what they will do for them, if they will elect them to office. The people believe or disbelieve them, elect them or defeat them, and judge them by what they do in harmony with their declaration of principles upon which they appeal to the public for a suffrage. There are always a bunch of cheap politicians, advising the voters to follow the man and not the party, when in fact every man running for office represents some party or organization, it matters not what he says. We often hear the statement, that "he is better than his party," another sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. No man is better than the party he affiliates with. Some may be better than some of the men in his party, and there may be others in the party better than he; but as a whole no man is better than the company he keeps which shapes his character.

Would an honest man argue that a man is better than his party, who accepts the nomination of a political party that stands for Ku Kluxism, peonage, race discrimination controlled by crooks and thugs? Verily not. Is a man any better than his party who never makes a declaration against the policies of his party that robs, steals and disfranchises people who do not agree with his policies? Association shapes and directs the ends of mankind whether we realize it or not, when our character, notions and sense of tolerance are being developed.

Man cannot escape his environment, birds of a feather will flock together, political parties will nominate men for office who will carry out their dictation and ideals of government. The man who accepts the nomination of a political party for stands for lynch law; racial discrimination and disfranchisement is no better than his party whether he is born in New York or Georgia. The South has never lead in the nomination of a man for President that it did not believe was in harmony with its views on the Negro question; and it never will until it changes its views on the ideas of Jefferson Davis of the Southern Confederacy. Both parties have followed the tradition of the war Presidents. Lincoln believed in the freedom of the soul and the man. Mr. Davis believed in the freedom of the soul but the enslavement of the man, or human slavery. When Negroes argue that it is the man and not the party, they see through their eyes of fish and loaves provided they guess the right side of the question.

In politics Negroes do not argue from precedent or background. We do not take into consideration that precedent foreshadows what we will receive in future. History and precedent count but naught with us in economics and politics. Like young mocking birds with their eyes closed and their mouths opened, we are with whoever drops the worm in our mouths without counting the cost, or what we have sacrificed for the worm Men change but principles do not. When we know that a party stands for definite principles, and that these principles cover an equality of rights for all men situated as we are, we should follow the principles and not the man, unless he convinces us by his past and present record that our right and principles are his platform. Always remembering that, men change and principles do not.

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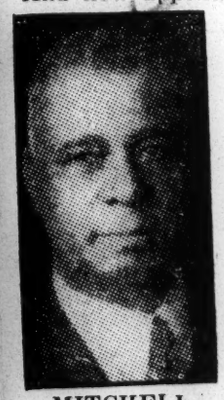
GENERAL

What the New Deal Means to the Race

By Congressman
ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

"BITING teeth were never hardened on a silver spoon." This old American adage was one hard pioneers that settled the rugged New England coast used to comfort themselves when their way was hard and economic privation threatened their existence. And though the saying was made three hundred years ago, it is still true today.

And how applicable is this saying to the problem of the Negro! For surely no one can deny that that we as a people have ever been born with a silver spoon in our mouth. Consequently I can think of no more pertinent saying to make at this time when it is combined with opportunity, for our opportunity is today.



MITCHELL

We live in changing times, through which, despite the problems which confront us, basics remain the same. Regardless of the change in system we must still have food, clothing and shelter. Recognizing this, is it not true that living is a business and that everyone who reads this column is in the business of living?

As people in the business of living we must treat the problem as a business man. Consequently, we know that the reason a business fails is because it does not seize its opportunity to increase its profits. It is my purpose to emphasize in these articles the possibility of our failure to recognize our opportunity.

We have before us a problem which we know to be basically economic. You and I both know that we are interested in better homes, better wages, better education. This is our common goal. What, then, can be done to expedite the mechanics so as to achieve this objective?

OUR OPPORTUNITY

First we must realize that this is our opportunity. Since 1929 we have had the great pivots of a social revolution under way. As this social revolution progresses so has the opportunity the Negro increased. Our first step in making use of this opportunity is to recognize it as such and from there to follow through on a sound, consistent, constructive program that will clear away the cloud of misunderstanding and misstatement that prove such obstacles to a correct solution, fair and equal to all.

To spearhead the mechanics which will best take advantage of our opportunity I have introduced a bill calling for an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs. It would consist of five members, three of whom would be Negroes.

As a commission its basic purpose would be the study of your economic problems.

We all know the great variations in our economic problems from the geographic standpoint alone. We know that the economic problem of the Negro of the South is entirely different from economic problem of the Negro in the North. We know that to rightly attack the roots of this problem, there must be certain facts recognized and acted upon. This the commission would do and make its reports to the Congress through the President of the United States.

The commission would recommend what may be necessary for the stability of labor in the different states and, because of its specialization would be in a greater position to understand and, therefore, give more accurate solution than is done at present.

I feel that such a bill, if enacted into law, would go far towards enhancing our opportunity, which, because of our changing times, has opened the door of opportunity to a greater happiness and prosperity for the Negro. Let us act wisely and conservatively, but now!

What the New Deal Means to the Race

By ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

Representative to the Congress of the United States from Chicago, Illinois

THOUGH opportunity constantly puts itself before us, it seems that a basic part of human nature is the failure of the average human being to grasp it. This common failing is found in all races. It is true of the occidental, it is true of the oriental. It is true of the Indian and it is true of the Negro.

MITCHELL

I believe in facing the facts and after finding the truth moving toward a progressive and proper conclusion so that the best benefits to everyone interested may be obtained.

Let us consider our problem as a race. As assets we have a common bond in the fight for a higher standard of living, and the promotion of the general welfare of our people.

What then is our opportunity? Our opportunity lies in the change that has gradually become apparent to all of us that our country has been slowly but surely undergoing a social revolution since 1929. While this social revolution is going on, the system is being remade. Therein lies our challenge.

Prior to 1929 the Negro was outdistanced in the economic race, not because of a lack of brains or ability but because of a lack of opportunity.

The social revolution now well under way has changed this. The system is being remade. This is the opportunity of the Negro. The economic race has started again.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

How then can this economic competition be aided? What mechanics can be moved through legislation to stimulate and obtain advantage in proper fashion of this opportunity now opening its doors before us?

Many things have been proposed, but there is now before the judiciary committee a bill introduced by me in this Congress just two weeks ago calling for the creation of an Iudustrial Commission on Negro Affairs.

The primary purpose of the commission will be to study the economic conditions of the Negro so as to better understand that greatest of all problems, the labor problem. The commission is designed to stimulate and encourage thrift and industry among the Negroes of this country. It will encourage his general up-lift and it will work out plans looking toward the solution of the different problems confronting the Negro race in this country.

The commission would consider all questions pertaining to the Negro that may be referred to it by a department of the United States government. It will report a suggested solution of any and all problems that may be presented to it by any governmental official whether state or federal. In particular will it consider the labor problem, and will recommend what may be necessary for the stability of labor in the different states.

The commission will discourage subversion of propaganda and will look to the solution of the policy for material understanding of conditions between the races.

The commission would report to Congress through the President of the United States acts and doings and make such recommendations for the solution of any problem or problems affecting the Negro that they may deem advisable.

RACE COMMISSIONERS

There would be five members on the commission, at least three of whom shall be members of the Negro race. They would be appointed by the President of the United States. This commission could easily be, with vast facilities of the United States government behind it, a tremendous fountain of information and accurate conclusions that would go far toward solving and helping to eliminate any of the race problems confronting us today. This is particularly true of the labor problem.

Hearings have already been held on this measure which was introduced by me in a former bill in the 74th Congress. At that time Dr. Robert R. Moton, president emeritus of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, testified favorably for it.

Others included Perry W. Howard, national Republican committeeman from the State of Mississippi; J. E. Mitchell, editor of the Argus, St. Louis, Missouri; Hon. Emmet O'Neal, a representative in congress from the State of Kentucky; Dr. Alain Locke, of Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Scipio Jones, attorney at law, Little Rock, Arkansas; Hon. John D. Dingell, a representative in Congress from the State of Michigan; Dr. Kelly Miller of Howard University, Washington, D. C.; Hon. John Kee, a representative in congress from the State of West Virginia; Hon. George W. Johnson, a representative in congress from the State of West Virginia.

TO AID AGENCIES

The commission would aid and supplement the work of the Commission on Interracial cooperation, whose address is 409 Palmer Building, Atlanta, Ga., and the National Association of Presbyterian Students, as well as many church and interracial groups deeply interested in solving different problems.

This bill, if enacted would affect you vitally. Through the conclusions found through this stream-lined model fitted to the changing times in which we live, you will be given opportunity to obtain better jobs and bigger pay. Remember we live in changing times and the opportunity is before us today as never before.

Editor's Note: Mr. Mitchell, in his next article will go into further details concerning the need of the Commission and why it is of deep personal interest to you.

Bishopville, S. C., Messenger
February 16, 1939

DOES NEGRO AGITATION BENEFIT THE NEGRO RACE?

The Democratic party has succeeded the Republican party as the seeker after the negro vote. This is something new under the sun. But that does not fully tell the tale, for agitation in the interest of the negro race goes on under Democratic administration as never before, doubtless. Not only anti-lynching bills, by Democratic representative and senator, but supreme court decisions to compel the Southern professional schools to open their doors to negroes. Now some schools of the North do this and it seems not to create any friction, but in the South, the home of the best friends of the negro race, it is quite different.

The question as to the effect on the negroes of the South of this constantly growing agitation for social equality, a movement having the support of both the president and his wife, directly or indirectly, is an interesting and live one. That it is detrimental to the best interests of Southern negroes is pretty generally believed in the South and among some in other sections of the country.

We believe in doing the negro justice, but it is not justice to him to try to lift him over into a social position with the whites of the South. The best interests of the negro is seperation as to social matters. Social equality is unnatural. It cannot be. It will not be. Let the negro seek his best interests in his own circle and let the whites seek the best interests of the negro with the negro in his proper place and the whites in their proper places.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
March 30, 1939

The North Invites the Negroes

In The New York Herald Tribune last Sunday an article by Earl Brown of its staff examines the causes of the desertion of the Democratic party by the negroes in Ohio, Michigan and New Jersey last November and points to disaffection among the colored Democrats of other Northern states. It may be wishful thinking.

The chief of these causes is set down to be the failure of the "Democratic," the New Deal, administration to give to negroes the patronage, or offices, to which they believe themselves entitled "although the administration has appointed more negroes to federal jobs in Washington and other places than any other one in history."

The negro spokesmen complain that the "professional" negro politicians have been overlooked, the administration showing a preference for negro educators and other highbrows, and they "argue that a majority of negroes now holding first-class federal jobs are not really Democrats and that most of them come from the South." This being the case, the administration is to be praised for it. Competent, trained, educated negroes —or white men—should as a rule be chosen for the first class federal jobs rather than the "professional politicians." For this "practical idealism" The News and Courier withholds no commendation of the administration; if a negro is to be appointed to a federal office, the intelligent negro, whether a vote-getter or not, should have preference and The News and Courier is pleased that most of them are taken from the South as long as their jobs shall be in Washington or further North.

The negroes "are thankful," Mr. Brown reports, "for relief and New Deal social legislation that has benefited them. . . ." So they would be. The negroes were thankful for the social security which they were vouchsafed by the slave-owners of the South before 1865. That, by the way (we have remarked upon it before) was the one successful experiment in social security founded in law that has been had in the United States and we think that never will be another to rival it. However, that is matter of opinion, and opinions unfortunately differ.

The upshot of the discussion is that negroes politically aspiring have everything to gain, nothing to lose, by moving to the Northern states. The North is now their country more than the South is. There, if on relief, they may have double the wage that they are paid in the South.

There, if they grow old or blind, they will have more than double the pensions they may expect in the South.

There, they may send their children to the schools and colleges along with the whites.

There, they will find no jimcrow cars.

There, they will be encouraged and assisted by white men of both parties in voting. Those of them who are rascals and would sell their votes would find a market for them. The market for negro votes in the South is non-existent. Negroes may vote in the South, but they must vote in a negro party.

In New York is a negro Tammany leader. In Chicago is a negro member of congress.

As yet, the Northern field for migration of Southern negroes is scarcely touched. The 3,500,000 or 4,000,000 in the North are virtually confined to great cities and big towns. The farms in Indiana and Iowa, of Upstate New York and of Michigan and Wisconsin no less than of South Carolina invite colored labor. So do the thousands of attractive villages in New England and the other Northern states.

The government of the United States is offering the greatest inducements known to history to negro immigrants from the benighted, the jimcrow, South.

Gets Unique Research Job of Analyzing Race Desires and Attitudes—Report Will Be Impartial.

CHICAGO, March 16. (ANP)—What are the basic political attitudes and thinking of the American Negro today? What are the reasons for his swing from one party to another? How can the political, social and economic needs and desires of the group best be realized and furthered? Given new understanding of racial thinking and psychology, how may the Republican party proceed to prove to a larger share of the race which race was its most faithful ally, that its programs and policies will better serve the group than that of the Democratic New Deal? These are but a few of the interesting questions which Dr. Ralph Bunche, noted authority on political science, doubtless will be turning over in his mind during the next few months and years.

Announcement of the engagement of Dr. Ralph Bunche, chairman of the political science department of Howard university, to make an objective study of the relation of the Republican party's national policy to the problems of the American Negro, was made here Saturday by Glenn Frank, chairman of the Republican program committee.

Dr. Bunche's study will be part of the process through which the program committee is formulating its recommendations to the Republican National committee. Dr. Bunche is a competent scholar in politics, economics and race relations. A graduate of the University of California and Harvard Ph.D., he has been on the faculty of Howard for many years. He has recently returned from South Africa, where, on a Rockefeller fellowship, he has been studying race relations and colonial administration.

POLITICAL - 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

Mark Sullivan's Letter

South Might Secede From New Deal

WASHINGTON, June 18.—Every experienced writer on politics keeps his fingers permanently crossed to any suggestion that the South may secede from the Democratic Party. But is it possible we may be too "set" in our skepticism? Obstinacy in skepticism and caution may be as much a mistake as any other kind of obstinacy.

I cannot escape being impressed by letters that come to me from the South, and newspaper clippings they inclose. I select for quotation some from South Carolina papers, because South Carolina will be the last state to desert the Democratic Party. Of South Carolina might be said in reverse what used to be said about a Northern state—Iowa—"Iowa will go Democratic when hell goes Methodist." But the time came when Iowa went Democratic—the election returns from hell are not in yet.

Maybe the time will come when South Carolina will go Republican—though the writer of this article emphatically is not predicting it at this time. Anyhow, here is the quotation from the Bamberg (S. C.) Herald:

"It is surprising to note the number of Democrats who avowedly say they will not vote the national Democratic ticket in 1940."

To which the very important Charleston News and Courier adds: "One hears the same thing from all parts of South Carolina, especially in the up-country, where is the great white population, the old affection for the name 'Democratic' is nearly dead."

Tradition Upset In 1928

Maybe it is a mistake to be too set in assuming that the Southern States in 1940 will necessarily all go Democratic. So recently as 1928, in the election between Mr. Hoover and Al Smith, the Republicans carried Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and Texas. The Republicans in that 1928 election carried every Southern State except five: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi. And the Republicans came within a hair's breadth of carrying Alabama.

If it could happen in 1928 who not in 1940? The reason in 1940 will be different from the reason in 1928—but the reason in 1940 will be strong. For the South, in addition to economic objections to the New Deal, has become fully aware that the New Deal favors negro suffrage—not only favors it but insists on it.

In this insistence, the New Deal goes far. A New Deal suggestion for "resettling" landless Southern farmers, white and colored, on land to be bought by the Government, includes a requirement that out of the first proceeds received by the assisted farmer from the sale of his crop, he must pay his poll tax, so that he can vote. If the New Deal dominates the Democratic Party, as in fact it does now dominate it, then the Democratic Party will be for unrestricted negro suffrage in the South. And that advocacy of negro suffrage in the South, formerly an exclusively Republican position, is precisely the reason always given by the South for setting its face firmly against the Republican Party. In states and districts in which negroes are a majority, opposition to unrestricted suffrage has always been strong.

The letters that come from the South suggesting a change of political affiliation by that section all place emphasis on the name "Republican" as an impediment to the South's voting for that party. "If it could be so managed," the tenor of these letters says, "that the South could vote against the Democratic Party without at the same time voting for the Republican Party—"

O'Daniel A Republican?

That the name "Republican" is the stumbling block is suggested by an informant from Texas. He says that the present Governor of Texas, W. Lee O'Daniel, elected last Fall, is a Republican—in the sense that Mr. O'Daniel has never voted any ticket except the Republican. (I have not verified this, but believe my informant to be correct). Mr. O'Daniel is a comparative newcomer to Texas; formerly he lived in Kansas, and when in Kansas always voted the Republican ticket. According to my informant, Mr. O'Daniel voted the Republican ticket once in Texas, and never voted the Democratic ticket, in Texas or anywhere else. All this was said and understood by the Texas voters during the campaign in which Mr. O'Daniel was elected.

But the point which disarmed Texas prejudice and enabled the state to elect a Governor who apparently is a Republican lies in the fact that Mr. O'Daniel did not run as a Republican. He just entered the Democratic primaries, campaigned for the Democratic nomination, got it, and then won the election, as Democratic candidates in Texas practically always do.

Possibly there may be in this technique a suggestion for those who want the South next year to vote against the Democratic candidate for President (assuming the candidate is a New Dealer). Apparently the needed strategy is to rig up some device by which the South could vote against the Democratic candidate for President — but at the same time avoid voting for a candidate who runs under the name "Republican."

This need present little difficulty. The South (and all other Democrats who are disaffected) could set up a separate party; they could call it the "Southern Democratic Party" or the "Constitutional Democratic Party," or the "American Party"—any name that does not include the word "Republican." On that third ticket could be entered the name of the Republican candidate for President—omitting, of course, the designation "Republican."

New Deal Is The Issue

But all this speculation goes upon one assumption only. The question will arise only if the regular Democratic Party, at its 1940 national convention, is dominated by the New Dealers and nominates either Mr. Roosevelt or any other avowed New Dealer for President. Only in that event will the South feel any material reluctance to vote the Democratic ticket. If the Democratic National Convention next year nominates a Democrat who symbolizes criticism of the New Deal, such as Vice President Garner, every Southern State will give him the Democratic majority that is usual. Even if the Democrats nominate some middle-of-the-road-er, someone approved by both the New Deal and the orthodox Democrats, such as Secretary of State Hull—in that event, too, the South will go Democratic as usual.

Just what the Democrats in their convention next year will do is still very much in the making. All that has emerged so far can be summarized as follows:

First, a member of President Roosevelt's Cabinet, Secretary of the Interior Ickes, demands that Mr. Roosevelt be renominated next year.

Secondly, friends of Vice President Garner say that his name will certainly be placed before the convention regardless of who else runs.

Here, then, though in a form short of official, is a contest between the two wings of the Democratic Party—the New Deal symbolized by President Roosevelt, the orthodox Democrats symbolized by Mr. Garner.

There are some minor conditions and aspirants. But everything else that is being done is subordinate to the big ring contest between the two wings of the party symbolized by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Garner.

Greenville, S. C. News
June 18, 1939

The Political Game

The South And 1940

—By—
Mark Sullivan

WASHINGTON, June 17.—Every experienced writer on politics keeps his fingers permanently crossed to any suggestion that the South may secede from the Democratic party. But is it possible we may be too "set" in our skepticism? Obstinacy in skepticism and caution may be as much a mistake as any other kind of obstinacy.

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Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
June 13, 1939

Washington Merry-Go-Round:

Hull And The Monarch

---By Drew Pearson & Robert S. Allen

WASHINGTON, June 13. — The Administration does not know it yet, but Senator Gerald Nye of North Dakota has been very busy collecting Senate signatures to a petition against any revision of the Neutrality Act removing the prohibition of arms shipments to belligerents.

The present Neutrality Act prohibits arms and munitions to be sold to belligerents, and Nye wants this kept in the bill. Hull and Roosevelt want it taken out.

Nye has told friends that he expects to get 30 names on his petition. And since he is an indefatigable worker he should get at least 20. Furthermore, Nye promises to filibuster all summer if necessary to prevent any revision of the Neutrality Act. Since he has a good-sized group of senators with him, this should be quite possible.

Tragedy is that Secretary Hull easily could have secured Nye's cooperation a year ago. The North Dakota senator was anxious to lift the embargo on arms to Spain, and had a majority of the Senate with him. He was quite willing to make a bargain with the State Department whereby if it lifted the Spanish arms embargo, he would not oppose some of its ideas on general neutrality.

But instead of doing this, Hull sent one of the hottest letters to the Senate in his entire six years in office, slapping Nye in the face.

Now it is Nye's turn, and since he has the support of Borah, LaFollette, Johnson, Bone and several others, he may be able to block Hull's program.

Hull and the King

Now that the king and queen have come and gone, State Department aides have dropped the secret that Cordell Hull did not at all like the job of going up to the Canadian border to meet the king and queen.

The secretary of state mumbled and grumbled to those around him, but finally packed up his cutaway and grey striped trousers and got on the train to Niagara Falls.

Royal Fans

One group of Americans who were strong for the king and queen were the U. S. reporters who accompanied them throughout their North American tour.

The correspondents were effusively enthusiastic, described the royal couple as simply, kindly human beings with a keen sense of humor and definite minds of their own.

Most of the reporters voted the queen the better public personality, because of the king's shyness, but all were unanimous that he was by no means a "clothes-horse." He was most intelligent and well-informed on world affairs, they said.

The newsmen also were unanimous that Canadian press and police arrangements were better than those on this side of the border.

Another thing which impressed the correspondents was the snooty attitude assumed by the upper-crust New York socialites attending the British Embassy garden party. This group, including J. P. Morgan, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Sr., Winthrop Aldrich, and Mrs. Ogden Mills, herded off by themselves and had nothing to do with the other 1400 guests.

Merry-Go-Round

Iowa's lame duck Democratic Governor N. G. Kraschel is quietly pulling wires to land a fat job running the 1940 census. He has intimated to the White House that if he is taken care of, he will back a Roosevelt delegation from Iowa. . . . Southern textile manufacturers are complaining to the government that as a result of the cotton-loan policy they are compelled to shut down their mills because of a serious scarcity of "spot" cotton. . . . Senator William Smathers of New Jersey is peeved over the persistent efforts of Governor Harry Moore, henchman of Mayor ("I am the law") Hague, to get him out of the Senate by proposing him for various appointive jobs. Moore would like to name to Smathers' seat Jimmy Cromwell, husband of multi-millionairess Doris Duke.

Wallace and Children

Henry Wallace is a versatile individual. At a recent press conference, he began by dodging questions on the third term, then jumped to the international cotton conference, but really warmed up with a dissertation on child psychology.

His thesis is that heredity is not what it's cracked up to be. He says you can take children from poor-white shacks, whose parents are morons or close to it, transplant them by adoption, and make them "as intelligent as you or I."

This opportunity, he says, is "the genetic basis of democracy." Asked to define that phrase, he said, "On the average, children have the same intelligence and capacity, no matter what their economic status."

Wallace was asked if he thought there was an inherent difference between whites and negroes in their intellectual capacity. He replied without hesitation, "I have never seen any proof of it. I don't know of any competent anthropologist who says there is."

Mail Bag

S. S., Columbus, O.—The question discussed at the luncheon between Attorney General Frank Murphy and ex-Attorney General Cummings, according to their aides, was the tax prosecution of Moses Annenberg of The Philadelphia Inquirer. Cummings had received an offer to represent Annenberg, and Murphy was hoping he wouldn't take the case. Cummings indicated that he had no thought of doing so. . . . **E. R., Plainfield, N. J.**—Chiefly responsible for the Supreme Court ruling upholding free speech and denouncing Mayor Hague of Jersey City is Morris Ernst, the attorney who fought the case through all the lower courts and up to the Supreme Court without pay. . . . **H. V., St. Louis**—The man behind the appointment of Arch MacLeisch as new Librarian of Congress was Tommy Corcoran. The two have been friends for many years. Roosevelt regards the Library of Congress as second in importance only to the Supreme Court, because whoever heads it can set a powerful example for freedom of speech and writing. . . . **H. L., Grand Island, Nebr.**—Reason the king and queen were taken up Pennsylvania Avenue, with its flop houses and junk shops rather than the far more beautiful Constitution Avenue, was to give the hotels along Pennsylvania Avenue a chance to rent their rooms at high prices. The rooms give an excellent view of the parade and were reserved well in advance. . . **W. B., Sante Fe, N. M.**—Jim Farley has made no secret of his desire to run for president but at the same time he has been absolutely loyal to his chief. On his recent trip to the Pacific Coast he was consistent in saying that he was standing by to see whether Roosevelt would run again, in which case he would be 100 per cent for him.

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GENERAL

Why Not An Independent Party Of South?—Hastie

To The Commercial Appeal:

Those of us who are tired out hearing the South called "The Nation's Economic Problem No. 1," and are completely worn out by observing no move in the Senate and Congress to ameliorate the situation, although the Democratic Party is firmly in the saddle, would like to ask our fellow Southerners whether, and if so, how it pays the South to remain a Democratic stronghold, when our votes, with no reward, can always be safely counted as "in the bag"? No one who knows the South can imagine that the Republican Party could muster enough strength to cause an element of doubt in a national election in less than 30 years. Memories are too lasting and custom too strong for this to happen.

For that reason a lot of people who have come to realize that freight rates are not going to be equalized; that "relief" money in the South per person is about half paid those in the North; and on top of that, they see that because New England wishes the cotton mills back, strenuous efforts are being made to have textile wages be made uniform all over the country, are sickened by the hypocrisy of our own party. Can anyone see reason in the argument that because people can live cheaper in the South the relief granted us should be slashed in half, but that cotton mill employes cannot live cheaper, and hence the wage scale must be the same as in the East? Is it sensible to think that only one class of laborers cannot benefit in a land where things are cheaper than elsewhere? It may be "good politics" but otherwise it is a farce. Is it not time that we of the South commence to look around to see wherein and wherefrom our salvation shall come? Now, when we take stock what do we find? If the Republicans got in power, why should they help a section which never votes for them? Did anyone ever see a person willing to give something for nothing? When the Democrats are in power they know that we are shackled to them by tradition, so they toss us a few crumbs, but do not feel obliged to regard our plight. Why should they? Did anyone ever see a person paying for something which he can get for nothing? Can anyone look around and ever see stranger bedfellows than the present make-up of the Democratic Party?

All of us know that there will always be, unless we have dictatorship, two parties, and that one of them will take years to make a good show of political strength in the South.

Therefore, those of us who do not like what we have now, would like to present a plan, and ask others to tell us why it would not work or at least give us a better one which will work. In short, we have as our aim to aid this section, not to be tied to either party, but to have the South form, for national elections, an "Independent Southern Party" which would vote for the nominee of the party as advised by a committee composed of one man chosen by the electorate of each state, so that in every national election we would vote each time not for the good of either party, but solely for the good of the South. Let us look at facts squarely in the face. We control in that case in the Solid South and probably some "border states," enough votes certainly to be the balance of power.

At this time, our party makes good use of us, but that is all. Does anyone question the fact that if our votes were known to be going to the party which our committee was convinced would do more for the South than the other, that the South could fail to become the "belle" of the Nation and to be courted by both parties?

Naturally the formation of such a party would mean probably that no Southern man could ever be President. When we reflect that none has been since the Civil War and that the negroes of the North who hold the balance in the big states of the East and Middle West have decreed already that no Southerner must be nominated, we don't see any loss at all.

What those who think as we do wish to know is why the South cannot follow Wisconsin? They do not claim allegiance to any party and they gain, not lose, politically by it.

The plan we think would accomplish these aims is as follows:

1. To form under some name a Southern National Independent Party.
2. To have each Southern and border state select their most outstanding citizen as their committeeman on national affairs.
3. To require an oath from said citizen that he never would be a candidate for, nor accept another, political office.
4. That he would agree that he would never directly or indirectly try to use his influence in any intrastate election, nor to express approval or disapproval of any candidate in said election.
5. That his only duty and that of his fellow committeemen would be to ascertain handicaps the South is burdened with, to find out our needs and lastly to do their best to place us on equal terms in every respect with the rest of the country.
6. That upon the nomination for the presidency by the Democratic and Republican parties, this committee will coldly bargain with each candidate and each National Committee, presenting to them our needs and desires and get from them written agreements as to what they would pledge themselves to do for the betterment of the South, and pledge also to endeavor to prevent legislation being enacted or passed under which our interest might suffer or under which we would be unable to live.
7. That after comparing these replies, that not earlier than two weeks before election, and not later than 10 days, they advise the South which party to support and vote for.
8. That upon the formation of this Southern Party our electorate pledge themselves in national elections to follow the advice of their committee on national affairs.
9. That the electorate understand that in supporting either of the two parties means solely that they are merely casting their votes for the one selected by their committee as being better for the interests of the South, and not as members of that party.
10. That all intrastate elections be continued and held under our present laws and rules. In other words we shall elect all local and state officers, including congressmen and senators, exactly as we now do. Under this plan therefore, no official or person would face loss of office or influence. On the other hand, our senators and congressmen could be statesmen, and never have to stultify their consciences "for the good of the party;" for they would be then only responsible to the people who elected them in their respective states.

It is our opinion that when our officeholders and our politicians realize that under this plan no hurt to them would ensue, that opposition from them would not show up. If it did, people could rightly suspect that they love the present setup more than they love the South. We also feel that when our people fully realize that they will never be asked or advised to vote for any party as a party, but only for the good and benefit of the South, that they will not fail to vote as advised.

C. NORWOOD HASTIE.
Charleston, S. C.

Black Cabinet Campaign Hampered By Hatch Bill

WASHINGTON—(ANP) —Possible plans of members of the president's 'black cabinet' to campaign for the Democrats in 1940 will probably be scrapped now that the Hatch bill has passed the senate. This measure throws consternation into the ranks of federal employes generally but New Dealers particularly for it makes it unlawful for an office holder to engage in political activity.

Among the effective units which the Democrats had expected to use in next year's campaign were the advisers, assistants and other appointees which stand to the political credit of the Roosevelt administration. But now it seems these hopes are dead.

Three amendments to the bill, voted down however, were of great interest. One prohibited a member of congress from making an "audible speech" or spending money for "buttons, circulars or placards."

Another suggested that no political party be permitted to publish a political platform' which promised the voters anything."

Another suggested that newspapers and periodicals be prohibited from accepting money for political advertisements and from printing opinions on political campaigns.'

The legislation grew out of a senate investigation into 1938 political activities, and stirred up controversy long before the house debate which lasted 10 hours.

Advocates of the bill frankly said one purpose was to keep any federal administration from dominating national political conventions through selecting as delegates such appointees as marshals and U. S. attorneys.

Another amendment which was added to the bill provided that no federal employment would be available to persons advocating overthrow of the government by force and violence.

Congressman Arthur Mitchell of Illinois in the house sided with the 132 Democrats who voted against the measure, although it was passed by a 242 to 133 vote.

Garner's Snub Of Singer May Cool Chances

Finley Wilson Is Seen As Leaning To Roosevelt

NEW YORK—(ANP)—The 40th annual grand lodge of the IBPO Elks of the World took on a definitely political aspect here Tuesday morning, when several headline figures in the coming presidential campaigns were scheduled to make their appearance.

Chief among them were District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, whose address was to be flanked by speeches from Governor Herbert H. Lehman, and Mayor Fiorellio H. LaGuardia of this city. On the same program were Bruce Barton, and Representative Hamilton Fish, both of New York, and State Democratic Chairman Kenneth J. Simpson, also of New York.

PAST TRENDS

Veteran observers of Elk politics and their trends remember back to 1933 when at Indianapolis, the grand lodge enthusiastically voted to support the then Governor Paul V. McNutt, if he ever decided to run for president.

This was based on the McNutt record in Indiana affairs, including his sponsorship of one of the first civil rights bills ever to pass a state legislature in this country, and which was introduced by then-state senator Henry J. Richardson, Jr., of Indiana. Richardson is now assistant grand legal advisor of the Elks, and is on hand to blow the McNutt horn.

However, Mayor LaGuardia was quoted in a recent issue of the Washington, D. C., Times, a daily there, as feeling more inclined to support John N. Garner for president as against McNutt. This opinion may be reflected in the mayor's speech, for it is a certainty that Dewey present, the Democratic group will miss no chance to drive home a point for any of their candidates.

The general feeling here is against Garner, however, for Easterners do not feel inclined to overlook his snubs of Miss Marian Anderson in the nation's capital recently.

Governor Lehman's presnect injected still another angle into the picture, for he is regarded as a pro-third-termer, and how the Elks feel about that will not be known until after Tuesday. It might be remarked, however, that Finley Wilson, Elk ruler, has a set of very fine pictures made at the White House in warm conversation with FDR.

HOWARD FOR TAFT

On the other side of the picture will be the veteran politician, Perry W. Howard, and a strong slate of well-known Negro GOP's, who have expressed their firm intentions of supporting Senator Robert Taft of Ohio for the GOP nomination.

Among those who are very conspicious by their absence from Perry's list will be found the Memphis leader Bob Church, who is one the line for Governor James of Pennsylvania, and Assistant District Attorney Hunton and Francis E. Rivers, both of New York City, who have gone into the ring for Mr. Dewey.

The list of Mr. Howard includes: Bishops Robert E. Jones, A. P. Shaw, and S. L. Green, Lawrence O. Payne, Cleveland assemblyman, Robert L Bailey, former member of the Indiana legislature, John Schenck, former assistant district attorney of Boston, S. D. (the Gaines case) Redmond, of Mo., Dr. J. H. E. Westbrooke of Denver, James E. Kelley, grand secretary of the Elks, Roy Bond, Baltimore lawyer and Perry B. Jackson, assistant prosecuting attorney of Cleveland. This group has dubbed Taft as "the candidate," and are prepared to fight for his recognition at New York.

Whatever may transpire, one thing is certain, and Senator Millard F. Tydings of Maryland will vouch for it: the colored Elks wield a tremendous political influence. For last year at Baltimore Senator Tydings was kept waiting in an anteroom for a two-hour stretch while the Elks debated whether or not to let him speak to them. He got the chance, made his speech, won his hearers, and the subsequent vote of colored Marylanders when FDR began the famed "purge."

PLENTY BIG GUNS

In 1932, another election year, reports from Atlantic City to the effect that the Elks, were considering allowing John N. Garner address them drew such attention, as to cause Ray Benjamin, President Hoover's close advisor, to call long distance from the White House in Washington, to find out from Perry Howard and Judge W. C. Hueston, just what it was all about. Lieutenant Coloner Chauncey Hooper and Civil Service Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton, of New York City, were the Demos trying to make a way for the then speaker of the house, Mr. Garner.

But Tuesday at 11 a.m. the Elks went into the political arena with enough heavy artillery to do some big gunning.

POLITICAL- 1939

PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

G.O.P PUBLICITY CHIEF TELLS WHY KELLY WANTS FDR

Waltman Turns Light on Chicago Mayor for Talking About "Political Gangsters"

By Frank Waltman

Publicity Diretor, Republican National Committee

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Well, well! So Edward J. Kelly, Democratic Mayor of Chicago, "demands" that President Roosevelt seek a third term!

His Honor's declaration to the Young Democratic Clubs of America, though not surprising, was, indeed, significant. It was significant because in bold outline it symbolized the type of support which Roosevelt will have in any third term ecort he may make. What is more, the Kelly pronouncement indicates the sources of the drive toward a third term.

Thus as we approach the 1940 national conventions it becomes obvious that the advocates of a third term generally fall into two classes, namely, a radical element which has been using the New Deal as a springboard for the promotion of a socialistic order and those who are in politics to get all they can out of it.

Selfish Interests Dominate

Mayor Kelly symbolizes the latter group. His ardent advocacy of a third term is evidence that he and his ilk have fared well under the New Deal regime and that they fear a change in Administration in Washington would be detrimental to the personal interests. Although they take refuge in uttering great principles and lofty sentiments, they care little for the general welfare and are moved primarily by their selfish interests.

For instance, there was Mayor Kelly's pious declaration that those who opposed Mr. Roosevelt were "political gangsters." Surely as a nation we have lost our sense of humor if that did not bring a laugh from coast to coast. Ed Kelly, leader of the Chicago Democatic machine, solemnly denouncing "political gangsters"! How can you keep a straight face?

For this Kelly heads a political gang whose tactics and performance have not differed in any material degree from the operations of Tammany Hall in New York or Frank ("I Am The Law") Hague in Jersey City. Bourbon and reactionary at heart, they have sought to rule our American cities like feudal barons, levying tribute for themselves and their henchmen.

Mouthing of the word "liberal" by this crowd, as Kelly did, is the reason why this word today smells to high heaven.

Gambling World Alliance

Ironically, the very newspapers which reported Kelly's "demand" for a third term, on another page carried a description of the activities of one William R. ("Billy") Skidmore, Kelly henchman and reputed to be the gambling czar of Chicago. In this account Skidmore was described as "the pay-off man for the Chicago Demorcatic machine, the man to whom the gambling world pays money for protection, and who passes it along to the organization which has helped to run up such big margins for Roosevelt in Chicago."

So Mayor Kelly's fervent "demand" that Mr. Roosevelt make the "great sacrifice" and run again gives us an idea of one group of people who are promoting the third term movement. In the other group are found Earl Browder, leader of the Communist Party in this country; John L. Lewis and Harry Bridges, the radical labor leaders; the socialistically inclined Harold L. Ickes and the crowd of parlor pinks who infest Washington, like young Tommy Corcoran and his pal, Benny Cohen.

Do we find the representative leaders of the Demoratic Party in this third term movement? We do not. The fight which Vice President John N. Garner is making against the third term is too well known to require recital. On the very day that Mayor Kelly pleaded for a third term, Representative Sam Rayburn, Democratic leader of the House, made it clear a third term was obnoxious to him. He declared in favor of the nomination of Mr. Garner. A few days previously the Democrats of Kentucky in a gubernatorial primary, made it plain they have no use for any candidate backed by the radical John Lewis—an event which must have greatly pained Mr. Roosevelt's "yes man", Alben Barkley. A dozen similar incidents could be cited.

F. D. R. Threatens Bolt

As the third term movement progresses it also is revealing Mr. Roosevelt to us in a new light. In his message to the Young Democratic convention, he intimated that unles the party next year nominated a man of his choosing he would bolt—or at least sulk in his tent. In other words, Mr. Roosevelt refuses to play unless he can play according to his own rules and whims. He justifies such an attitude on the ground of independence and fealty to his conscience.

Yet this is the same Mr. Roosevelt who has assailed severely members of his party for exercising independence of judgment and following the dictates of their consciences in regard to New Deal proposals. He denies to them the right to be independent but insists on the right for himself.

And, this is the same Mr. Roosevelt who has talked so much about democracy. If democracy means anything, it means the rule of the majority. But, Mr. Roosevelt now asserts, he does not propose to follow the rule of the majority in his party, unless their action is strictly in accord with his desires. Such intolerance of other men's viewpoints is the essence of the bourbon heart and mind—it is the material of which Hitlers and Stalins are made.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
November 16, 1939

Politics

By FRANK R. KENT

THE NEGRO SHIFTS AGAIN

Washington.

WHILE no federal and few state offices were filled in the elections last week, the returns in a number of places were not without importance. For example, there is the Philadelphia vote. So far as 1940 is concerned, practical politicians see more in that than in any other—not because the Republicans won against a strong Democratic-Independent-Fusion ticket but because a single basic political fact significantly sticks out. It can be briefly expressed—the negroes have shifted back.

IT IS the unmistakable nature of this which makes it logical to believe that Pennsylvania will go Republican next year and that Senator Joseph Guffey, who more blatantly than any other in the past seven years has demagogued on labor and racial lines, will not be reelected if renominated. Only those who know the real story of the New Deal and the negro and understand how much of the Democratic 1934 and 1936 victories were due to negro support will appreciate the feeling of Republican national leaders at the Philadelphia figures, which show the negro voter, who started returning "home" last year, continuing in that direction at increased speed.

FOR example, in the four great negro wards in Philadelphia, the Republicans carried the Twentieth, the Thirtieth and the Forty-fourth by small margins and lost the Twenty-fourth by 92. But—in 1936 Mr. Roosevelt carried the Twentieth and Thirtieth by more than 5,000 each and the Twenty-fourth and Forty-fourth by more than 6,000 each. Last year, although the trend was Republican and a proportion of the negroes swung back, all four of these wards stayed in the Democratic column. That they should now definitely have swung farther toward the Republicans is something not to be politically ignored.

IT WAS in 1933 that Senator Guffey and Chairman Farley, with the hearty cooperation of Mr. Roosevelt, started out to wean the negro vote away from the Republican party, to which in the big debatable states it had been a basic asset for more than seventy years. The success of the Messrs. Farley and Guffey in this business was sensational and unprecedented. It culminated in swinging to Mr. Roosevelt in 1936 more than two million heretofore solidly Republican negro votes in New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan.

IT IS too much to say that without these votes Mr. Roosevelt would not have won that year, but any analysis will prove that but for them he would have carried few of these states. It has been estimated by Democrats—and conceded by Republicans—that Mr. Roosevelt in 1936 got better than 96 per cent of the total negro vote in the Northern and border states. When, early in September, the more astute Republican leaders grasped the fact that the negroes had really swung over, they gave up hope. Their chagrin was only matched by the jubilation of the Democratic managers. Neither made any public demonstration—the Republicans because to do so would merely have accentuated a desperate situation; the Democrats because, with the negro prejudice in the Solid Democratic South, they were playing both ends against the middle.

BY MANY this mass swinging of the negro vote is held to be the most skillful piece of politics ever executed in this country. Certainly, although the public generally never fully grasped the facts, it was sensationally successful. There is no space here again to tell the story of how the thing was done. It is ironic that Mr. Guffey, against whom they are now turning, conceived the scheme. Partly it was accomplished through federal patronage; partly through the organization; partly by employing a great number of traveling negro teachers, preachers and speakers, who, in campaigns and out, went about among the negroes preaching Roosevelt doctrines and telling what Mr. Roosevelt had done for the negroes.

THE REV. Stanley High with his "Good Neighbor League" helped; the president helped and so did Mrs. Roosevelt—very much, indeed, by having her picture taken surrounded by negroes, a million copies of which were distributed among the Northern negroes during the campaign. However, there is complete agreement among politicians that the trick could not have been turned but for relief money. No secret is made of that. That was basic. Without the relief rolls upon which great masses of negroes were—and still are—it could not have been done. That started them toward the Democrats: the other things just helped make it complete.

Knoxville Tenn. Journal
November 16, 1939

GREAT GAME OF POLITICS

The Negro Shifts Again

WASHINGTON, Nov. 15—While no Federal and few State offices were filled in the elections last week, the returns in a number of places were not without importance. For example, there is the Philadelphia vote. So far as 1940 is concerned, practical politicians see more in that than in any other — not because the Republicans won against a strong Democratic-Independent-Fusion ticket but because a single basic political fact significantly sticks out. It can be briefly expressed — the Negroes have shifted back.

Kent

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It is the unmistakable nature of this which makes it logical to believe that Pennsylvania will go Republican next year and that Senator Joseph Guffey, who more blatantly than any other in the past seven years has demagogued on labor and racial lines, will not be re-elected if renominated. Only those who know the real story of the New Deal and the Negro and understand how much of the Democratic 1934 and 1936 victories were due to Negro support will appreciate the feeling of Republican national leaders at the Philadelphia figures, which show the Negro voter, who started returning "home" last year, continuing in that direction at increased speed.

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It is too much to say that without these votes Mr. Roosevelt would not have won that year, but any analysis will prove that but for them he would have carried few of these States. It has been estimated by Democrats—and conceded by Republicans—that Mr. Roosevelt in 1936 got better than ninety-six per cent of the total Negro vote in the Northern and border States. When, early in September, the more astute Republican leaders grasped the fact that the Negroes had really swung over, they gave up hope. Their chagrin was only matched by the jubilation of the Democratic managers. Neither made any public demonstration—the Republicans because to do so would merely have accentuated a desperate situation; the Democrats because, with the Negro prejudice in the Solid Democratic South, they were playing both ends against the middle.

Turns On Guffey

By many this mass swinging of the Negro vote is held to be the most skillful piece of politics ever executed in this country. Certainly, although the public generally never fully grasped the facts, it was sensationally successful. There is no space here again to tell the story of how the thing was done. It is ironic that Mr. Guffey, against whom they are now turning, conceived the scheme. Partly it was accomplished through Federal patronage; partly through the organization; partly by employing a great number of traveling Negro teachers, preachers and speakers, who, in campaigns and out, went about among the Negroes preaching Roosevelt doctrines and telling what Mr. Roosevelt had done for the Negroes.

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The Rev. Stanley High with his "Good Neighbor League" helped; the President helped and so did Mrs. Roosevelt—very much, indeed, by having her picture taken surrounded by Negroes, a million copies of which were distributed among the Northern Negroes during the campaign. However, there is complete agreement among politicians that the trick could not have been turned but for relief money. No secret is made of that. That was basic. Without the relief rolls upon which great masses of Negroes were—and still are—it could not have been done. That started them toward the Democrats; the other things just helped make it complete.

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The amazing thing is that they have shifted again. The swing back started in 1938. Republicans estimate that in that election about 50 per cent were recovered. It was this shift that really accounted for the Republican victories of that year. Partly they came back because the Republicans went after them with determination and skill: partly, because they do not—and never will—feel really at home in the Democratic party. The Philadelphia vote shows that the swing back, still on, has gone far enough to justify Republican hope of a 100 per cent recovery in 1940. No clear-headed politician will minimize the importance of that.

WHAT IS THE INDICATION?

Many years ago a Negro Democrat was ostracized. He was a rarity. The feeling against him has become more tolerant. In more recent years economic conditions encouraged him in large numbers to support the democratic party. This was true in nine-teen thirty-two when hordes of them supported the Roosevelt ticket and were the cause of electing the large democratic majority in Congress. In return the national administration encouraged them with appointments and enjoyment of the relief rolls. In the following national election they gave the president an overwhelming vote. It seems as if they deserted the Republican party entirely. The prediction was freely given that they would not return to that party. The prediction is not holding good. The main reasons why these voters left the Republican party is because of the lack of recognition and the parceling of jobs. The Democrats did this in a fair way but since the election two years ago that party began to backslide causing a reversal of the sentiment of the voters. Last week elections were held in only a few places but sufficiently important to show that these colored voters are returning to their first love. They have caused the Republicans to return to power in Pennsylvania and carried to victory the party in Philadelphia aside from electing some of their number to important places. President Roosevelt's popularity with them continues, but the election of the coming November will prove many points.—Savannah Tribune.

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POLITICAL- 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

TWO POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE SOUTH

Globe 10-13-39

THE truth of the situation is, ninety per cent of the white people of the South, do not want two active political parties in the South. About ten per cent of the white folks in the South, want two active productive political organizations in Dixie. This ten per cent consists of high class, intelligent, wealthy business people, who control the social, economic and business of the South; but cut no figure in the political policies that dominate their business and control the State. This class of white men and women do not fear Negro domination, the pattern bug-bear of the Southern crafty politician, because they know that ignorance and poverty, never have controlled wealth and intelligence; and never will control it. But this group is hopelessly in the minority, and the Democrat Negro haters have found it easy, to keep the wealth and intelligence of the South in the background; by holding out Negro domination to the white masses as a menace, and inflaming the minds of the rabble against the Negro, and the white man of wealth and respectability; to the end, that we have only one political party in the South, to the detriment of the economic, social and political growth of our section.

Marinelle

In fact, the Negro is the only group in the South, that really wants two political parties in the South and is willing to fight for what he wants. The wealthy and intelligent white man wants two political parties in the South, but he hasn't the guts and moral courage to fight for what he wants. He fears social and business ostracism. Yes, by his acquiescence in the crime, he helps to prove the charge President Roosevelt brought against the South, when he said, that the South is the economic problem of the Nation. The South has been so busy keeping the Negro down and depriving him of his legal rights, it has not had time to develop its natural resources.

The Republican Party has been negligent in its duty toward creating a two party system in the South. It had a fine nucleus to build an active opposition party in the South, but it failed to take the advantage of its opportunity. The Negro constituted that nucleus and was loyal. Beginning with the Taft Administration in 1909, the Republican Party has done more to encourage a one party system in the South, than it has done to break it down. It has not fought to keep the Negro vote as it has the German, Swede, Irish and other nationalities. There has been a growing idea in the Republican party, to builld a white Republican party in the South, similar to the white democratic primary, in which Negroes are not permitted and have no voice in the selection of democratic candidates. Hence, we have a lily-white Republican party in the South, that excludes Negroes from its councils, in the same way and with the same effect, the white primary system excludes Negroes from the democratic party.

The Negro is in no sense responsible for the one party system in the South; lily-whiteism reached its apex under the Hoover administration. Regular organized state organizations were ruthlessly wrecked because they had Negroes in them, and displaced by poor white trash, who neither had political, social or financial standing in the community where they lived. The patronage was taken from the regular organizations, and turned over to the lily-white machine to be divided among themselves, without regard to the good of the party or the community to be served. We have no Republican party in Georgia, Texas, Louisiana, South Carolina, Arkansas and other Southern States, because the lily-whites have sought to reduce the party to just enough of their kind to fill the offices. These lily-white machines meet once every four years and elect themselves delegates to Republican conventions in order that they may join the democrats in keeping the one party system in the South. Between National Conventions these lily-whites vote in the democratic primaries and participate in all democratic activities; and ring up once every four years in order to be able to handle political pie. These machines make no efforts to build a respectable Republican party in the South. If there is any corruption among Southern delegates to National conventions as often, defeated Republicans in the North allege, it is due, and chargeable to the white men in the party, because all the money sent South to handle delegates is sent to white men, and not black men. It is not a new thing to hear some Northern man who ran for public office and was defeated charge, that the Negroes of the South are rotten, when in truth he knows that the rascals are all white.

Union-Review

What Is Democracy?

The first settlers came to this country for various reasons. When they first arrived they found an unknown wilderness. After grouping themselves into colonies and fighting for the various purposes that brought them here they were led to a form of government called a Democracy. Democracy is best described in the words of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, "A government of the people, for the people and by the people." From the time that the first settlers landed up to the formation of the Constitution of the United States their problems were many and hinged around some of the same issues that face nations today. In carrying on business during the early days of this country some one found it profitable to transport Negroes from the African Continent to the shores of the new land. As more unity was formed in the new land the fusion of cultures, the blending of ideals and a working program for the various purposes and desires were shaped in such a way that there would be one great race known as the American White Man. This came about and has been called the American Melting Pot, which included all nationalities of the Caucasion race. Since that day there have been two distinct races in America, the American Negro and the American White Man, while living under the governmen of the people, for the people and by the people.

When the Constitution of the United States was completed it was looked upon as one of the greatest documents ever to be written in this country. And its principles and ideals are the frame work for the possibility of a real Democracy. The Constitution of the United States states very clearly on several points that affect the Negro. Let us quote the Fourteenth Amendment and see what is set forth,

> "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce laws which shall abridge the privileges of citizens of these states; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law."

In the face of such an emphatic statement we find that the Negro is denied his rights as a citizen. In many states Negroes must ride in Jim-crow cars, are not allowed to vote and are not given due process of the law in the court room. Years ago only the Southern states were guilty of violating the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. But in recent years the violation of this Amendment has been made by many other states not in the South

When men are elected to office by the people they take an oath and pledge allegiance to carry out the duties of that office as prescribed by the Constitution of the United States. The Fifteenth Amendment has this to say:

> "I will, to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Throughout the United States peace officers, Governors, Attorney Generals, congressmen make this statement in the presence of God and man yet in America, the land of the free and the home of the brave, Negroes have been burned, tortured with blow torches, shot down like rats, dragged through the streets while politicians and some of the very men who took office under the Fifteenth Amendment have played around with the Anti-lynching Bill.

If Democracy means what Lincoln inferred in his Gettysburg Address, then America is a long ways from practicing Democracy.

While the European War is in progress and the world is concerned about Hliter's threat to tear down Democracy and establish Dictator Rule throughout the world the leaders of this nation should be just as much concerned about the problems blocking Democracy in this country as they are about Hitler. Regardless of what the outcome of Hitler's program will be, and how long the war will last, America will yet face a problem of the law under the Constitution. If protection of the law under the Constitution. If the European war ends tomorrow the conflict and struggle between races, classes and groups will still present the same menacing problem that is typical of an attempt to have a Democracy in a hetrogenous nation.

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Emmett J. Scott Contends New Deal Has Lost Favor Of Its Negro Supporters

Says Party's Effort To Hold Race In Line With Relief And Some Traveling Orators Has Ceased To Be Alluring To Masses

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Dr. Emmett J. Scott, recently appointed assistant publicity director of the Republican National Committee, issued a statement this week, sharply disagreeing with the veteran educator, Dr. Kelly Miller, unwavering protagonist of the New Deal, who stated recently that "a majority of the most outstanding and influential members of the (Negro) race have been enticed away from their (Republican) political mooring by allurment of the Democratic Party and the New Deal."

Dr. Scott, while conceding that a number of Negroes have been given choice positions in the New Deal observers that "many of these men as well as thousands outside of public office have not been slow to recognize that despite the New Deal's dramatic gestures, the Negro race itself has remained relatively outside the limits of New Deal processes. Whatever gains have been made have been more than overbalanced, swamped as it were, by inequities of the administration."

Dr. Scott refers to the fixing of residential patterns according to local prejudices as was done by the Housing Administration; how New Deal policies have prevented Negroes from regaining jobs in private industry and have compelled them to remain on relief or recipients of doles.

He points to the discrimination of the New Deal Secretary of War who has refused to set aside any of the big sum voted for the army to train Negro soldiers at a time when the menace of war may be all but impending. Discrimination and segregation of Negro citizens are still rampant in the armed forces of the nation, he states.

Dr. Scott charges that the chief allurment the New Deal offers the Negro race is relief and it is expecting Negroes to vote for the party in consideration of the starvation wages relief jobs pay. He feels that, while relief is necessary, it should be administered in the interest of the needy rather than in the interest of politics and politicians.

Quotations are given from the Pittsburgh Courier which supported the New Deal in 1932 and 1936, in which that great paper says that the New Deal has done nothing to end racial discrimination by the government "but a great deal to prolong it." The Courier said that racial discrimination has been winked at in the NRA, FHA, PWA, CCC, WPA and a dozen other alphabetical setups, and that the New Deal helped spread Jim-crowism over the country where it had never before existed while Negro New Deal office holders had approved it by silence or hollow apology.

Dr. Scott further quotes the Courier as saying, Mr. Roosevelt has expressed shock over the beating of Jews abroad but has had no condemnation for the lynching of Negroes in the United States. That Negroes are pariahs within the shadow of the White House but the President preferred to make speeches condemning the dictators for doing the same thing to Jews, Catholics and others abroad.

He quotes the Negro Labor News, published in Texas and another one of the newspapers which supported Mr. Roosevelt as saying,

"Negroes both in the North and in the South are disappointed with the New Deal. Economic and labor conditions are worse, fundamentally than at any time since Emancipation. Aside from the dole jobs, about the biggest thing New Dealers are doing for Negro employment is the hiring of some few Negroes in strategic positions to travel over the country and picture Utopias to the working class of Negroes if they will only continue to be loyal to the New Deal."

The concluding part of Dr. Scott's statement is as follows:

"With these words from a prominent newspaper that helped elect the New Deal, and from a leader of better labor conditions ringing in their ears, it rather occurs to me to say that thoughtful colored Americans will keep in mind these strictures, and will in my opinion want to find their way back to a party of which it may be said, that at least it has always stood for the basic principles of American democracy; and that not a single discriminatory, repressive or disfranchising law; not a single Jim crow law; not a single peonage law not a single Government regulation setting up regional wage differentials, has ever been passed by any state dominated by Republican public opinion, or by any Republican administration at Washington.

These things of which The Courier and Mr. Rice complain are of importance to us. They cannot be condoned, overlooked or forgotten Our first concern must ever be for the preservation of the basic guarantees of our civil and political rights, our absolute equality before the law, and our right to fair consideration in all the pursuits of happiness.

It must still remain for the great masses of Colored voters to decide by their votes whether the guarantees written into the Federal Constitution by the Republican Party shall be preserved by that party, or whether they will support that ancient opposition party which has consistently sought to abrogate and destroy them.

In all I have written, it is as a citizen of the Republic, deeply and seriously concerned with its Present and Future, particularly the welfare of Colored Americans, who love their country and its institutions, and wish its National economy preserved, and its destiny along progressive lines, assured, for what concerns the future of other Americans is of deep concern to them also.

South Wants Two Parties

Certainty that factional politics has not been adjourned in the face of a great war crisis is evident from the fact that the so-called monopoly committee has once more begun to nector American industry.

In resuming its hearings it has generously permitted the industries which are to be put on the spot to bring forward any spokesman they may choose and present their evidence in their own way. But it is New Deal persecution of big business, right on, and is certainly not a contribution to the united front we are supposed to present in face of a common enemy.

In congress the report continues to circulate that there are many senators and representatives who are concerned, not with the intrinsic question of an embargo repeal, but with the possibility that Mr. Roosevelt will maneuver his country into war if he is given too much arbitary power.

Again, in reply to the suggestion by former Governor Alf Landon that Mr. Roosevelt make known his intentions as to a third term, he flatly refuses to do so and in practically all quarters the impression grows that he is in fact using the present emergency to win another nomination and election.

In the midst of this situation the Institute of Public Opinion has taken a poll of the thirteen states, from Virginia to Oklahoma, constituting the solid South, on the question. "Do you think the South would be better off if there were two political parties in the South, about equal in strength, instead of only one strong party as at present?"

As the Institute points out, it is only natural that the Republican party should answer in the affirmative, which it does, almost unanimously, but the interesting fact is that 45 per cent of the Democrats below the Mason and Dixon line are convinced that this section should have a strong opposition party.

Among the explanations which accompany the ballots are complaints that "the rest of the Democratic party has begun to take the South for granted."

This complaint has been intensnified because of the action taken at the last National Democratic Convention by which the two-thirds rule was abolished. So long as it required a two-thirds vote for a nomination, the solid South had a kind of veto power on nominations.

It is amazing that so many Southern delegates ever could have fallen into the trap of voting to abolish the two-thirds rule. At any rate the net result is that the majority rule has deprived the South of the commanding influence it once had in national conventions.

While it is found to be true that 45 per cent of the Southern voters want a strong opposition party, it was evident from their remarks that it would have to be a party with something besides the Republican label.

There is, of course, nothing new in all this. That the South is in political bondage to its prejudices has long been recognized and Northern Democrats have traded on that prejudice ever since reconstruction. The one practical question has been as to how an opposition party could be built up which did not carry the Republican label.

Broadly speaking, there is one great line of cleavage in every electorate as to parties. The division is between liberal and conservatives. Conservatives contend that they are not less liberal than those who wear the liberal label but regard it as better strategy to "make haste slowly" and attain objectives through a campaign of education.

This division was in process in this country when the war emergency arose. In other words, the leaders were squaring off for a contest between orthodox democracy and the New Deal. Evidence that the New Deal was gangrened with radicalism was rapidly strengthening the position of the orthodox Democrats.

It has now become a question as to how far these differences will be forgotten as the leader of the New Deal becomes the logical leader of the people in a time of emergency

If he, himself, does not observe a political truce, there is no reason why traditional Democrats should observe it and we might as well carry on two wars at once.

The domestic front is in many respects just as important as that along the Rhine.

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PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

Emmett J. Scott Contends New Deal Has Lost Favor Of Its Negro Supporters

Says Party's Effort To Hold Race In Line With Relief And Some Traveling Orators Has Ceased To Be Alluring To Masses

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Dr. Emmett J. Scott, recently appointed assistant publicity director of the Republican National Committee, issued a statement this week, sharply disagreeing with the veteran educator, Dr. Kelly Miller, unwavering protagonist of the New Deal, who stated recently that "a majority of the most outstanding and influential members of the (Negro) race have been enticed away from their (Republican) political moorings by allurment of the Democratic Party and the New Deal."

Dr. Scott, while conceding that a number of Negroes have been given choice positions in the New Deal observers that "many of these men as well as thousands outside of public office have not been slow to recognize that despite the New Deal's dramatic gestures, the Negro race itself has remained relatively outside the limits of New Deal processes. Whatever gains have been made have been more than overbalanced, swamped as it were, by inequities of the administration."

Dr. Scott refers to the fixing of residential patterns according to local prejudices as was done by the Housing Administration; how New Deal policies have prevented Negroes from regaining jobs in private industry and have compelled them to remain on relief or recipients of doles.

He points to the discrimination of the New Deal Secretary of War who has refused to set aside any of the big sum voted for the army to train Negro soldiers at a time when the menace of war may be all but impending. Discrimination and segregation of Negro citizens are still rampant in the armed forces of the nation, he states.

Dr. Scott charges that the chief allurment the New Deal offers the Negro race is relief and it is expecting Negroes to vote for the party in consideration of the starvation wages relief jobs pay. He feels that, while relief is necessary, it should be administered in the interest of the needy rather than in the interest of politics and politicians.

Quotations are given from the Pittsburgh Courier which supported the New Deal in 1932 and 1936, in which that great paper says that the New Deal has done nothing to end racial discrimination by the government "but a great deal to prolong it." The Courier said that racial discrimination has been winked at in the NRA, FHA, PWA, CCC, WPA and a dozen other alphabetical setups, and that the New Deal helped spread Jim-crowism over the country where it had never before existed while Negro New Deal office holders had approved it by silence or hollow apology.

Dr. Scott further quotes the Courier as saying, Mr. Roosevelt has expressed shock over the beating of Jews abroad but has had no condemnation for the lynching of Negroes in the United States. That Negroes are parias within the shadow of the White House but the President preferred to make speeches condemning the dictators for doing the same thing to Jews, Catholics and others abroad.

He quotes the Negro Labor News, published in Texas and another one of the newspapers which supported Mr. Roosevelt as saying,

"Negroes both in the North and in the South are disappointed with the New Deal. Economic and labor conditions are worse, fundamentally than at any time since Emancipation. Aside from the dole jobs, about the biggest thing New Dealers are doing for Negro employment is the hiring of some few Negroes in strategic positions to travel over the country and picture Utopias to the working class of Negroes if they will only continue to be loyal to the New Deal."

The concluding part of Dr. Scott's statement is as follows:

"With these words from a prominent newspaper that helped elect the New Deal, and from a leader of better labor conditions ringing in their ears, it rather occurs to me to say that thoughtful colored Americans will keep in mind these strictures, and will, in my opinion want to find their way back to a party of which it may be said, that at least it has always stood for the basic principles of American democracy; and that not a single discriminatory, repressive or disfranchising law; not a single Jim-crow law; not a single peonage law not a single Government regulation setting up regional wage differentials, has ever been passed by any state dominated by Republican public opinion, or by any Republican administration at Washington.

These things of which The Courier and Mr. Rice complain are of importance to us. They cannot be condoned, overlooked or forgotten. Our first concern must ever be for the preservation of the basic guarantees of our civil and political rights, our absolute equality before the law, and our right to fair consideration in all the pursuits of happiness.

It must still remain for the great masses of Colored voters to decide by their votes whether the guarantees written into the Federal Constitution by the Republican Party shall be preserved by that party, or whether they will support that ancient opposition party which has consistently sought to abrogate and destroy them.

In all I have written, it is as a citizen of the Republic deeply and seriously concerned with its Present and Future, particularly the welfare of Colored Americans, who love their country and its institutions, and wish its National economy preserved, and its destiny along progressive lines, assured, for what concerns the future of other Americans is of deep concern to them also.

South Wants Two Parties

Certainty that factional politics has not been adjourned in the face of a great war crisis is evident from the fact that the so-called monopoly committee has once more begun to nector American industry.

In resuming its hearings it has generously permitted the industries which are to be put on the spot to bring forward any spokesman they may choose and present their evidence in their own way. But it is New Deal persecution of big business, right on, and is certainly not a contribution to the united front we are supposed to present in face of a common enemy.

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In the midst of this situation the Institute of Public Opinion has taken a poll of the thirteen states, from Virginia to Oklahoma, constituting the solid South, on the question, "Do you think the South would be better off if there were two political parties in the South, about equal in strength, instead of only one strong party as at present?"

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Among the explanations which accompany the ballots are complaints that "the rest of the Democratic party has begun to take the South for granted."

This complaint has been intensnified because of the action taken at the last National Democratic Convention by which the two-thirds rule was abolished. So long as it required a two-thirds vote for a nomination, the solid South had a kind of veto power on nominations.

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REEL 63

Solid South Backs 2-Party System

Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J.—When President Roosevelt toured the South on his famous "purge" campaign last year he was traveling through a section that has been traditionally Democratic in politics since before 1860.

It has been "the solid South" in so many elections that the few exceptions—in 1928, for instance—have only proved the rule.

But many Southerners have begun to deplore the fact that the Democratic Party can nearly always count on the South being "solid," and a majority of Southern voters now believe that their section would be better off if it had two strong political parties rather than one.

That fact is indicated in a survey of 13 Southern States which has just been completed by the American Institute of Public Opinion. To a cross-section of the voting population in each of the Southern States, from Virginia to Oklahoma, the institute put the question: "Do you think the South would be better off if there were two political parties in the South, about equal in strength, instead of only one strong party as at present?"

The replies of the Southerners were:

YES 57%
NO 43%

Southern Republicans, of course, were nearly unanimous in saying the South would be better off with two strong parties. But the survey uncovers the interesting fact that nearly half the Southern Democrats (45%) regret the virtual one-party system below the Mason-Dixon line.

Their reasons become clear in the institute's analysis of voter comments.

The chief complaint of Southerners who would like to see two strong parties is that "the rest of the Democratic Party has begun to take the South for granted." This complaint has been heightened, the comments show, by the decision of the last Democratic national convention to cancel the "two-thirds rule" by which the South exercised a powerful veto, in practice, over the choice of national party candidates.

Others commented merely that a two-party system would mean a wider choice of candidates and consequently "better men" elected to office.

South Not Going Republican

WHILE the sentiment revealed in today's survey may be an important political omen for the future, there is no question at the present time of rank-and-file Southern voters embracing the Republican party.

Time and again Southern voters qualified their opinions by saying: "We need two strong parties, but the second party couldn't be the Republican Party. It would have to have a different label down here."

On the important question: "Which party would you like to see win the presidential election in 1940?" moreover, Southerners have consistently been strongly pro-Democrat in institute tests. In the latest survey on the question 73 per cent said they favored a Democratic victory; 27 per cent a Republican.

For political leaders of both parties, however, the underlying sentiment revealed today will be something that will bear watching.

SUSPEND POLITICS

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL administration has asked the Republicans in Congress to suspend opposition on political grounds during the war emergency. It seems to us that this request is a bit premature, for we are technically neutral and therefore have nothing to do with the European war. For that reason the business of the government should be allowed to function normally, or as near normally as possible.

Senator Bennett Champ Clark, isolationist member of the Democratic party from Missouri, in a recent speech against the repeal of the arms embargo, pointed out that the President has assumed emergency powers that should be used only when the country is in a state of war, and in the exercise of these powers, he greatly feared we would soon be favoring one of the belligerent powers.

One of the quickest ways to bring this country into war is for the government to assume a war-like attitude and shut off all opposition to the administration's program. Those who are against our participation in the war naturally favor the freest discussion on all subjects of a political nature and the government functioning in a normal manner.

We are therefore opposed to the plan whereby political opposition be suspended at this time and hope that the Republicans will remain watchful and steadfast in their opposition to New Deal extravagance in internal affairs and the tendency to experiment with new and untried theories of government.

Charges Philadelphia Colored Are Jim Crowed In WPA Setup In Report To GOP Committee

Negroes Fit For White Collar Jobs Given Pick And Shovel; Politician Rule Charged

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Colored citizens of Philadelphia are being discriminated against in the WPA setup, according to reports given the Republican National Committee.

Robert A. Callahan, of 1538 south New street, Philadelphia, during the recent Philadelphia city campaign said:

"WPA was started by the Roosevelt Administration to provide temporary employment to American citizens during the depression. Your writer was connected for a long time with the Placement Service and, in a position to see how Democratic politicians in Pennsylvania used their influence to get jobs for favored individuals in preference to others. I know that orders were also given to discriminate against colored applicants. Although fit for white collar jobs, they were given the pick and shovel.

"Most of the discrimination was in favor of persons closely allied with the present so-called Democratic leadership in Philadelphia, "Callahan continued. "In many cases men and women were placed on WPA rolls without appearing to be in actual need for such employment, thereby excluding more needy cases from work-relief.

"Like other real Democrats, the writer has suffered the selfishness of such leaders, when he was dismissed at their instance because he refused to place only those shown on their preferred political lists on jobs to which other citizens were entitled by reason of their relief status."

Roy Dixon, Democratic committeeman from the 44th Ward, in the same Philadelphia campaign, joined the ranks of thousands of former New Dealers in flocking to the victorious banners of the Republican ticker, and gave three reasons for abandoning the Pennsylvania "Little New Deal."

"With the tide swinging definitely toward a Republican landslide, hundreds of active (Democratic) workers who had been led astray by the empty promises of the Kelly-McCloskey machine, have had time to take stock of the actual situation, and are now actively supporting the whole Republican ticket.... I supported the Democratic Party in 1938 because I felt at that time it was beneficial to our people, and that through them the Negro would be given a chance to advance. During this period, I have seen a few Negro leaders getting big positions under the Democrats, but I am convinced that the condition of the masses of our people has not improved if they have not actually gotten worse," he said.

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GENERAL --(HATCH BILL)

OPENS WAY FOR PROMOTIONS IN CIVIL SERVICE

Crux of Discrimination Hit, But Leaders Fear Loopholes

By FLORENCE MURRAY

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 11—The Hatch clean-politics bill, which recently became law, will probably have its effect upon a number of Race New Dealers here in what has been called the Black Cabinet, as well as the masses of government employees here who maintain their political status in their home states.

The measure is the most drastic attempt made by the Congress of the United States to separate politics from government, political observers state.

One of the sections of the bill, which has not been publicized in the daily press is Section 4, which makes it unlawful "to deprive any one of employment or other benefit made possible by an act of Congress on account of race, color, or any political activity, support of or opposition to any candidate."

This feature will be welcmed by Race government employees at the same time that other features will probably be frowned at by those whose duration in office depends upon whooping it up for the party in power.

Halts Discrimination

Just how far the above provision will go in eliminating racial prejudice in government service, however, is the question on the lips of those who are familiar with civil service regulations and the loopholes that enable discrimination in government appointments to exist.

The regulation in civil service which permits an appointing officer of any government section to select any one of the three highest ranking persons on the particular eligible list in use for his division has been found to be the crux of the discrimination question—not the civil service photographs, as is generally believed.

Even if a Race person should be at the top of the list, his name may be cast aside for one of the two under him if they are white. And usually the appointment is not made without first an interview between the prospective appointee and the appointing officer.

This means, of course, that although one may stand at the top he may be passed over indefinitely for one of the other two top-ranking eligibles until his name has been deleted from the civil service eligible lists, after the regulated period.

It is known that in many cases persons have been called into government departments to be interviewed, only to be turned down, after their race has been learned.

Many Skeptical

Therefore many are skeptical that such a provision in the bill will remove the stigma of racial discrimination from government ranks. They hold this provision to be of little significance.

They know that such clauses are included in the WPA law, the PWA act, and other government measures, but that local authorities find a way to get around it.

The section of the bill prohibiting nearly all holders of patronage jobs from going as delegates to the political conventions will cause wholesale changes in the personnel of the political conventions.

Race New Dealers and anti-New Dealers will now have their political activities curbed, for the new legislation makes it unlawful for any person "employed in the executive branch of the Federal Government or any agency thereof, to take any active part in political management or in political campaigns."

May Express Opinions

Nor can any person "in the executive branch or any agency thereof use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results thereof."

All such persons, however, retain their right to vote and to express privately their opinions on political subjects.

In signing the bill, President Roosevelt in this connection, gave his opinion that such persons would have the right to express their opinions publicly, if they so desired, provided it was not expressed in an attempt to influence an election.

Among the officers exempted from the provisions of the bill are the President, the Vice President, persons whose compensations are paid from the appropriation for the office of the President; heads and assistant heads of executive departments; officers who are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who determine policies to be pursued by the United States in its relations with foreign powers or in the nation-wide administration of Federal laws.

U.G.E. Gets Credit

The bill, it appears, will prohibit numbers of Race politicians now employed by the New Deal, from making their usual speeches throughout the country just before the election.

It may go further than that; it may prohibit them from being members of political clubs, although President Roosevelt asked that the measure not go that far, provided they were only passive members.

This, of course, will be just as true, no matter what party is in power.

The United Government Employees, of which Edgar G. Brown is the president, takes the credit of the incorporation in the act of the provision including the mention of race or color.

President: Pre-Adjournment

President Roosevelt last week concentrated on the legislative flotsam and jetsam left in the backwash of an adjournment-bound Congress. Picking up one important bill Congress had passed, he signed it and tacked on a message. For one Congress had not passed, he had words of warning.

Message: The bill finally made law by the President was the Hatch Bill, which forbids "pernicious political activities" by 300,000 rank-and-file Federal jobholders. Though he called it "a step in the right direction" in the accompanying message to Congress, he cautioned against future judicial interpretations which might make it a "gag act" and questioned its enforceability. Moreover, he made two recommendations: (1) that Congress "study" the advisability of extending the bans on political activity to the 2,800,000 state and local government jobholders "who participate actively in Federal elections," and (2) that the bill be amended "as soon as possible" to permit Federal employees living in Washington to hold office in nearby towns.

Warning: The words of warning followed the House's refusal to consider the President's lending-spending bill—a refusal that killed the measure for this session (see col. 3). As a result of that vote, said Roosevelt at a press conference, industrial recovery would be retarded, relief rolls would stick at abnormally high levels, and taxpayers would have to pay many additional hundreds of millions of dollars for relief. If those consequences followed, he made it plain, the House and the House only would be responsible.

Other pre-adjournment actions of the President included these:

- He named 41-year-old James Lawrence Fly, general counsel of the TVA, to succeed Frank McNinch, who resigned because of ill health, as a member of the Federal Communications Commission (see page 18). Another appointment was that of Dr. Henry F. Grady, member of the U. S. Tariff Commission, as Assistant Secretary of State to replace Francis B. Sayre (see page 16), recently named U. S. High Commissioner to the Philippines.
- Fishing for marlin off the Virginia Capes, he caught none, though Secretary of Commerce Harry Hopkins landed one weighing 65 pounds.
- Asked by reporters for comment on the "12th anniversary" of Calvin Coolidge's famous "I do not choose to run" pronouncement, made while the late President was vacationing in the Black Hills, Roosevelt laughed heartily, then dodged a third term statement by pointing out that he was going to vacation, not in the Black Hills, but at sea.

Hatch Clean-Politics Bill Has No-Discrimination Section

Measure, Considered Most Drastic of Its Kind, Will Affect Government Officials as Well as Masses

The Hatch clean-politics bill, recently passed by both Houses of Congress and signed by President Roosevelt, Wednesday, will have its effect upon a number of colored New Dealers in what has been called the Black Cabinet, as well as the masses of the Negro race.

The bill is the most drastic attempt made by Congress to separate politics from government, political observers state.

One of the sections of the bill affecting the entire race, is Section 4, which makes it unlawful "to deprive anyone of employment or other benefit made possible by an act of Congress on account of race, color or any political activity, support of or opposition to any candidates."

Some Skeptical

Just how far this provision can go in eliminating racial discrimination in civil service is the question on the lips of those who are familiar with the civil service regulation which permits an appointing officer to select one or none of the three names sent him from the eligible list for the position.

It is known that in many cases persons have been called in to government departments to be interviewed for positions and have been denied them for no other reason except their race. However, proving these cases may be another matter, some observers state.

Some are skeptical that such a law will be effective in eliminating discrimination and segregation in government service without changes in the civil service regulations themselves. They, therefore, hold this provision to be of little significance.

Such a provision is included in the WPA regulations, the PWA regulations and in recently discussed air training measures. However, it is pointed out, discrimination still exists in these quarters, due to the existence of various conditions which the Federal government seems to be unable to control, or that is the reason given by government authorities.

Opinion of Dr. S. D. Redmond of Jackson, Miss., on Hatch Bill Appears in United States News

The United States News of Washington, D. C., one of the most influential and widely circulated papers of this country requested Dr. S. D. Redmond of Jackson, Miss., to give them his opinion of the much-discussed Hatch Bill, which was passed a few days ago, barring certain federal office-holders from political activity.

Dr. Redmond is chairman of the Mississippi Republican State Central committee and is the only colored man of the country whose opinion was sought on this question. His opinion appeared in the August 7 issue of the United States News. Following is the article:

"I think the Congress approved Hatch Bill the most forward - looking constructive piece of legislation enacted by Congress for many years. It demonstrates the fact that we can really rise above selfish interest and partisan bias, and that free government is safe in this country.

"Congress is to be congratulated on the passage of this bill.

"The Hatch Bill is the sine *que non* of the guaranty of a free and untrammelled expression of the will of the people in party campaigns and conventions.

"Federal officeholders coming under the Hatch bill restrictions are interested parties, their jobs are at stake, and they therefore have no more right to participate in campaigns and party conventions for the nomination of those who would maintain them in office than a judge to sit in a case where he has a direct interest.

"Without some such law as the Hatch bill I cannot see how government 'of,' 'for' and 'by' the people, is to endure. Otherwise, with the vast horde now holding federal office, it would soon be a government 'of,' 'for' and 'by,' the federal office-holders.

"I see no reason whatsover why the operation of the Hatch bill will not be successful. The Hatch bill merely prevents certain interested persons from passing on their own cases, in party conventions, and from undertaking to perpetuate themselves and others in office for their own personal benefit. One who is not willing to forego the privilege of participatin in these matters can very easily resign, step aside, and let someone else, just as capable, and in many instances more so, have the place.

"All laws heretofore passed with the object of curbing the unwholesome activity of federal officeholders have been quite salutary, and the more federal officeholders we have, the more imperative is this law. How many federal officeholders can see the faults of their superiors in office? How many federal officeholders will take the stump this year or next year, against those from whom they get their office? And this has reference to no particular party. We all need a certain curb, a certain amount of restraint. Hence, today the Hatch bill is the ship, all else, the sea."

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REPUBLICAN

Kelly Miller Asks:—

Will The Stray Black Sheep Return To The Fold Of The Grand Old Party?

Defender 10-14-39 Chicago, Ill.

By KELLY MILLER

Some weeks ago I issued a release upon the appointment of Dr. Ralph Bunche, professor of political science of Howard university, as an expert for the National Republican committee to ascertain the cause of the Negro's dissatisfaction with the Grand Old Party and of his espousal of the side of its democratic adversary. Dr. Bunche was also required to show the G.O.P. how it might regain its former black deserters.

His report has now been in the hands of the National Republican program committee for two months. But the survey is still locked in the secret vaults of the committee and has not been given to the public.

WHAT ABOUT BUNCHE'S REPORT?

The Negro Press, however, by methods well known to inquisitive journalism, has secured or divined the contents of Dr. Bunche's report. It can hardly be supposed that this leakage is a duplicate of the experience of the late T. Thomas Fortune, whom President Theodore Roosevelt sent around the world to secure the inside information on the reactions of the race problem in different parts of the globe.

Mr. Fortune was so eager to acquaint the public with his views that the Negro Press of America was advised of his observations before the official copy had been given to the President who appointed him. For this breach of official propriety Mr. Fortune was justly rebuked and his report suppressed. It cannot be presumed that Dr. Bunche, a Harvard doctor of philosophy, could be guilty of such a breach of propriety.

It may be that several stray fishes from the school swam right over the dam. However, this may be, the report when issued cannot vary widely from the prepublished account in the Negro Press. At the time of Dr. Bunche's appointment I stated that it did not require the erudition of an expert in political science to inform the G.O.P. why it had lost the allegiance of its former black allies. Perry Howard, Bob Church or Finley Wilson could just as well furnish the information requested.

BISHOP CLAIR AND STRANGER

When Bishop Clair was pastor of the Asbury church in Washington, an over-zealous evangelist from Pittsburgh rushed into the ministers' meeting and informed the gathering that God had sent him here to warn the people of impending destruction of this wicked city. The Rev. Clair with his accustomed bluntness said to the body that he lived as close to God as anybody, and if the Almighty had any message for the people of Washington he would have sent it through him and have saved the Pittsburgher's railroad fare.

The analogy to the case in point is pertinent. Dr. Bunche approaches the subject from a detached point of view; for his pre-disposition is liberal beyond the normal appreciation of the orthodox Republican mind. After a careful study and analysis of the facts this expert "has given the party what he believes to be the cause of the disaffection of the Race vote in the last two Presidential elections, and what remedies the party must apply if it wishes to regain the lost loyalty of the Race voters as a whole.'

WHAT MUST BE DONE FOR RACE

After traversing the well-known facts and argument causing the estrangement of the Negro vote from the Republican fold Dr. Bunche concludes the reconciliation can be effected only by "enfranchisement in the South, protection of civil liberties, at anti-lynching legislation, and appointment of members of the Race to policy-forming and other responsible positions."

If the Grand Old Party of yesteryear is willing to inaugurate such a program in earnest and can bring forth fruits meet for repentance the Negro will of course return to its former allegiance unless in the meantime the Democratic adversary is willing to call the hand of its Republican rival, and go him one better.

HOOVER AND OTHER EVILS

If the experience of Dr. Emmett J. Scott and the expertness of Dr. Ralph Bunche can persuade the Grand Old Party to retrace its steps and skip the administrations of Hoover, Coolidge, Harding, Taft and Hayes and return to the days of Grant and Charles Sumner, we will all take off our hats to these miracle-workers and ascribe to them the first and second place at the welcome table of the re-born G.O.P.

Analysis Of Last Election Shows Negroes Are Swinging Back Into The Republican Fold Once More

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Perhaps the most significant angle of Election Day this year was the incontrovertible evidence that Negro voters have soured on the New Deal and its Democratic allies, and are returning "home" to the Republican party. Newspaper columnists, editorial writers, and political experts, in practically every comment, have remarked upon this fact.

Age

No attempt is made in these comments to minimize the importance of the Negro vote as a factor in the recession of New Deal support, and as a fact not to be politically ignored. Attention is called particularly to the result in Philadelphia, and other Pennsylvania strongholds where this vote has been a Democratic asset since 1932.

11-25-39

The analysis at length have reviewed the returns from the recent Municipal election in Philadelphia in which a Democratic-Fusion ticket was defeated in most of the important contests. They have been concerned with this general swing of Negro voters back to the Republican party, and its bearing upon the 1940 Presidential Campaign.

Clearly in Pennsylvania, Negroes played an important part in the election of Repubilcans to all four of the places on the Appellate Court and in the election of State Senators in the only two districts voting, the Mayor, and 20 of 22 Councilmen of Philadelphia; 17 of 28 Mayors and 11 of 18 Common Plea Judges of Pennsylvania.

This definite shift of Negro votes back into the Republican column for the first time since 1932 is more clearly indicated in four socalled Negro wards in Philadelphia in which the Negro vote is exceptionally large. Republicans carried the 20th, 30th and 44th, and lost the 24th, a 19,000 vote ward, by only 92 votes. These wards began pulling away from their Republican moorings in 1932, and four years later President Roosevelt carried the 20th and 30th by more than 5,000 votes each, and 24th and 44th each by more than 6,000. Last year, when Governor James, Republican, was elected, the four Negro wards stayed in the Democratic column, but by greatly reduced pluralities.

In Cleveland, Ohio, Negro voters elected two new Negro Councilmen, returned another to office, and elected a Negro woman, Mrs. Mary B. Marten, to the Board of Education in this off-year election. Mayor Harold H. Burton, who was reelected by a 37,000 majority, had their support. The Negro wards tilted heavily for the regular Republican nominees. Twenty-three Republicans with a large majority will be members of the Cleveland City Council.

New Jersey, Connecticut and New York

In New Jersey, the Republicans elected 45 out of 60 members of the 1940 Assembly, and won 5 out of 6 contests for the State Senate. City and county elections uniformly went Republican, including the election of a Republican Mayor in Paterson for the first time in 12 years.

The Democratic Mayor of Poughkeepsie, the largest city in President Roosevelt's home county seeking election to his fourth term, was defeated by a Republican. In Connecticut, Democratic majorities in the large cities were reduced by as much as 80 per cent, compared with 1938 figures. Negro voters contributed to these results. It is safe to say, and generally conceded, that a similar swing will be registered next year by the Negro vote in New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan.

Popular Leader Of G. O. P. Had Many Colored Friends Here

Globe 11-17-39

Was Courageous Defender Of Rights Of Colored Citizens And Supporter of Federal Anti-Lynching Legislation

LA FOLLETTE, Tenn.—This little town in East Tennessee is in deep mourning over the death on Tuesday morning, November 14 of its first citizen, the Hon. J. Will Taylor. Men, women and children of both races are to view his remains which are to lie in state at the La Follette High School Friday morning. From there they are to be carried to the First Baptist Church of this city where funeral services are to be held the same day.

Congressional leaders of both political parties are to gather here for the last rites and the attendance of men and women from all parts of the state is expected to be such as will make this the largest funeral service ever held here.

Mr. Taylor, Congressman from the Second Congressional District of Tennessee for the past 20 years, was also Tennessee's member of the Republican National Committee. He was possibly the most noted member of the Republican Party from the South and his standing on the National Committee was as high as that of any other leader in the United States.

The son of a Union soldier, Mr Taylor was born in a two-room log cabin 59 years ago. He started teaching school at the age of 15 when his salary was $20.00 a month. Entering politics he was elected Mayor of La Follette and also served as Insurance Commissioner in the administration of Gov. Ben W. Hooper. In 1918 he was elected to Congress for the first time and in each biennial election since that time he had been re-elected, many times in the face of the fiercest opposition from members of his own party and from Democratic opponents.

In all of his races for Congress, Mr. Taylor had the almost undivided support of colored citizens of his district, and it is believed this support was often decisive in his triumphs.

Among his closest personal and political friends were A. W. Fite and Robert R. Church both of whom served long terms on the Republican State Committee. Roscoe C. Simmons of Chicago was usually a dependable campaigner for the election of Mr. Taylor when he faced stiff opposition in his district.

Globe 11-17-39

Another one of his faithful allies in this section was Webster L. Porter, editor of the East Tennessee News. Mr. Taylor commanded the highest regard among colored citizens in the nation because he was always a dependable supporter of federal legislation against mob violence. The powerful National Association for the Advancement of Colored People always cited his record for liberal and humane legislation with pride.

In the recent session of Congress, Mr. Taylor voted for the repeal of the embargo on arms, breaking away from the leadership of his party to support the wishes of President Roosevelt. However, he was known to be determined to vote against the United States taking part in the European war.

As an orator Mr. Taylor was one of the most eloquent men the state has ever sent to Congress. He combined force and logic of expression with story telling, being a master of the latter art in the best Tennessee tradition. Of present day Tennessee orators the Hon. Gordon Browning and Hon. Ben Hooper were possibly his only rivals.

Mr. Taylor's gift for making and holding friends and likewise his willingness to forgive and make up with his enemies established him as the peerless leader of Tennessee Republicanism and likewise gave him a standing with the Democratic party such as no other Republican in the state enjoyed.

The Congressman's death came as a great shock to the state and nation. He had motored from Washington the day before his death. He seemed to be in the best of health but is believed to have had a feeling of the approach of death as he had talked to the members of his family about what to do if anything happened to him.

He was found dead in bed at 4 o'clock Tuesday morning by Mrs. Taylor. Death was due to heart failure, his attending physician reported.

Before leaving Washington, Congressman Taylor had conferred with other members of the Republican National Committee and was preparing to visit Nashville before Congress re-assembled to talk over plans of the 1940 campaign. Among those with whom he conferred was Perry W. Howard of Washington, the only colored member of the National Committee.

A successor to Mr. Taylor as Congressman will be elected before the next congressional session meets. Gov. Cooper is to call a special election to fill the vacancy. Also Mr. Taylor's position on the Republican National Committee must be filled next year.

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REPUBLICAN

White Dixie G. O. P. Sought by Landon

Former Candidate and Titular Head of Republicans Calls on His Leaders To Remove Barriers to Two-Party Development in South.

By RALPH McGILL.

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WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 22

Alfred M. Landon, former presidential nominee of the Republican party and the titular head of that party, today put himself squarely on record against the practice of Republicans in weighing down the southern delegations to Republican national conventions with negro delegates.

He called on his party leaders, nationally and in the south, to rid themselves of the old conditions which fatally had prevented the building up of any Republican strength and the two-party system in the south and to send to the convention a new type delegation.

So far as is known this is the first time any Republican occupying a position as titular head of the party or a past nominee has been so bold as to say openly what all Republicans have said privately. Buying and selling of southern Republican delegations has provided many a convention with its scandal.

Governor Landon is not, of course, anti-negro. He was saying what the real negro civic leaders in the south know only too well that with but few exceptions the southern delegations to the Republican national convention have not been representative of the best elements of their own race and contributed nothing at all to the advancement of the party in the south and much to its practical suppression.

It is safe to say that outside of the border states where there exists the two-party system, the Republican party has never made an organized appeal to the better elements of the citizenship of the south, white or colored.

"The real trouble with the Republican party in the south was not the Civil War," said Governor Landon. "Nor was it the tragic period of reconstruction. The trouble was the fatal error of the Republican party in believing that it paid off its obligations to the negroes of the north by appointing negro delegates to the convention from the southern states. It did things in the south which would have caused trouble in the east.

"A two-party system would be the finest thing which could happen to the south. It would assure better government, local and national. The Republican party can make progress by seeing to it that the delegations are composed of representative persons," he said.

The Republican national committee itself has had no respect for southern delegations. It assumed they were, with very few exceptions, for sale. It treated them in a manner befitting that status. A Republican state convention in the south rarely has had any standard of integrity or character. The Republican leaders always have known this. Not until the present unofficial head of the party was bold enough to speak out has the problem been brought before the public.

Governor Landon authorized the statement at breakfast this morning just before his departure for New York, from where he will return to Topeka.

Governor Landon has grown in strength and it may be his party will be forced to draft him in 1940. He definitely has said he is not a candidate.

Governor Landon's request for a new type delegation from the south may provide the incentive for a two-party development in Georgia and in other southern states where there has been but one effective party since the War Between the States.

It also calls attention to the fact that since 1932 the negro vote has swung from the Republican party to the Democratic party. Not until 1932 was there any marked disaffection. That year the disaffection largely was economic.

By 1934 the organization work of the Democratic committee, headed generally by Chairman Farley and by Joe Guffey, of Pennsylvania, had swung the vote to the party on political lines rather than economic.

Swung Doubtful States.

The Democratic leaders that year saw the importance of the negro vote. The economic disaffection had become an intensely political disaffection and it swung several doubtful states into the Democratic column.

It sent Earle to the Governor's chair in Pennsylvania and Guffey to the senate, the first such overwhelming Democratic victory in about 40 years. It also was an important factor in Ohio, Indiana and New York.

By 1936 this sentiment had crystallized and the negro vote of the nation was Democratic by a tremendous majority. Between 1936 and 1938 there was a dropping away. This was responsible for some of the Democratic congressional losses.

D. A. R. "Incident."

The Marion Anderson incident in which the D. A. R. refused to permit the negro singer to appear in Constitution Hall, which the D. A. R. owns, swung them back into the Democratic fold. Mrs. Roosevelt resigned from the D. A. R. and invited the negro woman to sing at the White House, a course which was applauded by the responsible people of the nation.

The facts are, the negro vote is not so much Democratic as it is Roosevelt. His program of housing and relief won them from the Republican party. It is extremely doubtful if they will remain in the Democratic party. They will as long as the Roosevelt program remains.

Governor Landon's appeal to his party leaders to begin sending responsible, sound delegations from the southern states to the national convention, indicates that he intends to be a factor in his party's development and that one of his interests will be in seeking to organize the reputable white and negro Republicans into some real organization in the south.

Landon Seeks GOP Changes

White Party In South Wanted, McGill Writes

A copyrighted story by Ralph McGill appearing in today's Atlanta Constitution says that Alfred M. Landon, former presidential nominee of the Republican party and the titular head of that party, Friday went on record for a white organization of his party in the South.

Landon, the story says, "put himself squarely on record against the practice of Republicans in weighing down the southern delegations to Republican national conventions with Negro delegates."

BOLD STATEMENT

What Landon said Friday constituted what most Republicans have said privately, but it was the first time any Republican occupying a position as titular head of the party of a past nominee has been so bold as to say openly, Mr. McGill writes. He says that "Governor Landon is not, of course, anti-Negro."

Governor Landon is quoted as saying: "The real trouble with the Republican party in the south was not the Civil War. Nor was it the tragic period of reconstruction. The trouble was the fatal error of the Republican party in believing that it paid off its obligations to the Negroes of the North by appointing Negro delegates to the convention from the southern states. They did things in the south which would have caused trouble in the east.

"A two-party system would be the finest thing which could happen to the south. It would assure better government, local and national. The Republican party can make progress by seeing to it that the delegations are composed of representative persons."

The article says that the Landon statement may be the incentive for the development of a two-party system in Georgia and other southern states where there has been but one effective party since the War Between the States.

Landon has announced that he will not be a candidate for nominee of his party to the presidency.

A Great Change Coming

Commenting on the 1940 campaign, this paper said several weeks ago: "One way is left for Republicans to appeal to Negroes—instead of giving their relations into the usual hands and walking off with all the unconcern of Pontius Pilate, they can put their case in the charge of men and women whom Negroes trust." Since we make no claim to causing the change of policy, it must be that our mind was working along the same lines as G. O. P. leaders. They have chosen Emmett Scott to work with their national committee as advisor. To make their intention clearer, Gov. Alf M. Landon, the 1936 nominee and the titular party leader, makes the following authorized statement:

"The real trouble with the Republican party in the South was not the Civil war, nor was it the tragic period of reconstruction. The trouble was the fatal error of the Republican party in believing that it had paid its obligations to the Negroes of the North by appointing Negro delegates to the convention from the Southern states."

The old custom which the G. O. P. seems about to discard deliberately, will bring to a close the era when the Negro national committeemen from states like Georgia, Mississippi and Tennessee were cock of the walk. In the pre-campaign period, on through the nominating, they were impressive. Every one of them had a field marshal's baton, even though they were generals without an army. It

paid them well too.

All the while other Negroes had to stay out of the charmed circle. The ambitious among them went over to the Democrats, and to their work is due the tremendous shift of Negro voters which sent Roosevelt's majorities in 1932 and 1936 a-rocketing. The loyal were made to walk the plank, if they did not of their own accord go home and hang up their political sword and shield.

Alf Landon's reputation for a statesman's grasp of public affairs has grown greatly since he made the race for the presidency in 1936. Any party move important enough for him, its head, to discuss, must be taken as deliberate. He brings to it the same understanding and the same practical mindedness that made him the country's No. 1 delegate to the Pan-American congress in Peru and caused him again to be called into conference by President Roosevelt last week. "A two party system," he says, "would be the finest thing which could happen to the South and would assure better government in both local and national affairs."

Hope for betterment of Negroes' condition rises when thus it is made clear that their bad leadership and the backwardness of the South are different aspects of the same situation. This paper was no prophet in saying the Republican party had only one way to regain its lost Negro supporters, namely men and women whom they trust. But we are almost a prophet. The Landon statement says in substance that which we carry at the masthead of this paper.

Atlanta Constitution Says Alfred M. Landon Is Against Negro G. O. P. Delegates In South

ATLANTA, Ga. — The Atlanta Constitution in a Washington dispatch from its executive editor, Ralph McGill, quotes Alfred M. Landon, Republican Presidential candidate in 1936, as going on record Friday against the G.O.P. weighing down its Southern delegations to national conventions with Negroes.

The paper quotes Landon as saying:

"The real trouble with the Republican party in the South was not the Civil War, nor was it the tragic period of Reconstruction. The trouble was the fatal error of the Republican Party in believing that it had paid off its obligations to the Negroes of the North by appointing Negro delegates to the convention from the Southern states. They (the party) did things in the South which would have caused trouble in the East.

"A two-party system would be the finest thing which could happen to the South. It would assure better government, local and national. The Republican Party can make progress by seeing to it that the delegations are composed of representative persons."

Paper Quotes Landon On Lily-White Issue In Georgia Politics

ATLANTA, Ga., Oct. 6—Alfred M. Landon, titular head of the Republican party, is opposed to southern Republicans weighting down their delegations to national conventions "with Negroes," the Atlanta Constitution says in a copyrighted dispatch from Washington.

The dispatch, written by the paper's executive editor, Ralph McGill, not only puts the Republican leader on record in favor of a lily-white Republican Party in the South, but as sharing the views of Southern tories that the Reconstruction period with its Negro franchise and Negro legislators," was a "tragic era." The former Presidential candidate is quoted in an authorized statement as stating further:

"The real trouble with the Republican party in the South was not the Civil War, nor was it the tragic period of Reconstruction. The trouble was the fatal error of the Republican Party in believing that it had paid off its obligations to the Negroes of the North by appointing Negro delegates to the convention from the Southern states."

In an additional bid for Southern support, Landon urged according to the paper, that a two-party system "would be the finest thing which could happen to the South" and would assure better government in both local and national affairs.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK

By MONROE MASON

HOW WILL THE COLORED VOTE GO?

Preparation for the 1940 Presidential campaign has already started in several states. Candidates of both parties are being discussed by the leaders. The Roosevelt "third term" bogey looms bigger each day. The colored vote is another important issue which will be hard to unravel.

From a Republican standpoint, the problem of how to corral the colored vote has become very serious. There are no trends or straws to determine with any degree of accuracy whether or not the Democrat party can maintain its colored voting strength as it did in 1932 and 1936. Keeping hold of this racial group as a factor in the election of Roosevelt for two successive terms is an amazing illustration of the effectiveness of Democratic organization and strategy.

For the first time in eight years the G.O.P. has hopes of electing a Presidential nominee. War clouds are gathering ominously, with danger of the United States becoming involved. The slogan, "He kept us out of the war" will be ringing in the ears of the voters, reminding them of the horrors of war and on the other hand obscuring relevant political issues of economic security. Republican leaders will organize a political front to offset the war hysteria propaganda.

When the next Congress convenes, another attempt will be made to pass anti-lynching legislation. Northern and western Democrats of both House and Senate, together with a Republican majority are going to rout the Southern Democrats to pass an anti-lynching bill. If it passes, the Colored voters will have to weigh in a balance which party made possible realization of a hope that has long been baffled by constant debate and legislative inaction. If President Roosevelt signs the bill and does not run for a third term, the Republicans may capitalize on the issue by reiterating to the colored electorate, "we made it possible to pass the anti-lynch bill." In such an instance the Democrats will be on the spot.

Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, with their large colored vote, should not be considered G.O.P. strongholds, although they have elected Republican governor. The Republicans have an edge but it is too close for an accurate forecast with the Presidential nominees not yet selected.

The Eastern seaboard States down to the Dixie line are definitely Democratic. But starting from New York, the President's home state, a decided political change has taken place. There a young lawyer named Thomas Dewey for the past two years has held the Republican spotlight. His career as "racketeer buster" has made him a national runner up for the G.O.P. nomination in 1940. The political turnover in the Empire State has been sensational. But whether the colored vote has accepted the revamped Republican doctrine in New York remains a question. In Pennsylvania the colored vote is a tremendous factor especially in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Harrisburg.

"Bob" Vann, the invincible colored leader, for a time a powerful Guffy lieutenaant, made it possible to land Pennsylvania in the Democratic column. For some reason, he bolted the Deal gubernatorial ticket in 1936. Since then, the surge to the G.O.P. has been certain. Observers claim that Vann and the Keystone state will be counted again mounting the Republican bandwagon. New Jersey and Delaware, with a large colored vote will also be counted in the electoral college for the G.O.P. presidential nominee

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Publisher of Northwest Enterprise Resigns as President of Rep. Club

By Wm. J. Hyatt

At the first fall meeting held by the King County Colored Republican Club, ending its three month's summer vacation, the resignation of Edward I. Robinson, President of the Club for the past four years, was accepted. In his letter of resignation which had been under consideration since last April, Mr. Robinson wrote:

King County Colored Republican Club,
Seattle, Washington.
Gentlemen:

I herewith tender you my resignation as president of King County Republican Club, effective this day. Since you have known of this probability long ere this, you certainly cannot regard my desire to retire as an idle gesture.

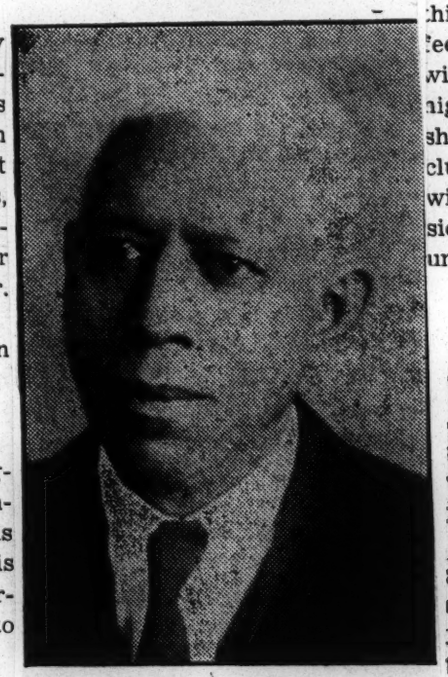
Together we have fought to make King County Colored Republican Club the outstanding organization of its kind in the State. It has no equal—certainly no peer. While we have never wavered in our devotion to the Republican party, our race is always our highest consideration, because we have always felt that parties were created for men —not men for the parties.

All questions however momentous, regardless of acute differences, have been so well analyzed that we have been able to face the public forum an united front.

The reputation of our organization is such that it has been comparatively a pleasant effort to raise money for social and political needs.

I firmly believe that the people have decreed that the Republican party must and will be restored to power in 1940. The time and energy so necessary for victory are more than I can give. My heart and soul are always with you. As a Republican, I hope to carry on.

E. I. Robinson



who resigned as president of the King County Colored Republican Club Sunday

With a sincere fraternal feeling, I am, sirs,

Yours very truly,
E. I. Robinson.

In discussing the resignation, John M. Green, executive board chairman, said:

"Never, during my twenty years connection with the club, have I seen the Board deliberate on a more difficult task. While wisdom and fairness demanded that the Board recommend acceptance of this resignation, it was obvious that an attitude of reluctance prevailed, and only after ardent persuasion was it possible for them to arrive at a decision.

"Under the leadership of E. I. Robinson, the political relations of King County Colored Republican Club have been conducted in a manner that inspired community confidence and won the respect and cooperation of County, State and National party councils."

"In recommending acceptance of this resignation, we do so with feelings of deep regret, but not without confidence that the same high purpose and fearless leadership that has distinguished this club during the past four years, will be the policy and the expression of the Northwest Enterprise under his direction."

Rome, Ga News Tribune
September 27, 1939

WHITE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN SOUTH

IN URGING the formation of a strong white Republican party in the South, Alfred M. Landon suggests something that has been tried upon at least one notable occasion with results that were none too happy for those whose services were enlisted.

President Theodore Roosevelt had the same thought and attempted to put it into execution during his occupancy of the White House. It was called the "Lily White" movement at that time but it turned out to be black enough for the gentlemen engaged in it.

The enterprise, attended by much beating of drums, was launched at Birmingham and this writer sat at the reporter's table and was an observer of subsequent events.

Those called to lead the movement were Julian Bingham, collector of internal revenue and patronage referee in Alabama; Dr. J. W. Hughes, postmaster of Birmingham, and Julian Davidson, United States District Attorney. They carried out instructions to the letter, turning down all negro delegates to the state convention and setting up a white party that was to become the pattern for all other Southern states.

Then the cyclone struck within a matter of days. By some ironical fate, it so happened that a college of negro bishops was being held in Birmingham at the very moment and when the newspapers recorded that a Republican convention had been held without a black face in the entire assembly, the roar that was raised could be heard from coast to coast.

Those outraged colored bishops returned to Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, New York and elsewhere and organized an indignant charge upon Washington that quickly had the redoubtable Teddy on the run. It was not enough that he had to repudiate the convention but, to hold the support of the colored leaders, he had to summarily "fire" every federal officeholder who had any part in the affair. That ended the Lily White movement and it is doubtful if any greater success would attend a fresh move for a White Republican party.

HOW ABOUT HOOVER?

In the opinion of millions of Republicans of the United States, more millions than any other leader of that party can claim as his followers—former President Hoover is the titular leader of the Grand Old Party. As such, in any realistic effort to "adjourn" politics in order to have this country present a united front because of the imminence of the nation's involvement in war, Herbert Hoover deserves to be first on the list of leading Republicans called to counsel with the President.

It happens, also, that no other person in the nation, not excepting the President or Secretary Hull knows more about the present situation in Europe than does Mr. Hoover. The former President's notable record of service during the World War and in the period of rehabilitation after the war renders him available for the kind of advice that is indispensable if it is intended to disabuse the public mind of the belief that the government in Washington seeks to conduct our foreign policy on a strictly partisan basis.

There will be very few Republicans, worthy of the name, who will be influenced in their opinion as to whether or not the New Deal really has "adjourned" politics because Messrs. Alfred M. Landon and Frank Knox, candidates for President and Vice President in 1936 have been called into conference by the President. Omitting to call such opponents to "collective security" as Senators Borah, Nye and Vandenberg and Congressman Hamilton Fish was enough to arouse suspicion among that vast majority of Americans who are opposed to this country forming a hook-up with any European nation in the present crisis. That suspicion, justifiably, was greatly increased when former President Hoover was given the run-around.

A Modern Rip Van Winkle

EX-GOVERNOR Landon, the gentleman from Kansas whom the Hearst papers dug up and sold to the Republicans as the standard bearer for their party, surely must not know the history of his party. Before leaving New York for his Kansas home, he gave out what he must have thought to be a new panacea for the building up of a "respectable Republican Party" in the South. The correspondents who broadcast Mr. Landon's new find to the country added that never before has the head of that party made such a confession. Atlanta Ga.

In his broadside Governor Landon covered "a heap o' territory" in that he intimated that the southern delegation had been weighted down with Negro delegates who could be bought and sold. Daily Worker 10/1/39

Without holding any brief for the Republican party and the leaders it has produced one marvels at Governor Landon's ignorance of the South and its past history in the political activities of its conventions. The Governor's prime move is to build up a white Republican party in the South. He blows hot and cold in that he says that the South has had conventions "without integrity or character," laying emphasis on the weight of Negro delegates and stating that the hope is to build up a decent party of both races.

The late President Warren Gamalial Harding was led to believe that he could build up a "decent" Republican party in the South if he got rid of the Negro. It is strange that that awful rumpus did not reach the ears of one who was high enough in his party's councils to get the nomination for the highest office in its gift. The ill fated Harding tried out the scheme long ago and just before he died he made a statement to the effect that the whole thing be thrown into the dumps. Mr. Herbert Hoover also tried to build up a lily white Republican party in the South.

His man Friday, Hon. Walter Brown, who served as Postmaster General and general pie pan handler, made every possible overture to the whites of the South, but they came into the guild in small numbers and for the most they were postmasters, district attorneys, and federal office holders and seekers.

Colored men in the past have been the most loyal group in the councils of the Republican party in the South. They kept the home fires burning when the carpet baggers and scalawags sought to sell it out of house and home for patronage. These Negro Republicans were the stalwart giants who made for the Negro group a place in the political sun. They taught the group to bargain politically and were in the main responsible for the Waterloo which Mr. Hoover himself met in his terrible defeat to Fanklin D. Roosevelt.

It is admitted by the Landon correspondent that the swing of the Negro vote to the Democratic party was responsible for the making of some states Democratic and the election of Democrats to office who had been out for forty years. It also added that the vote elected Earle to the governorship of Pennsylvania and Guffey to the Senate. The admission was made that it turned the tide in other states.

The correspondent summarizes by saying the Negro vote is more Roosevelt than Democratic and then climbs out on the limb of prophesy and predicts that the vote will hardly remain in the Democratic party after Roosevelt.

Governor Landon is playing on an old worn out key when he makes a thrust at the Negro vote in the Republican party. If he knows his politics he also knows that he is not beginning something new. There are men in their political graves of a much greater magnitude than Governor Landon who tried out the same thing on the Negro Republicans of the South. Negro National Committeemen were threatened with imprisonment, tried before congressional committees and every known legal subterfuge has been tried out in running the Negro, not only out of the Republican party, but out of politics in the South.

Yes, men have gone before who sought to build up their political stock and prestige by opening war on the Negro. Governor Landon knows that the South has long held the position that it is out of the Negro's place to enter councils and differ politically among white men. He knows of the disfranchisement laws and the many other subterfuges put out to outlaw the Negro vote.

If he is going out to seek the vote of dissatisfied Democrats and those who hate Roosevelt in his wager to run the Negro out of the Republican party, he is making a poor beginning. Southern Democrats who are dissatisfied with their party and who hate Roosevelt will not be fooled into any movement led by Governor Landon. They know more of the Republican party and its political history in the South than Governor Landon ever will. Such statements as issued by Governor Landon, should not be termed as new, but should have been prefaced with the oft stated phrase heard over the radio: "USED BY PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNERS."

Bristol, Va., Herald-Courier
September 28, 1939

Landon Was Mostly Right.

Comment was made in this column the other day on a statement by former Governor Alfred M. Landon, Republican candidate for President in 1936, concerning Southern Republicanism "The real trouble with the Republican Party in the South was not the Civil War, nor was it the tragic period of Reconstruction," Mr. Landon said. "The trouble was the fatal error of the Republican Party in believing that it had paid off its obligations to the Negroes of the North by appointing Negro delegates to the convention (Republican National Convention) from the Southern States. They (the party) did things in the South which would have caused trouble in the East."

C. Bascom Slemp, once and for many years Representative in Congress from the Ninth Virginia District, leader of the Republican Party in Virginia and a leader of the party in the South, has issued a statement in which he took issue with Mr. Landon. Asserting that Mr. Landon, like many persons who know nothing about Southern politics, never campaigned in the South, and know nothing about Southern election laws, had unjustly condemned the Republicans of the South, Mr. Slemp said:

"I doubt if Kansas would go Republican if every Registrar was a Democrat, giving the Democratic party the selection of the voting personnel. Also I doubt if Kansas would go Republican if this Democratic Registrar had the right for sixty days to vote every Democrat by mail, under the absent-voter law, practically declining to vote Republicans in the same manner, the Democratic Registrar also having custody of such Republican ballots. I would advise Governor Landon to come South and study election conditions before commenting."

Mr. Slemp said further that if Mr. Landon would come South "he would learn also of the 1,200,000 possible voters in Virginia, of whom only about 300,000 exercise the right of suffrage, thus in effect disfranchising between 800,000 and 900,000 persons of voting age in Virginia." In fact, the former Congressman seems to have had Virginia election laws and practices in mind throughout his statement. Virginia has perhaps the most indefensible election laws of any State, but they hardly will serve to explain why this is a safely Democratic State or why the South is solidly Democratic.

That explanation will be found in past practices of the Republican Party in the South, which for so long existed on and for Federal patronage, and played politics with the Negro until he finally learned that he was being used by Republican leaders and party workers solely for political purposes. We think Governor Landon was mostly right.

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TURN ON THE LIGHT

By Raymond Clapper
The Washington Daily News, Thursday, September 21, 1939

Republicans in Congress are determined to keep Congress in session continuously during this crisis. That is a wise decision especially in view of the way things are going here. I mean the secrecy—yes, the censorship—which the White House smacked down on a conference of the utmost importance to the American people.

Sixteen leaders gathered in the White House office. They included the President and 15 others of both parties. Pointedly excluded were two of the President's severest critics—Sen. Borah, ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Rep. Ham Fish, ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Mr. Roosevelt doesn't like them. They are wild horses. Only tame ones were desired in a closed meeting of this importance.

Globe 10-20-39

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Mr. Roosevelt bound the entire group to absolute secrecy. He issued a communique which said nothing. His secretary, Stephen T. Early, refused to answer questions as to the meaning of the innocuous language. He said that no one who attended the conference was permitted to discuss the statement or what transpired in two and a half hours of discussion. If any of those present leak, they break their word.

That is all that is officially known about this important discussion which concerned our relation to the European war. That plus some pious generalities about everyone wanting to keep the United States at peace.

* * * *

If we get into this war, you will have to fight it and pay for it. But now in the discussions here you are told only what it is thought good for you to hear. It is, for the time being, not your crisis but the private crisis of the handful who were pledged to secrecy in the White House. Some of those present were warned in advance not to allow themselves to be so bound. They submitted nevertheless.

* * * *

So, while waiting for the inevitable leaks to occur, while waiting for some of those present to break their word and divulge the inside proceedings, I am thinking about some of the things that went on in secret back in 1916 and which helped lead us into the first World War. The public didn't know it at the time because President Wilson was making speeches about how "we must keep our resources and our strength untouched by this war."

At the same time his special ambassador in Europe, Col. House, was rattling between London and Paris, telling the British and French that the United States wanted them to "help us to help them."

There was some neat secret diplomacy going on then. Col. House, on behalf of the American Government, signed a memorandum with the British foreign minister, Viscount Grey, in February, 1916, which said: "Col. House told me that President Wilson was ready, on hearing from Europe and England that the moment was opportune, to purpose that a conference should be summoned to put an end to the war. Should the Allies accept this proposal and should Germany refuse it, the United States would probably enter the war against Germany.

"Col. House expressed the opinion that, if such a conference met, it would secure peace on terms not unfavorable to the Allies; and if it failed to secure peace, the United States would leave the conference as belligerent on the side of the Allies."

That is how things were done. A little half-pint ambassabor telling the British foreign minister on what conditions the United States would enter the war against Germany. That was in 1916, just a year before we went in.

Another thing, a few days after Col. House thus offered to take the United States into the war, President Wilson called in a group of senators and representatives. They met very early in order to escape the newspapermen. It was called the sunrise conference. All present were pledged to secrecy. One leaked and said Wilson hinted that he was arranging the intervention of the United States in the war.

* * * *

That's one reason I don't like secret conferences on such important matters as this, which concern every person in the United States. In view of past history, all too recent and tragic the public deserves to know what is going on. Are we being committed again to something under cover of secrecy?

Let Congress stay here and turn on the light.

It is our belief that America's best interest and the world's will be best served by our keeping strictly neutral, one hundred per cent out of war, not half in and half out, but entirely out.—Monroe (N. Y.) Republican.

LANDON DENIES HE WOULD ELIMINATE COLORED DELEGATES

Kansas G.O.P. Leader Explains What he Meant In Recent Satement

Globe 10-13-39

TOPEKA, Oct. 12 (ANP)—Alf M. Landon, Republican presidential candidate in 1936 and titular head of that party, strongly denied to the Associated Negro Press this week that he favors elimination of Negro delegates from the south to the Republican National convention.

10-13-39

Intimations that the former Kansas governor was trying to make the party lily white in Dixie were contained in an article written by Ralph McGill, executive editor of the Atlanta Constitution, and widely reprinted in the weekly press.

Speedily replying to a query from the Associated Negro Press asking if he favored a lily white party, Mr. Landon said in referring to the McGill article:

"I do not see how, by any stretch of imagination, anyone can interpret it that I favor the elimination of the Negro delegates from the southern states to the Republican national convention.

"Of course there are plenty of high-type Negro leaders in the South—some of them are my personal friends—and when I was asking for more responsible and representative leaders I was appealing to the best element in both races to help build a two-party system in that section.

"There is a demand for new leadership everywhere, regardless of race. New conditions call for new thinking.

"I repeat again what I said: The real trouble with the Republican party in the South was not the Civil war, nor was it the tragic period of reconstruction. The trouble was the fatal error of the Republican party in believing that it paid its obligations to the Negroes of the North by appointing Negroes to jobs or delegates to the convention from the southern states.

"In other words, I want more recognition of the high type Negro leaders in both sections.

"Incidentally, the first colored vice-chairman of the Republican state committee in Kansas was named by me as state chairman in 1928. And that practice has continued in Kansas ever since I started it."

Possibilities Of Republican Victory In '40 Discussed By Editor On Visit To Washington

By EMMETT J. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Fred R. Moore, editor of The New York Age, stalwart elder statesman in Republican ranks for many years, visited Republican National Committee Headquarters last week while enroute home from the South where he had bees making a survey of economic conditions and seeking a much needed rest.

Mr. Moore was United States minister to the Republic of Liberia by appointment of President William H. Taft in 1912 served for two terms as a member of the Board of Alderman of New York City, and has actively participated in every Republican campaign, state and national, during the past forty years.

He was cordially thanked by Chairman John Hamilton and Franklyn Waltman, director of publicity, for his unswerving and untiring efforts in behalf of the principles of the party. At the headquarters Mr. Moore discussed the national political situation, particularly the Republican Presidential prospects in 1940 and the relation of the colored people thereto.

"In my opinion," he said in a short interview, "Republican presidential prospects throughout the country are looking up. Probably in the possibility of that success in 1940 is the large Negro vote in New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Maryland, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Iowa and Kentucky, and other states with large Negro populations. This vote, in these states alone, in the next Presidential election will approximately 1,534,651 and is usually the decisive factor.

"Negroes are deeply concerned with present day conditions," he remarked. They are concerned with those conditions which bear dow nupon them and contribute to making life considerable of a hardship. Unemployment and relief and the many racial discriminations in governmental policies are among the elements which most confuse and discourage them.

"Also many of them are concerned, of course, with the burdens of high taxation, with labor troubles which help contribute to their distress, farm programs which do not seem to click among our people in the South, and that type of government which smacks of socialism

"They are tired of a program which excludes them from regular employment, the only thing which can and will give a man confidence in himself and that decent self-respect which he most cherishes and desires.

Sees Opportunity For G.O.P.

Colored Citizens, along with others," he said, "cannot understand why after nearly seven years of experimentation and the expenditure of billions of dollars for recovery, nearly 12,000,000 people still remain out of employment More than anything else, colorec men desire jobs; jobs that they may support themselves and their families. Their faces are set against the possibility of the next generation of their race living and expecting to live, at the expense of and on the Government. They wish their ability and their own diligence to take them out of the ranks of the down-trodden and restore them to levels of economic independence.

"The Republican Party," he concluded, "has a great opportunity to win back to its support that large number of colored men and women throughout the country, who, in their desperation, have been lured away by haphazard experimentation from the party which is most responsible for the progress they have made in this country during the nearly 75 years of their freedom."

Charleston S. C. Evening Post
November 16, 1939

REPUBLICAN PROSPECTS

Leaders of the G. O. P. are busily extracting all the comfort they can from the recent elections, which, however, hardly produced partisan results sufficient to signify to the average observer any marked trend for 1940. Republicans won substantial victories in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where they were expected, but they suffered losses in the New York municipal elections. They count defeat of the pension schemes in Ohio and California as favorable to their side on the ground that they revealed a conservative tendency in those States and in the American people generally, but the schemes were so fantastic that the wonder is they received as many votes as they did.

At any rate, the elections gave the Republicans an opportunity to get their campaign out from under the cloud that has hung over it ever since the war started and President Roosevelt monopolized the limelight. The national campaign organization has increased its activity and the supporters of leading contenders for the G. O. P. nomination have taken on new life. All professs to see in this month's election returns definite signs that the nation is ready to restore the party to power next year, however hard it may be for disinterested observers to discern the same portents.

Still outstanding as candidates on the Republican side are Taft, Vandenberg and Dewey, probably ranking at the moment in the order named. Of all the candidates, Senator Taft is the only one who is making a general campaign on old-fashioned lines to gather convention delegates. He is said to have an organization working in all parts of the country and not the least important and interesting of its activities is an effort to bring into the fold the Negro Republicans of the South. Taft representatives are said to be working on this material in the familiar manner of the Harding and Coolidge campaigns.

District Attorney Dewey's campaign organization is hard at work in spite of the fact that the war brought to a climax the impression that the young New York prosecutor had too little experience and knowledge of general affairs, including the international, to be acceptable to the nation as a President. The Deweyites, however, are distinctly behind the Taft managers in their campaigning. As for Senator Vandenberg, his intentions are still a mystery. It was generally said that the war would give him an advantage over all rivals because of his thorough acquaintance with the problems it has raised, even though his stand against the embargo repeal was not likely to prove popular. He has done little to help his candidacy along in recent weeks, refusing to commit himself and giving the appearance of indifference to the nomination.

It is enough to mention the other Republican candidates or suggestions to see how little likely they are to capture the popular imagination and fancy. The list includes, besides Hoover and Landon—whose friends insist they are not aspirants and will not be candidates—Governors Bricker of Ohio, James of Pennsylvania and Aiken of Vermont, Senator Bridges of New Hampshire, and Representatives Wadsworth of New York and Martin of Massachusetts None of them, with the possible exception of Representative Martin, who did an excellent job as opposition leader in the House, is widely known to voters outside of his own State.

An interesting sidelight on the campaign is reported from Washington. Chairman Hamilton of the G. O. P. is discovering that the war and national defense requirements may make it hard to get big contributions from sources on which the party has been accustomed to rely Many manufacturers who were usually good for big campaign money are much more interested in getting profitable contracts from the government and from other governments with Washington's cooperation than they are in the fate of the Republican party. While they are in the market for contracts they will be poor prospects for Mr. Hamilton's canvassers.

Hint DePriest Backs Fish For President

CHICAGO —(ANP)—Oscar DePriest, GOP stalwart and years ago head of the Negro forces, William Hale Thompson organization last Tuesday was reported as included in a list of prominent Chicago Republicans who are supporting Representative Hamilton Fish of New York for the GOP presidential nomination.

DePriest made local political history in 1915, when he was elected the first Negro alderman to sit in City Council, and in 1929 he became a national figure when elected the first Negro in 25 years to be a Congressman.

Representative Fish came here for a debate at Northwestern university's Thorne Hall with Norman Thomas, Socialist leader. During the afternoon the New Yorker held a conference at Hotel LaSalle with several GOP leaders, including DePriest, Judge Stanley H. Klarkowski, Robert E. Browne, and James W. Breen, 14th Ward committee-

A resolution, adopted by the group gave these reasons for supporting Fish: His 20 years of experience; his fight against entangling alliances; his fight against repeal of the arms embargo. His fight for a national war referendum, his record on legislation, including the protective tariff and his war record.

G. O. P. Claim Business Recovery Real Key To Success For The Nation's Negroes

Claim Thoughtful Colored Voters Realize New Deal Lowered Standards of Living

(By REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE)

WASHINGTON, D. C. — It is a matter of general remark that Colored citizens, as a rule, do not discuss broad principles of government during political campaigns, but confine themselves to propaganda statements calculated to appeal to emotional prejudices.

While there may be some truth in this statement with reference to certain classes of voters it is not true of thoughtful, progressive Colored business and professional men, educators and others of that growing army of Colored people who are thinking in terms of long-range vision and of those things which directly affect the welfare of the country as a whole.

That this latter is true is evidenced by the increasingly large number of Colored men and women from all parts of the counrty, who are calling at Republican National Committee Headquarters. They express themselves as being concerned with the economic and political future of their people. Particularly, they are interested at this time in seeking to ameliorate present conditions which condemn the great masses of their race to sub-standard levels of existence.

A Southern editor of national reputation recently called attention to the fact that 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 of the colored population of United States live in the thirteen Southern states, and that in such states as Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina the Colored population alone is respectively 51 per cent, 37 per cent, and 45 per cent; that of the 36,000,000 people in the South, 71 per cent, or more than 25,000,000 is white; that most of these 25,000,000 White Americans are the poorest of their group in the nation, and in many instances worse off than the Colored people; that the philosophy of waste, exploitation of poorer groups, and political and economic oppression are contributing to a distressed situation which threatens progress of every kind, including educational facilities which are worse than in any other portion of the land.

The 25,000,000 poor whites are as nearly helpless as the Colored group which is disfranchised and disregarded in all matters of governmental participation, local and national. It is for this reason that thoughtful Colored men and women are deeply concerned with respect to a Republican program which will change these conditions and put underway forces of progress and change.

The first of the objectives of the Republican program as outlined by the Republican National Committee, and Republican members of Congress is the basic problem of unemployment. No program which will not help to force Black unemployed back to work can offer hope for encouragement, they say.

Because of this problem of unemployment, Republicans in the 76th Congress devoted themselves to specific accomplishments "under the banner of honest liberalism", the design being to help labor, agriculture and industry, and to put the jobless, White and Black, back to work. Concerned with this Program of Industrial Recovery, the Republican leaders in Congress fought against increasing the National debt above the existing statutory limit of $45,000,000,000, and rejected the spendthrift leadership of the Administration which sought a $3,800,000,000 appropriation in efforts to evade the limitation upon the National debt.

The tax Revision Program put forward by Republicans to relieve business of punitive taxation was for the purpose of enabling industry to get on its feet again. Colored Americans are interested in these matters because they, more than any other element of the population, recognize the fact that they are being pushed to the outer periphery of our domestic economy.

The Program Committee of the Republican Party has had made a broad survey of conditions among Colored groups. The findings, undoubtedly, will point out that a progressive, political program cannot ignore the acute situation in the South to which reference has here been made. Northern Colored people, who are mainly migrants from the South, are greatly concerned with this question as it so definitely affects their brethren in the South.

It has been revealed that Colored citizens are also interested in a program designed to save the American standard of living, particularly for the middle and lower classes of the American population to which they belong. These standards of living have been greatly lowered under the New Deal policies of free trade and aggressive destruction of production. They want a program which will open opportunities for them to work and support themselves, without having to depend upon "hand-outs" doles and relief. They know that sustained business recovery is the one thing that will help them and their country.

Working in cooperation with other elements of our country's population, they believe that 1940 offers the opportunity to bring about such changes as will serve to advance the economic and political interests of their race and the country.

The Republican Program is not one of negative criticism without constructive objective. The fourteen specific accomplishments of the Republican Party, as set forth by the leaders of the Republican Party in Congress, are directed toward economy and common sense in governmental functioning.

These accomplishments, with the announced program for the Second Session of Congress to begin next January, assure substantial achievements of recovery prior to the Presidential Campaign of 1940.

With an abiding faith in a government of Constitutional laws and the American system of free, private enterprise, they are "set" to help bring about a change in governmental functioning, so as to get away from bureaucratic direction, dictatorship, and political vassalage to New Dealism, and to restore economy, thrift and individual initiative as the basic fundamentals of our Americanism.

DELEGATES SHOULD BE LIMITED!

Courier 9-29-39 Pittsburgh, Pa.

Alf Landon Declares Himself — Favors Two-Party System in South.

NEW YORK, Sept. 28.—Alf M. Landon, 1936 Republican standard bearer and titular leader of the party, declared Monday that he was in favor of limiting race delegates on the party's southern delegations to national conventions.

Mr. Landon is of the opinion that the weighting down of the delegations with race members is un-democratic.

He said: "The real trouble with the Republican party in the South was not the Civil War, nor was it the tragic period of reconstruction. The trouble was the fatal error of the Republican Party in believing that it had paid off its obligation to the Negroes of the north by appointing Negro delegations to the convention from the southern states.

"A two-party system," Mr. Landon said, "would be the finest thing which could happen to the south and would assure better government in both local and national affairs."

Valdosta, Ga., Daily Times
September 25, 1939

Landon is urging that the Republican party put more emphasis on white leadership and white membership in the South. He holds to the belief that this is the only way in which the party will make any progress in this section. He is exactly right. In some respects we would like to see the Republican or some other party become a strong force in the South, so as to give competition to the Democrats. However, we don't want to see the opposition develop so much as to bring about the defeat of the Democratic candidates.

South Has Too Many Colored Delegates, Alf

ATLANTA — Opposition to making colored members the majority of the party's Southern delegations to national convention was expressed by Alfred M. Landon, titular national Republican leader, Saturday.

The former Kansas governor is quoted as saying:

"The real trouble with the Republican party in the South was not the Civil War, nor was it the tragic period of reconstruction.

"The trouble was the fatal error of the Republican party in believing that it had paid off its obligations to the colored citizens of the North by appointing colored delegates to the convention from the Southern States."

Mr. Landon advocated a two-party system as being the "finest thing which could happen in the South."

The Chicago Metropolitan Post last year, Oct. 1, 1938, published the following journalistic gem, from the prolific pen of its Editor. Roscoe Simmons

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"You know, maybe, that Robert A. Taft is Republican candidate for the United States Senate in Ohio. Although you are short on memory, Mr. Taft should stir you.

Without memory no people can be free. Study Ireland.

Ohio Senators wrote much of your history. See what you can do with these names: Chase, Sherman, Garfield (what happened before he could reach the Senate?) Foraker, who went down fighting for you, Hanna, greatest Republican.

Harding was also an Ohio Senator, but the less said the better.

* * * *

Mr. Taft's father, President Taft, started you on the downward path. He meant well, but you know what road is said to be paved with good intentions.

Maybe his son, if he can reach Washington, will restore what his illustrious father destroyed. Although Colored people had been done up by President Taft, Colored delegates, loving the G. O. P. better than they loved THEIR Roosevelt, renominated him in 1912.

Young Mr. Taft may wish to look that up.

Candidate Taft drops a line or so to W. P. Dabney of the Cincinnati Union, last and greatest of his school. Dabney thought Colored Republicans had been slighted in the campaign. 'No," wrote Mr. Taft, adding:

"I have always been convinced that the Republican Party should in its campaigns and in its subsequent appointments recognize liberally the importance of the support of the Colored people."

Since 1932 many Republicans have joined Mr. Taft in that conviction. Also, his father might have spoken to him, saying, "My son, I erred against a faithful people. if you can, erase it."

Harlem Leaders Consider Dewey Political Enigma

NEW YORK.—Thomas E. Dewey is an enigma to Harlem and few leading Republicans know whether they will support him or not in case he is a candidate for the Presidency.

These leaders are wary of committing themselves at this early date for fear of complications later on.

War Muddles Politics

One great complication is the second World War. The leaders fear that if the war continues, politics will be in such a shape that President Roosevelt will be drawn into a third term under a national emergency.

Dewey, himself, has been reported in various daily paper gossip columns and in political articles as thinking about letting the Presidential boom go if the war keeps on.

Harlem leaders are like minded. However, there may be something more definite on this situation after the New York County Republican Committee meets this week.

Few Really Know Dewey

Few leaders really know Dewey close up. This is perhaps due to the fact that Dewey does not talk much, certainly not for publication.

Some leaders have admitted that although they have sat on several platforms right next to Dewey, they could not size him up sufficiently to know if he would make a good Presidential candidate.

Harlem leaders are waiting to see what the higher-ups have to say before committing themselves.

N.J. VICTOR

PROSPER BREWER,
who was recently elected Republican chairman of the Third Ward in Newark, N.J., where 60 per cent of the city's colored population lives, after a bitter contest with Samuel Berthault, white, assistant corporation counsel and former chairman.

POLITICAL -1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

KELLY MILLER SAYS:

DR. EMMETT J. SCOTT

The Honorable John D. Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee, has announced the appointment of Dr. Emmett J. Scott as assistant publicity Director in charge of Republican publicity in the Negro press.

Dr. Scott's long service in public and semi-public capacities eminently qualify him for this task. He was for many years private secretary to Dr. Booker T. Washington and privy to his political activities as referee and spokesman for the Negro race, under the Administrations of President Roosevelt and Taft. He was a member of the special Commission to Liberia by appointment of President Taft and served as special assistant to Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, to keep the Negro race in alignment with the patriotic purpose of the World War. During the past twenty years he served as secretary-treasurer of Howard University, from which hs was recenlty retired on a pension. These varied responsible positions brought Dr. Scott into intimate contact and influential acquaintance with public men and measures, especially as related to the welfare of the Negro race.

Dr. Scott has become an adept in public and political pursuasion. By nature, suave, tactful, diplomatic, and debonair his pleasing personality give him easy approach to men of all ranks and stations in life. Dr. Scott has remained loyal to the ideals and traditions of the Republican Party while the majority of the most outstanding and influential members of his race have been enticed away from their traditional political mooring, by the allurement of the Democratic party and the New Deal. Chairman Hamiltin could not have found a colored man better if so well, qualified for the difficult task assigned. During the past ten years the Negro voter has switched his allegiance all but enmasse, from the Republican to the Democratic side of the equation. This is especially true of the effective Negro vote of the North and West, which alone constitute the concern of both the Republican and Democratic parties in the approaching 1940 election. Mr. Hamilton is no more concerned with the disfranchised Negro vote in the South than is his rival, James A. Farley, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. The Democratic drift of the Negro vote has constituted perhaps the most remarkable phenomenon with its political first love-the responsibility imposed upon Dr. Scott is a task whose difficulty of accomplishment renders it all but impossible.

The Grand Old Party of days gone by is now in the state of moral and intellectual bankruptcy There is not today a single outstanding Republican leader whose name takes rank with Abraham Lincoln, Charles Sumner, James G Blaine, and Theodore Roosevelt Its most virile and vigorous statesman, like LaFollett, Borah, Norris, and Hiram Johnson are in revolt against the present day reactionary tendencies of the Grand Old Party. During the seven years of its minority not a single commanding Republican statesman has been forthcoming, with the requisite acumen and resourcefulness to initiate or revive a political principle as a battle cry about which the shattered forces might rally. Indeed the Grand Old Party has fallen on evil days. It is without power prestige or patronage in the national, state, or city government. Its sole reliance rests in the hope of profiteering upon the mistakes of its adversary. It is hoping and praying that the New Deal might slip in order that it might slip in. It has no appeal to make to the Negro voter to off-set the advantages of the New Deal and relies upon the gullibility of the Negro voter to be eternally duped by roseate pre-election promises. The record of the last four Republican Administrations in comparison with that of the past seven years of the New Deal is certainly not alluring or attractive to the intelligent Negro voter.

Mr. Hamilton and Dr. Scott must revise some new appeal to the Negro voters which will be more pursuasive and convincing than the long record of broken promises during the past fifty years. Genuine American statesmanship of both parties has always deprecated the baleful influence of the solid south and the solid Negro vote upon national polities. His best friends, north and south, Democratic and Republican alike, have urged the wisdom of the division of the Negro's vote. In former years this division meant a judicial distribution between the parties so as to avoid the risk and danger of putting all of his eggs in the Republican basket. But today the situation is reversed. Mr. Hamilton and Dr. Scott can only hope to persuade a minor fraction of the Negro vote to desert Roosevelt and the New Deal for their former Republican allegiance.

Dr. Scott's chief mission is with the Negro Press which for the past seven years has deserted for the most part to the Democratic enemy. In previous campaigns it was taken for granted that the Negro press was impecunious and venal. Each editor was accorded several hundred dollars a few weeks ahead of the intensified campaign, which was intended to control both the news service and the editorial opinion. There has been such widespread revolt against this method during the last two campaigns, that its reputation can hardly be openly attempted. The leading Negro papers have taken such decided stand in favor of the New Deal that any sudden reversal would lay them liable to the suspicion of being bought and paid for.

Dr. Scott however, is himself a newspaper man of long experience, who may be relied upon to handle this feature of the situation with tact and journalistic finesse.

Just as the Grand Old Party, as a whole, turned for salvation to Dr. Glenn Frank, the scholar in politics, so it places its chief reliance in the Negro educator to regain its former black reinforcement. The braintruster and the practical politician may prove to be one and the same person.

CLAIMS BREAD AND BUTTER TO BE REAL ISSUE

Ralph Bunche Who Was Employed As Expert Makes Report

8-5-39

For more than two weeks the big-wigs of the Republican Party have had an opportunity to study the causes for the loss of the so-called "Negro vote," as deciphered for them in a 133-page report, compiled and written at their request by Dr. Ralph Bunche, Howard university professor of political science.

It was learned this week through reliable sources that the survey, assigned to the young student of political affairs some months ago, has been completed and sent to the Program committee, which was selected by the National Republican committee some time ago to advise the party on policies and a program for the next campaign.

The program committee is headed by Dr. Glenn Frank, former president of the University of Wisconsin.

Just what the committee will do with the report has not been learned. Whether it will be made public in its entirety, or condensed and pre-digested for the public's use, or kept off the records altogether has not yet been mentioned by a spokesman of the party.

In fact, no public mention has been made of receipt of the report.

Offers Remedy

With no beating around the bush, Dr. Bunche has given the party what he believes, after study of the facts, is the cause of the defection of the Race vote in the last two presidential elections, and what remedies the party must apply if it wishes to regain the loyalty of the Race voters as a whole.

In the introduction of the survey Dr. Bunche says that it is a great pity that such a report is necessary in this "vast, rich, powerful nation," and that this problem of the Race vote is a test of democracy.

Non-Partisan Stand

Racial oppression, he points out, is excellent material for a fascist order.

It is well known by those close to the young professor that his interest in the report is purely objective; that is, it is definitely of a non-partison flavor.

Having as its central theme the needs of the Race, which are outlined and enlarged upon in detail, the report first takes up the status of the Race as shown by general statistics; then, what the present policies of government are toward the Race people; and concludes with what should be done to alleviate these needs.

8-5-39

The defection of the Race voter from the Grand Old Party, to which he had stuck through generations without serious questioning of the party's motives has come about, Dr. Bunche states, through a growth in education, and the keen competition furnished by the Democratic Party in recent years.

Demands Proof

For these two reasons, he asserts, the Republicans will be asked for concrete evidence of their promise to integrate the Race into American life.

He calls attention to the lily-white program of the party, begun under ex-President Hoover when the Republicans, in their scramble for votes, began to make gestures to the white South.

The Race vote in 1932 and 1936 was definitely a bread-and-butter vote, he declares, pointing out that the larger national and international policies had no significant place in the voter's decision.

Because of the supreme need for subsistence, brought on by the economic depression, the Race voter overcame his long-standing prejudice against the Democratic party and cast his lot with "food and shelter."

8-5-39

Despite the extended periods of power enjoyed by the G.O.P. and the long-standing loyalty of the Race, the party has made no signif-

icant progress toward the realization of the fundamental political objectives of the Race; namely, enfranchisement in the South, protection of civil liberties, anti-lynching legislation, and appointment of members of the Race to policy-forming and other responsible positions, the report states.

The Race population of the country may not be more intelligent than it was several decades ago, Dr. Bunche philosophizes, but it is a lot more shrewd, having learned something of bargaining in politics.

Needs Everything

Speaking of the needs of the Race, he vows that it needs more of everything except taxes, prejudice, and religion, and predicts that whichever party supplies more of these needs will get its vote.

Political parties are making a mistake to think that they can cater only to the northern voter, he points out, for the Race is becoming more cognizant every day of the fact that his interests in the North are tied up so closely with his brothers' interest in the South that the two cannot easily be kept separate.

No political program can well exist without coming to grips with the problems of the South, the author says.

He discusses the problems of agriculture, one of the most vital to this, an agricultural as well as an industrial country. He reviews the sad plight of the rural Race man in the South, made worse by the economic depression and the fact that the cotton can no longer be depended upon as the sole sustaining crop of the South.

The Two Opening Guns

(Washington Tribune)

The appointment of Dr. Emmett J. Scott to a position in the Publicity Department of the Republican National Committee with Chairman John Hamilton's statement that he will serve as "one of the Chairman's advisors on problems relating to colored citizens," would seem to indicate that, at last, the Republican Party and the Republican National Committee are waking up to the need and necessity of conducting a program of education among Negro voters just as similar programs are going forward in the education of other segmental units of the American population.

The Washington Tribune echoes Chairman Hamilton's statement that "Dr. Scott is one of the outstanding Negroes of this country," and that "the Republican National Committee is very fortunate to obtain his services at this critical period in the history of our country."

Probably no man among us is better acquainted with the social, political and economic problems of the Negro people.

Probably no man is more able, in a forth-right way, to loyally interpret the mass public opinion of Negro citizens to the High Command of the Republican Party.

We shall expect him to sensitively react to Negro Public Opinion, and faithfully represent it, as he did during the trying years of the World War, while serving as Special Assistant to Secretary Newton D. Baker of the War Department.

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Each of the colored persons appointed on the Program Committee is an outstanding, loyal member of the Republican Party, pledged to frankly point out to the party the reasons for the wide-spread swing away from it during the past Presidential elections.

These members are Bishop D. H. Sims of New York City, an influential Bishop of the great African Methodist Episcopal Church; Hon. T. G. Nutter of Charleston, W.Va., who has stood on the firing line of the Republican Party and in behalf of the best interests of his race for many years; Mrs. Sara Pelham Speaks, who represents the younger voice of Negro voters and who already has won her spurs in the last two Presidential campaigns, and has established herself in New York as a forceful personality, deeply conscious of the fact that the young Negro must be considered in all plans and programs looking to the success of the party in the future.

The same high praise can be spoken regarding the others, the Hon. Francis E. Rivers, outstanding attorney of New York City; Mrs. S. Joe Brown of Des Moines, Iowa, leading club-woman and civic worker; the Hon. F. M. Roberts of Los Angeles, California, former member of the Legislature and Progressive Republican; William E. King, former State Senator of Illinois; young Joseph O. Hopkins, of Detroit, Mich.; Joseph S. Mitchell, attorney-at-law, Boston, Mass., and Lethia Fleming, stalwart Republican leader of Cleveland, Ohio.

With these stalwart men and women serving on Glenn Frank's policy making committee, and with Dr. Scott serving as an Advisor at Republican National Headquarters, there is reason to believe that a serious effort is now being made to inquire into, and cure the causes of unrest among colored Republicans.

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The subject of discussions which divide white voters of our country divide, at the same time, great groups of colored voters.

If the Republican Party is to bring back into the fold the "wayward," not to say "erring" colored brother, extremely hard, educational work will be necessary by the Republican National Committee, from now until the Republican National Committee meets, throughout the approaching Presidential campaign, and up to the November election of 1940.

POLITICAL - 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Vote "NO" On P. R. Abolishment

CINCINNATI EXAMINER EDITORIAL

THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION PULLED A TERRIBLE "BONER" IN TRYING TO GET RID OF P. R. IN CINCINNATI. Union 5-11-39 Cincinnati, Ohio.

IN EVERY CITY WHERE THE REPUBLICANS ARE IN THE MINORITY LIKE NEW YORK, CHICAGO, ETC., THE REPUBLICANS ARE TRYING TO GET P. R. SO THAT THEY ALSO CAN HAVE THEIR SHARE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE CITY COUNCIL.

IN THOSE CITIES, IT IS ALL THE OTHER WAY, AND THE G. O. P. IS WITHOUT A VOICE IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE CITY.

WHEN THE G. O. P. WAS DOWN AND OUT IN CINCINNATI, P. R. GAVE THEM AT LEAST THREE COUNCILMEN TO SPEAK FOR THE GROUP OF MINORITY REPUBLICANS, OTHERWISE IT WOULD HAVE ALL BEEN ONE-SIDED — THE OTHER WAY.

IF YOU THINK THE REPUBLICANS ARE GOING TO GET ANY JOBS UNDER THE NEW WAY—FORGET THE IDEA. IT'S ALL UNDER CIVIL SERVICE AND THERE WON'T BE A SINGLE JOB!

IF YOU HAVE THE IDEA THEY ARE GOING TO SHAKE SHERRILL AND WERNKE, PERISH THE THOUGHT! THE G. O. P. BROUGHT SHERRILL HERE. THE G. O. P. COUNCILMEN MET HIM AT THE DEPOT AND MAYOR STEWART AND COUNCILMAN GRADISON WERE HIS CHIEF BACKERS FOR THE JOB. SHERRILL APPOINTED WERNKE TO THE JOB. IT'S ALL THE BUNK THEY ARE HANDING YOU!

P. R. HAS WORKED WELL IN CINCINNATI SINCE 1926. IT PRODUCTED BETTER COUNCILMEN—YOU KNOW THAT. IT IS A FAIR SYSTEM OF VOTING. ONLY 5 PER CENT OF THE BALLOTS ARE VOID, WHERE ON SCHOOL BOARD AND JUDICIAL BALLOTS 20 PER CENT ARE VOID.

UNDER P. R. YOU WILL ALWAYS HAVE REPUBLICANS IN COUNCIL! NO OTHER SYSTEM ASSURES THIS TO YOU. JUST NOW THE G. O. P. IS ON THE UPGRADE AND THE PROPOSED CHANGE MIGHT GIVE YOU ALL NINE IN COUNCIL. BUT WHAT IF IT DOES; IS IT FAIR TO THE OTHER SIDE?

AND WHEN THE WHEEL TURNS AND THE DEMOCRATS GET ON TO, YOU WON'T HAVE A SINGLE REPUBLICAN IN COUNCIL UNDER THE PROPOSED SYSTEM. IS THIS FAIR TO THE PARTY? THEN AGAIN, EVEN IF YOU HAVE ALL NINE COUNCILMEN REPUBLICANS, REMEMBER THERE WON'T BE A SINGLE NEW JOB IN THE CITY HALL. THE OLD DAYS ARE GONE AND EVERYBODY ADMITS IT.

UNDER P. R. YOU CAN NOW ELECT STEWART, KLEIN, GRADISON, AND McCLAIN, AND AT LEAST ANOTHER REPUBLICAN. EVERYBODY ADMITS THIS, FOR THE G. O. P. HAS BEEN GOING UP AND UP EACH ELECTION, AND THEY WERE JUST A FEW VOTES SHY OF ELECTING THE FIFTH MAN LAST TIME AND THUS GETTIN CONTROL.

REPUBLICANS, IF THEY HAVE THE FUTURE OF THEIR PARTY AT HEART WILL VOTE NO. IN NOVEMBER, UNDER P. R., THE FAIR SYSTEM! THEY WILL SURELY ELECT A MAJORITY OF REPUBLICANS. WE KNOW THAT!—Editorial, May 6 1939.

ON BEHALF OF THE G. O. P.

Mr. Ben Robertson, a South Carolina newspaper writer, startled some members of the Advertising Club of Atlanta last week when he put in a strong argument for the Republican party. Mr. Robertson had prefaced his remarks by recalling the number of times his family had voted for the Democratic party and for how long it had lived in one spot in South Carolina. "There is nothing damn Yankee about me....but I certainly would like to see a strong Republican party develop in the central Southern states."

Mr. Robertson's argument is an old one familiar throughout these Southern states. We need a two-party system, not only for the opposition another party would afford but for the gravy close elections would mean. The Republican party has ruled the country for the better part of the last seventy-five years, yet the South has looked down on it, turned up its noses at the G. O. P. and generally held aloof from it.

No wonder, therefore, it has never been influential in G. O. P. high councils. No wonder it was not until the New Deal that the South began to exert some influence in Washington.

5-30-39

"The United States," said Mr. Robertson "must have two parties to remain a democracy....I am anxious that the South remain predominantly Democratic but I would like to see the time come when there were so many Southern Republicans that we all would have to fight. I believe it would be better for the South and even for Southern Democrats if we had a strong Southern Republican party, and I believe the time has come for us to think about the price we are paying for staying a one-party section of a two-party country.

"The Democratic South is neither fish nor fowl in the present political set-up of the United States. American politics is based on making trades. It is based on good horse swapping and the Democratic South has nothing to swap. Do we want to remain in the position of a man who goes to a horse-swapping convention without a horse?"

Of course not. But where is our G. O. P. horse—or elephant—to come from. Neither horses nor elephants grow on trees, or so we have been led to believe. Not many Southerners are Republicans; those who are already vote for G. O. P. candidates. Those who aren't vote for Democratic candidates.

Admittedly the South would be better off if there were more Republicans in the South. But they are not here, and Mr. Robertson does not tell us how to get them.

He says that he has been too long in the Democratic party to change, but urges the younger generation to "study the possibilities of becoming Southern Republicans." Has Mr. Robertson urged his sons and daughters to join the G. O. P., work for it and offer for public offices on its ticket?

He perhaps has not, for, he will argue it would be ridiculous in South Carolina for anyone to harness himself with a Republican saddle. It would be a stone around his neck, and there would be no way for the young person to get on in the world.

In 1928 there seemed a good chance that the two-party system would be established on a sounder footing. But even the turmoil of the Smith-Hoover campaign was not enough to make any lasting impression upon the traditional politics of the South. There were bolters for a day, but not for a lifetime.

A leopard doesn't change his spots overnight. Neither does a Democrat. If Mr. Robertson knows how it is done he will do the South a favor by saying. His advice has been heard from others, many times before.

The Two Opening Guns

Tribune 4-22-39

The appointment of Dr. Emmett J. Scott to a position in the Publicity Department of the Republican National Commitee with Chairman John Hamilton's statement that he will serve as "one of the Chairman's advisors on problems relating to Colored citizens," would seem to indicate that, at last, the Republican Party and the Republican National Committee are waking up to the need and necessity of conducting a program of education among Negro voters just as similar programs are going forward in the education of other segmental units of the American population.

The Washington Tribune echoes Chairman Hamilton's statement that "Dr. Scott is one of the outstanding Negroes of this country," and that "the Republican National Committee is very fortunate to obtain his services at this critical period in the history of our country."

Probably no man among us is better acquainted with the social, political and economic problems of the Negro people.

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REPUBLICAN

STATE ASSEMBLY'S ONLY NEGRO MEMBER WARNS AGAINST G. O. P. VICTORY IN '40

By Angelo Herndon

"I hope the Republicans won't get control of the government next year," declared Edward A. Johnson of 17 West 132nd St., New York's first Negro member of the State Legislature. "If they are elected to run the affairs of the country, the people might as well commit suicide," he said. He quietly reminisced yesterday about his experiences in the fight for Negro rights which began back in 1879.

Born in Raleigh, N. C., in 1860 of slave parents, Mr. Johnson completed his high school education and then continued his studies at Atlanta University where, upon graduating in 1883, he got a job as principal of the Mitchell Street Public School in Atlanta. It was here that he was first initiated in the fight for Negro rights.

At that time Jim Crow laws aimed at segregating Negroes, were being put into operation. And Mr. Johnson, realizing the serious import of such laws, ventured to offer opposition to them by insisting that Negro girls and all girls be given first class seats on trolley cars without regard to the laws calling for the separation of the races.

FOUGHT JIM CROWISM

In registering his opposition to the Jim Crow laws, he took a group of his Negro girl pupils on a trolley car and insisted that they be allowed to sit in front seats without being molested. The conductor and a group of other white men, determined to carry out the dictates of the slave system, surrounded Mr. Johnson and viciously attacked him.

The incident created quite a stir in Atlanta and the white superintendent of the school, after a meeting with the "better Negroes," decided to expel him. Upon his dismissal, he was told by the superintendent that "any Negro who will do a thing like that is not fit to teach."

Mr. Johnson, in recounting this experience, laughed somewhat good naturedly and said: "Perhaps they would have lynched me if I didn't leave town soon enough. But I gave them a good battle, and even now I don't feel that I've lost. The fight for the freedom of the Negro will go on forever until it is crowned with victory."

In 1885, Mr. Johnson was employed as principal of the Washington Public School in Raleigh, N. C., where he taught until 1891. For several years he was instructor and dean of the law school at Shaw University, after which he was appointed assistant United States and sent away; others were beaten and shot. I managed to get away before things got too hot. After this, no Negro was even allowed to practice law in North Carolina."

Though 79 years old, Mr. Johnson is still a jolly good fellow. He frequently amuses himself by telling anecdotes about various phases of his life which has always been full of action. He chuckled rather heartily when telling of his appointment as Brigadier General by President Theodore Roosevelt. "When Roosevelt was inaugurated," he said, "I rode at the head of the Pennsylvania delegation. In those days, anyone who rode at the head of such a parade was made a Brigadier General. I got a lot of fun had to flee for their lives when the defeated slave masters succeeded in organizing a campaign of reaction and violence which crushed the Reconstruction Governments and divested the Negro of his political franchise.

DESCRIBES TERROR

In a faltering voice that betrayed a deep emotional feeling for the fight temporarily lost, but not yet finished, he said: "When the terror set in against us, some of the Negro legislators were put on trains District Attroney for the eastern district of North Carolina.

For two years he was among the 21 Negro members of the State Legislature of North Carolina. However, he and many of his colleagues out of it. But, of course, there was nothing in it but empty honor."

In 1907 Mr. Johnson was admitted to the New York Bar and later was allowed to practice law in the federal courts. He supported the candidacy of Charles Evans Hughes who was elected governor of New York in 1912 and solicited the support of Negroes in the hope that Hughes, if elected, would pass favorably on a petition for a Negro regiment in the state. However, this was not forthcoming under Hughes administration and he then felt that in order to redress the many grievances of the Negro people, Negroes should have a voice in government.

In 1917 he was anxious that Negroes should pull together and send one of their group to the state assembly. It was a hard job, and Mr. Johnson was fully aware of the difficulties to be encountered. The great Negro leader, Frederick Douglass had attempted it in Rochester before the war, but failed.

QUITS GOP CONVENTION

At that time, Mr. Johnson was a member of the Republican Party in the 19th A. D. Over 75 per cent of the vote in that district came from Negroes, yet there were no Negroes holding positions of leadership in the organization. The Republican Club of the district at its convention, nominated a white candidate for the state assembly in complete disregard of the rights of the Negroes.

"I walked out of the convention," Mr. Johnson said, "because there were some special things that I desired to do in the legislature, if I should get elected, and one was to pass a Civil Rights Bill that would protect to some extent, the colored people of New York City."

He then put up $8,000 of his own money and rallied the majority of the Negro people in Harlem behind him. When the Republican big-wigs discovered that he had the popular backing of the voters, he was nominated by John G. Lyons as a regular candidate on the Republican ticket. He was elected by an overwhelming majority.

In the words of Mr. Johnson, his election created a political "sensation in New York and throughout the country." The colored people, after my success in bolting the organization and being elected to the legislature thus for the first time establishing the principle of elective representation for the colored people—nominated quite a number of candidates for public offices in this state, and various localities in the different states, and during the ten years subsequent and up to the present time have nominated and elected nine Negro assemblymen."

WON ELECTION

Newspapers throughout the state and country characterized the election Mr. Johnson as something "unique" in New York politics.

Mr. Johnson's work in the state assembly on behalf of the Negro and all citizens of New York are summed up as follows: among the bills he introduced and had passed were the bill amending the Civil Rights Law, preventing discrimination against Negroes in public places; a bill asking that Negro internes be appointed in city hospitals; a bill allowing soldiers and sailors free transportation on the railroads; a bill creating a state employment agency (the first of its kind anywhere in the country); a bill preventing discrimination against Catholics, Jews and others employed in civil service and another bill asking for the equalization of pay for all school teachers.

Having given the best of his years to the fight for human freedom and progress, Mr. Johnson is still practicing law in New York. He is the author of many books. His eyesight is failing him, but he will always remember the sane advice given him by his friend and leader, Frederick Douglass: "the last time I saw Fred at his home in Anacostia, he was playing the violin and dancing around in the house. I was only a kid then. He told me to perserve and continue on the way I was going. I have tried to do that. The young Negroes and their leaders of today must do the same by joining together with the laboring people if they want to save themselvs from the great catastrophe that is about to come. They must see to it that no Republican administration is forced upon them next year."

WHAT REPUBLICANS SAY

FOOLING THE PEOPLE

New Dealers frequently pay lip service to Abraham Lincoln but they never take to heart his widely quoted words about the impossibility of fooling all the people all the time. New Deal spokesmen, apparently encouraged by the ease with which they fooled the people during the first Roosevelt Administration, seem to believe that the voters are just too dumb to understand as Harry Hopkins once put it, and that they will swallow anything.

An instance in point are recent blurbs put out by the Democratic National Committee contending that farm exports have greatly increased and, of course, because of the beneficent effect of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements. What is more, the Democratic propagandists try to make it appear that their Republican critics base their criticism of these so-called reciprocal agreements only on farm imports, ignoring farm exports.

Well, let's take a look at farm exports during the fiscal year which ended on June 30 last. According to the Department of Agriculture—and there is no better authority on the subject—farm exports during that period had a value of $682,814,000, compared with $890,771,000 in the previous years. This is a decrease of more than $200,000,000 or about 18 per cent. This is the way Reciprocal Trade Agreements have been helping the American farmer. What is worse they are taking away from him his domestic market.

Why does not the Democratic spokesman tell the farmers about the decline in farm exports in the last fiscal year? Why does he conceal the fact that in 1929

farm exports had a value of $1,495,823,000? Why? Because he thinks he can fool all the people all the time.

A SHATTERED IDOL

Another Roosevelt myth has at last been shown up for what it really is by none other than the President himself.

It was perhaps the most persistent of all of the Roosevelt myths—that none understood so well as the President the hopes, the fears and the longings of the American people.

Now, in his Hyde Park comments on what he characterizes as his Supreme Court "victory," he inadvertently reveals his complete lack of understanding of the spirit and temperament of the nation. Said Mr. Roosevelt:

"The country is naturally concerned with the attainment of proper objectives, rather than any of many possible methods proposed for the accomplishment of the end."

It seems incredible that even at this late date the President doesn't realize that the whole Supreme Court controversy was over method rather than objective.

It is amazing that he does not comprehend that there was little, if any popular objection to a more liberal-minded Supreme Court but that it was the sincere conviction of the American people that if the "packing" method were permitted, the whole nature of our government would have undergone a sinister change.

The doctrine which Mr. Roosevelt now expounds—that the end justifies the means—is the doctrine of every radical revolutionary. It is incompatible with the first principles of democracy that there can be no short cuts to objectives at the sacrifice of freedom and liberty.

LABOR'S FALSE FRIEND

The amount of time lost by American workers because of strikes last year is appalling. Figures just made public by the International Labor Organization, at Geneva, show that in 23 countries strikes last year caused a total loss of 24,407,000 working days. This amounts to about 67,000 years.

Strikes in the United States caused a loss of 25,000 years, or 37 per cent of the working time lost because of strikes throughout the entire world.

The figures constitute a devastating indictment of the New Deal's labor policies. They are the more impressive in view of the fact that it was as far back as July, 1935, when the President signed the Wagner Labor Relations Act, which had as its objective "to diminish the cause of labor disputes."—The Political Front.

If the Democrats throughout the country are as badly divided as are the Democrats in the Senate and House, it is a waste of time to discuss who will be nominated by the Democrats, for the party will certainly be defeated.—Sen. James F. Byrnes (D), S. C.

Federal spending has increased 1,000 to 1,200 per cent. And what has been the result? We have had to increase taxes 500 per cent. We have as much unemployment as we had in 1932. And we have a public debt of nearly $50,000,000,000.—Sen. William H. King (D), Utah.

CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON FISH

A news item from London, England, recently tells story of the visit of Congressman Hamilton Fish, of New York, to Europe. It states that Mr. Fish is hailed through the German press as a "great hero" and that the New York congressman seems to be the most popular American in the eyes of the people throughout Germany.

Well, so far as we are concerned, such news sounds no sweet note to our ears. While we regarded the attacks Mr Fish has been making upon the Roosevelt administration as "pure partisan politics," it did not lessen our respect for him as a man, but his acclaim by the Nazi press and leaders as a great hero, and his apparent popularity in Germany makes us suspicious that he may be in Germany on a secret mission of some sort. We do not know whether it has some connection with the bund or whether the German people have taken his attacks upon Mr. Roosevelt too seriously.

It will be remembered that in 1932 Hamilton Fish was potential timber for the Republican nomination for President and was quite popular among the colored people of this country. And we might add that his popularity has waned only with the Negroes' increased support of the Democratic party generally. But if he has, as was indicated by the press reports, gone to Germany and fallen down and worshipped at the throne of Adolph Hitler and has received the Fuehrer's blessing as a great American hero, then we want just as little as possible to do with Hamilton Fish in the future.

As an outstanding Republican his influence will be greatly lessened at the coming Republican National Convention in 1940, and his political chances of becoming that party's standard bearer are all but dead, unless these reports are shown and proved to be greatly exaggerated.

JOBS OR ELSE

James F. Thompson, chairman of the Michigan Republican State Central Committee, has appealed to state officers to consider colored voters' appeal for jobs. In a letter to Republican department heads, Thompson said:

It has been repeatedly called to our attention in headquarters that the colored people of the state are receiving little consideration in the appointments that are being made.

"I know this is not true in some departments; however, I trust that if your department has not given reasonable recognition in the matter of their employment that you will do so in the immediate future.

"I believe it is hopeless for our party to assume that we can carry the colored vote solely on the strength of the Emancipation Proclamation, and that tangible evidence of our confidence in their ability must be made manifest before 1940."

Sincerely yours,
James F. Thompson,
Chairman, Republican State Central Committee.

—Republican Digest.

Another Survey

THE program committee of the Republican National Committee has secured the services of Dr. Ralph Bunche, head of the department of political science at Howard University, to make a nation-wide survey of the reason for the defection of colored voters from the Republican Party.

Dr. Bunche will, no doubt, do a good job. His findings will, most likely, be couched in scholarly terms. But, with all due respect to the national leaders of the Republican Party, the scholarly Howard graduate will not find out much that is not now known.

The fact is, stated simply, that colored voters began to leave the Republican Party in large numbers when the Republican Party began to desert them.

The Republican Party grew out of slavery. It owed much of its early strength and power to its championship of the rights of the Negro. Then the party, under Presidents Taft, Harding and Hoover, attempted to curry favor with the Solid South by throwing its colored voters overboard. The experiment was disastrous. The party did not win over the South and, on the other hand, it lost millions of voters in hitherto traditional Republican sections.

There will, of course, be found other reasons of major importance, such as the political use by the Democratic Party of the various forms of relief. But, above all else, colored voters started to leave the Republican Party when the party embarked on its futile program of lily-white appeasement.

The colored voters will return in the proportion in which they left, when the Republican Party once more becomes the party of Lincoln and the champion of the citizenship rights and privileges of all the people, irrespective of race, color and previous condition of ser-

A GOOD START, REPUBLICANS

Last week secretary of State Earl Miller appointed Harry E. Wilson to a responsible clerical position in his office. It is the first new position worth mention that has been given a Negro at the State House since the late Governor Harding named Clarence Harding, an oil inspector, twenty years ago. The Bystander congratulates Secretary Miller on his sense of fairness indicating that he feels it important to keep his word with his Negro friends.

Here it is well to emphasize that Secretary Miller is not the only official who in order to make good Republican pledges must make a place for a Negro in his office. Heretofore we have centered all of our activity on appointments by the governor which invariably turned out to be a few janitors, a messenger and the postmaster and his assistant. Already too much fight has been made for these places for the governor has tremendous influence over employees hired by the boards and commissions which he appoints.

And to be more specific the Bystander feels called upon to ask State Auditor Akers, Treasurer Bagley, Secretary of Agriculture Thornburg and Attorney General Everett what are they going to do for the Negro voters? Before the election their services and support were needed. That work has been done. This is your time to act.

Yes, Secretary of State Earl Miller has set the pace and it is a good one. It will be well to watch other officials and determine whether they are worthy of this part of the race they have been elected to run.

A Negro Republican Brain Truster

By KELLY MILLER

Dr. Glenn Frank, Chairman of the Republican Program Committee, has appointed Prof. Ralph Bunche, of the Department of Political Science in Howard University, to make a painstaking survey of the Negro's attitude towards the Republican Party, with a view, if possible, to induce him to retrace his steps and return to his first love.

The shift of the effective Negro vote, in the North and West, from the Republican to the Democratic fold during the past ten years, has been without parallel among any group of voters within our political history. It has been generally assumed that the cause of this shift was well understood. Such distinguished political tergiversators as Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, Editor Robert L. Vann, Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom, and others whose name is legion, during the past eight years have done their best to show the Republican Party, the Negro and the nation, the reason for this change of front. The obvious fact does not seem to need any further proof or demonstration. Those are still—stand in need of further enlightenment on this score, thereby evince their incapacity to understand plain facts of observation and experience.

It should be carefully noted that the change of political attitude on the part of the Negro is confined mainly, though not wholly, to the enfranchised portion of the race living in free voting states. The Negroes in the South who are practically disfranchised by law, tradition, and habit, still persist in the hope and belief that they must look to the Republican Party of the North for political salvation. However, Dr. Glenn Frank and his Republican colleagues have little or no concern for the Southern Negro whose franchise has been denied, if not taken away. The practical politician is concerned only with the actual and not with the potential voter. Dr. Bunche's efforts therefore, will be confined to the North with the hope that they may possibly have some effect upon the approaching Presidential election of 1940.

Dr. Bunche is thoroughly capable and well equipped to make the desired survey and analysis. He is a Harvard Ph.D., in government and has spent a year in research work in East Africa on a Rockefeller Fellowship. Dr. Bunche possesses a keen analytical mind, and his research will measure up to the canons of political science. He is regarded, however, by his colleagues as being liberal beyond the point of toleration of the Orthodox Republican attitude.

The chief effect of Dr. Bunche's research however, will be to show the Grand Old Party how it can reclaim its lost black ally rather than to make more plainer the obvious reason why he strayed from the fold.

The Grand Old Party hitherto has relied upon his veteran spell binders, like Perry W. Howard, J. Finley Wilson, and Roscoe Conklin Simmons, to turn their erring brethren from the folly of their ways. Such Negro journals as could be subsidized were utilized for this purpose. Only a few of the leading Negro newspapers were subject to such venal political influence. Leading journals like the Pittsburgh Courier, The Afro-American, the Amsterdam News, lent the influence of their columns to Roosevelt and the New Deal. The Chicago Defender stood firmly by the faith of the fathers, although the records of the Republican National Committee show that this "greatest Negro newspaper on earth" was subsidized at an enormous price.

Hitherto mother wit and horse sense of the horse and buggy age have been relied upon by politicians to bring and to keep voters, white and black in proper political allegiance. Now comes Dr. Glenn Frank who pronounces himself a reluctent aponent and who pays homage to the New Deal by adopting its method in substituting the scholar for the practical politician. The brain truster has never been very highly extoled in practical politics in either party. Politics as usually practiced is a practical art, and not an exact science. Napoleon Bonaparte discredited the influence of LaGrance, the French Mathematician, because he was always trying to introduce the infinitesimal method in politics. Hitler's aversion to mixing scholarship and politics is well known. Walter Bagehot, the English economist, published a book in 1869 entitled "Physics and Politics,' in which he endeavored to trace the close analogy between the laws of physical and political science. But his analogy is too finely spun for the brain of the ordinary American politician. Our most successful vote getters like Arthur Pue Goreman Matthew Quay. Thomas C. Plate, Mark Hanna, and James A. Farley have always relied for success upon mother wit rather than the exact formulas of political science.

The brain trust method borrowed from the New Deal, is something new

under the Republican sun. We must therefore, gasp with wonder and amazement at Dr. Ralph Bunche, the first Negro brain truster ever to be employed to carol the Negro vote. Republican and Democratic politicians, alike will watch the outcome of Dr. Bunche's psycho-analysis of the Negro voter with great expectancy.

Sees No Real Benefit In 'Study' Of Negroes As Proposed By GOP

To the Editor:

Please publish the following letter:

Dear Glenn Frank,
Chairman Republican Program Committee,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

It is reported in the March 11 Chicago's Tribune that you have appointed Dr. Bunche of Howard University to "study the problems of the American Negro in relation to National policy."

Long ago we began to see that those who "studied" us most did the least about us and that they were satisfied to supply a new volume for the library and get another degree but meanwhile all the unfairness and injustices that existed before the "study" were unaffected.

Even the children in the alleys know that what the Negro in America needs and wants are: equality before the law and a fair chance to earn a living. It has been apparent for a long time that the Republican Party did not know this, conveniently, but we did not expect its leaders to say publicly that they did not know it. Instead of thrilling us, this announcement chills us. It is distinctly discouraging to find that, after all these years of stringing along with the party, we still have the status of mice and guinea pigs.

Far be it from me to steal the thunder of a new found dissector, but if you and he will talk to W. E. B. DuBois, Walter White, Kinckle Jones, any honest lawyer and the black man leaning on his shovel in the park, the study can be completed in three hours.

Meantime if the program committee can find any substantiation of the rumors of disfranchisement, peonage and lynching, suspected of being practiced against Negroes, they might recommend that a little board, even though it be weak and full of knot holes, be put in the forthcoming platform, frowning on such practices. It might be too much for us to ask for a strong plank. Even if the employment plank were to say, in soft words, of course, something about "American jobs for Americans first," we could cross our fingers and become very enthusiastic. We just like for the Republican Party to say it loves us.

When you publish the report of the 'study" I hope we shall be able to read it. We couldn't even read the releases from the committee's meeting here last summer: too many $4.00 words.

Respectfully yours,
Henry W. Hammond,
One of the live specimens,
3100 South Parkway,
Chicago, Ill.

Will Encounter Difficulty

THE PLANNING GROUP of the National Republican Executive Committee has recently named a Howard University faculty member to the task of studying the trend of Negroes away from the Grand Old Party, with a view of rendering a report and prescribing a remedy that will restore faith of the Negro to Republicanism.

If leaders of the GOP will only look about them, even among the habitues of cross road country stores, who languish there, chew tobacco and get the news reports over the soap box radio, they will find many who will readily offer a sure remedy for the complained of ills, much more readily, accurately and at far less expense than the professor selected from the university faculty.

It is very likely that the old tobacco-chewing philosophers will recommend adoption by Republican leaders of just such attitudes exhibited by President Roosevelt in manifesting interest in important Negro educational institutions as Tuskegee, evidenced by his recent visit there. It may be that they would suggest emulation of the example of the president's wife, as she emphatically and openly placed the stamp of disapproval on rank racial discrimination as exhibited by the DAR toward Marian Anderson, which without doubt reflected the attitude of her illustrious husband.

4-7-39

There are many other exhibitions of fairness and non-discriminatory attitudes toward the minority racial group on the part of the present party in power, which if had been practiced by Republicans, would have enabled them to hold the support of Negroes in many sections, at least to the extent of making a better showing than was made in the last two national elections.

Action of the GOP executive committee in selecting an expert to study the situation and suggest a remedy for retrieving support of Negro voters appears fallacious indeed to thoughtful observers, and as long as fair and liberal attitudes are exhibited toward the racial group in our country as has been true of the Democratic party, all the efforts of experts in every university of the land will prove of little consequence in pulling away Negro support.

—From the (Knoxville) East Tennessee News.

POLITICAL - 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Race Republicans Attend Inauguration Ceremonies In Large Numbers

TOPEKA—Negro Republicans from all parts of the state of Kansas were in this city in attendance of the inauguration ceremonies of Payne H. Ratner, who became governor at noon Monday. P. G. Porter, vice-state chairman of the Republican Central Committee, said that it was one of the largest delegations of Negro Republicans that had ever come to Topeka, excluding the Landon notification ceremonies two years ago.

Ratner became the twenty-eighth governor of Kansas in one of the most colorful inauguration ceremonies ever seen in Topeka.

The retiring governor, Walter A. Huxman, in formal morning attire, rode with his successor, dressed in a new business suit. Other state officials rode in pairs, in cars directly behind the governor. The Parsons high school and the Parsons Junior college band and drum corps had the honor places in the parade, ahead of the cars carrying the state officials.

The inaugural ceremony itself was sharply in contrast with the parade. The stage of the auditorium was decorated with a few flowers and bunting. The state officials and their wives and the officers of the Kansas national guard had places on the platform. The big hall was jammed with friends of the two governors, well-wishers for the new administration and some job-seekers.

Holmes Meade, local chairman of the committee on arrangements, called the meeting to order. After the crowd sang "America," the Rev. M. Lee Sorey of Parsons pronounced the invocation. Walter Fees, Republican state chairman, acted as chairman, with Gen. Milton R. McLean, adjutant general, as master of ceremonies to conduct the elected officials to the rostrum for the oath of office.

William Easton Hutchinson, associate justice of the supreme court, administered the oath of office to his colleague, John S. Dawson, chief justice, reelected to a new term. Then the chief justice gave the oaths to each of the state officials as they were called to the rostrum.

In his farewell address as governor, a few minutes before Governor Ratner raised his hand to take the oath of office, Huxman said that being chief executive of a state is a "hard life" which carries many disappointments and heartaches."

Huxman said that upon his own inauguration two years ago he made "one promise, and one promise only.'

"I said to you at that time that not a single act of mine during my administration shall be motivated or prompted by any thought of personal or political preferment or advancement, and I stand before you today at the conclusion of my stewardship and say to you that that promise I have kept."

SOUTHERN NEGROES!

"Something Rotten in Denmark."

5-25-39

A WHITE REPUBLICAN FIGHTER AGAINST P. R. SAID IN A SPEECH HERE RECENTLY, THAT, "THE LARGE NUMBER OF SOUTHERN NEGROES IS THE CAUSE OF CLEVELAND'S BAD GOVERNMENT."

STRANGE! WE HAVE A LARGE NUMBER HERE, BUT THEY HAVE NOT CREATED A BAD GOVERNMENT FOR CINCINNATI!

"...Justify Our Faith In Republicanism"

THERE can be none who heard or read the inaugural address of Governor Arthur H. James who can doubt the strikingly evident sincerity of the man upon whom has been thrust the job of putting things in order in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

His re-affirmation of his campaign pledges was straight-from-the-shoulder talk, no tongue-in-the-cheek political bombast.

1-19-39

"I HOPE TO SEE EMPLOYMENT GROW STEADILY UNTIL EVERY IDLE MAN WHO WANTS A JOB CAN HAVE ONE," HE SAID.

That pronouncement hits directly home in relation to thousands of Negroes throughout the State.

"I WANT TO REPEAT MY PLEDGE AND THAT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, THAT EVERY PERSON IN PENNSYLVANIA WHO NEEDS RELIEF WILL GET IT," HE CONTINUED.

That's talking in language that will inspire hope and confidence among those unfortunate Negroes who, through force of circumstances beyond their control, are on relief, and who may have been stampeded into a frenzy of fear by Democratic propagandists who predicted curtailment of relief.

"MY FAILURE TO MENTION.....SPECIAL ISSUES IS NOT INTENDED TO MINIMIZE THEIR IMPORTANCE, NOR TO INDICATE ANY INTENTION NOT TO CARRY OUT ALL THE PLEDGES CONTAINED IN MY CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OR IN THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM," HE ADDED.

That statement anticipates, and should silence, any possible carping critics who may attempt to wave the red flag of indifference to the plight and problems of the Negro group.

Governor James went into office on Tuesday with the confidence of hundreds of thousands of Negroes behind him.

He has a big job ahead of him. He will be beset on all sides with vexing, difficult problems. The TRIBUNE, and we believe we speak for intelligent, rational Negro citizens, will be constantly conscious of this.

Labor groups, religious groups, industrial groups, fraternal groups, the ever-constant connivers and political opportunists will cause him more than one fretful night when he retires to the Governor's Mansion following an arduous day.

There will be, of necessity, pressure from time to time exerted by racial minority groups. And, justifiably so, the Negro will be included among those minority groups seeking an "even break".

The TRIBUNE went down the line—lock, stock and barrel—for Governor James, BECAUSE IT BELIEVED IN THE UNSWERVING COURAGE AND THE INNATE HONESTY OF THE MAN!

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Governor Hints Appointments Will Be 'Big Surprise' When Announcements Are Made

Colored GOP Groups Throw Weight Behind Fight For Key Jobs In Other State Departments

Herald Tribune
2-12-39
Philadelphia

A Negro as a member of the State Athletic Commission is evidently a thing of the past, according to the authoritative reports emanating from Harrisburg, where Governor James is keeping a close mouth concerning the appointments of the board.

While the next members of the Boxing Commission are a matter of mystery still, it is definite that no Negro will be one of the three who rule the destinies of professional and amateur boxing in the state.

James has stated that he is after a board entirely unlike those of past years. He has stated that he is determined that the men on it will be of a high calibre and that if necessary he will poll the sports editors of principal newspapers as to their choice.

However, as late as last week-end, he told newspapermen that the new appointees will be "quite a surprise" when they are announced.

The fight for a Negro on the board was lost when such political organizations as the State Negro Council went on record as being against the nomination of a colored man to a job consisting of "weighing in boxers". The objective of the Council is to further the nomination of Negroes to key positions in other important state departments. To further this aim it threw over the tradition of a Negro in the department. Other GOP groups seeking to keep a united front went along with this plan and consequently the matter has interested only sports fans as a whole. On the other hand there have been few men who have made themselves available. Most Negroes whose hats are in the ring are seeking jobs in other departments.

Those who might have been available for the job were Robert J. Nelson and LaBarr Potts. However, with the force of the various Negro Republican groups directed towards gaining other jobs little pressure was exerted in behalf of the prospective Commissioners.

NEW YORK N Y HERALD TRIBUNE
SUNDAY FEB 12 1939

Advance Guard Of Republicans Here for Fete

Heil, Wiley and Hamilton Arrive for Lincoln Dinner Tomorrow Night

Led by Governor Julius P. Heil of Wisconsin the vanguard of the Republican victors in the November elections arrived here yesterday for the fifty-third annual Lincoln dinner of the National Republican Club which will be held tomorrow night at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Governor Heil was accompanied by Mrs. Heil and United States Senator Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin. Another prominent arrival was John D. M. Hamilton, of Kansas, chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Mr. Hamilton said the keynote of the dinner, which will be addressed by former President Hoover and other leading Republicans, will be "victory through unity in 1940."

"Republican unity, as expressed by this dinner," continued Mr. Hamilton, "to which Republican leaders will come from as far West as Seattle, is a welding of Republicans in every section of the country against the radicalism and tyranny of the New Deal. It is the solid front which will carry the Republicans to further victories, and into the White House in 1940."

In addition to the country's outstanding Republican leaders, distinguished educators, heads of patriotic societies and clergymen, are among the 1,500 men and women who have made reservations.

Bishop William T. Manning heads the list of noted clerics who will attend. Others include the Very Rev. Dr. Robert I. Gannon, S. J., president of Fordham University; the Rev. Dr. J. Frederic Berg, pastor of the Flatbush Reformed Church; the Rev. Dr. Christian F. Reisner, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle; the Rev. Dr. George Paull T. Sargent, rector of St. Bartholomew's Protestant Episcopal Church; Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, Central Synagogue of New York; the Rev. Dr. Joseph R. Sizoo, pastor of the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas. Dr. Sizoo will deliver an address on Lincoln.

Besides Father Gannon, other educators include Dr. James Rowland Angell, president emeritus, Yale University; Dr. Clement C. Williams, president, Lehigh University; Dr. Harvey N. Davis, president, Stevens Institute of Technology; Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute; Dean Carl W. Ackerman, School of Journalism, Columbia University; Dr. Robert L. Kincaid, vice-president, Lincoln Memorial University.

Among the heads of patriotic organizations who will attend are Richard V. Goodwin, president, Sons of the American Revolution, Empire State Society, and Laurens M. Hamilton, president, Sons of the American Revolution, New York City Chapter.

John Jay Hopkins, former assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, chairman of the dinner committee, said that with reservations at $25 a plate still pouring in, "we have reached the capacity of the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria."

"Five of our newly elected Republican Governors will meet on the same platform for the first time on Monday night," said Mr. Hopkins. "We have more than twenty-five Congressmen, twenty members of the Republican National Committee and elective officials from all parts of the country."

Several of the National Committeewomen have made reservations, including Mrs. Ruth B. Pratt, New York; Miss Katherine Byrne, Connecticut; Mrs. George B. Reynolds Indiana; Mrs. Margaret A. Green Massachusetts; Mrs. Edward D Toland, New Hampshire; Mrs Katherine Kennedy Brown, Ohio Mrs. Harry E. Thomas, Wisconsin Miss Consuelo Northrup, Vermont

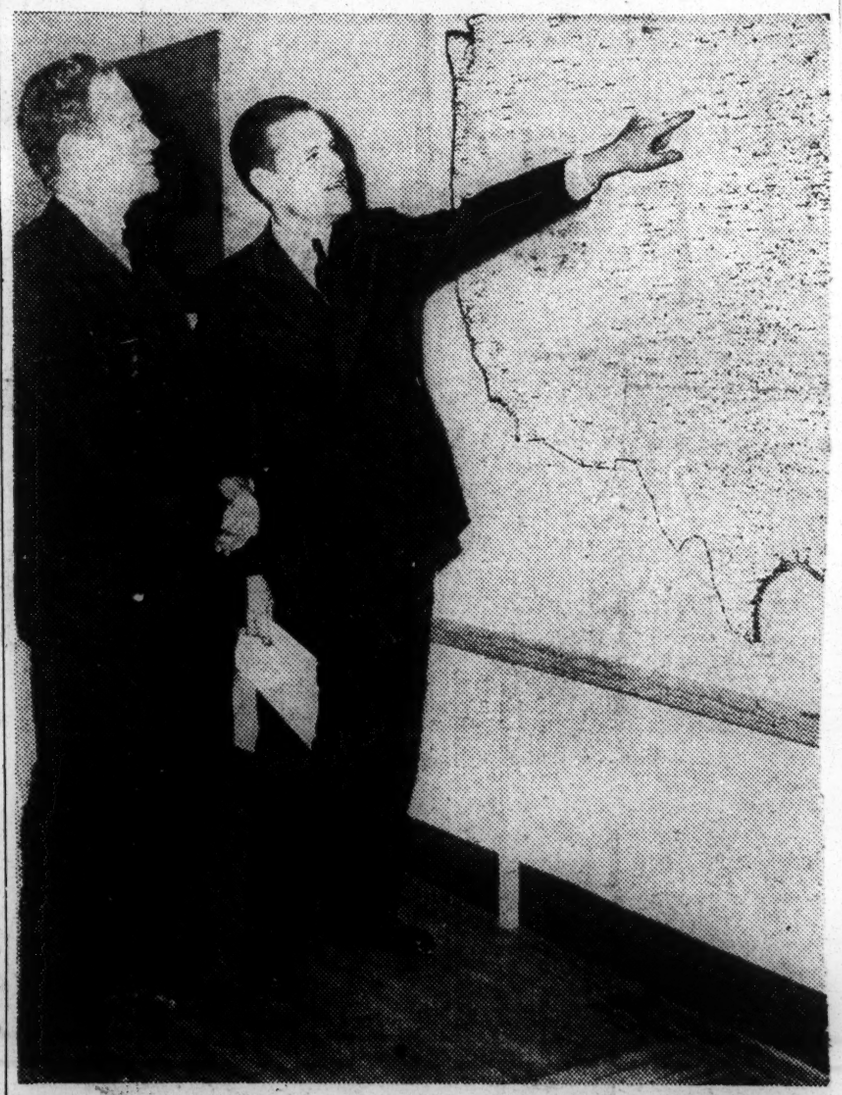
The speeches will be broadcast over three national networks and several local stations from 9 p. m to 11 p. m. Former President Hoover, Mr. Hamilton, Governor Ralph L. Carr of Colorada and Mrs. William Henry Hays, president of the Women's National Republican Club, will be heard during the first hour. During the second hour, the speeches of Governor Heil, Governor Harlan H. Bushfield of South Dakota, Governor Frank D. Fitzgerald of Michigan and Senator Wiley, Republican leader of the Senate, will be broadcast.

Col. Andrew B. Humphrey, originator of the Lincoln dinners, said that he was "proud indeed that my plan, which first saw the light of day in Luchow's restaurant fifty-three years ago, has assumed national importance."

Col. Humphrey said the first dinner was just a get-together of local Republicans, and added:

"This is the first time the Republican National Committee has participated in the event, and never before have there been so many Republicans of national importance at any dinner."

Quests From All Over Nation Due for Lincoln Dinner



Herald Tribune photo—Acme

"They're coming from everywhere," observes John D. M. Hamilton (left), Republican National Committee chairman, as he looks over a map of the United States with pins marking cities from which reservations have been received for the Republican Lincoln dinner tomorrow night at the Waldorf-Astoria. With him is John Jay Hopkins, chairman of the dinner committee

POLITICAL-1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Recovery Instead of Reform

When the present Administration took charge of the National Government the country was in a deplorable condition, and this was felt everywhere. As to the cause, nobody seemed to have any definite information President Hoover and the Republican party were made the scapegoat because the economic collapse came under the Hoover Administration. President Roosevelt took charge at a time when the nation was desperately struggling against the terrible depression that had settled down upon it. The President began with a strong hand and vigorous action. He had many ideas shared by those who were brought into his cabinet and millions who have loyally supported his ideas and policies ever since he has been President. There have been some wise and careful followers of the President. There have been some blind and reckless followers of his program. The situation seemed to demand loyalty in order to find a way out of the terrible dilemma, and so hardly any President in peace time has ever been voted the authority and almost unlimited power in dealing with the problems that concerned the nation during his term. This, as has been observed, was in desperation and a desire to find a way out. The President was not too much attracted by mere symptoms and surface showing. It was his inclination to probe deeper in an effort to find the fundamental cause of the trouble so that it might be remedied, not only temporarily, but put in a state of permanent solution. And so he set out upon a program of reform rather than recovery.

Perhaps it was at this point where there was much division in thought even to begin with. Some felt that the program should be built around the thought of recovery and then later gradually take up a program of reform through the due and ordinarily slow process of education and legislation. There may have been some things attempted ostensibly as emergency measures, but for the most part the emphasis in the present Administration has been on reform rather than recovery. The process has been going on long enough for the people to begin in earnest to expect some evidence of progress in the matter of reform and also of recovery. Unquestionably something has been accomplished. All of these efforts have not ended in futility. But the problem of unemployment as well as others remain. And in the opinion of many, conditions in some respects are not much improved from what they were when Mr. Roosevelt took charge. It seems that business has grown more and more suspicious and skeptical not only of the intention of the Administration, but as to the adequacy of the program to meet the needs. There has been much dissatisfaction within the Democratic camps. Outstanding leaders and close advisers to the Administration have openly disagreed and now seem to cut out different paths to travel. This has afforded the Republican party opportunity for making gains which have not been slow to register.

Now come a shift in emphasis. And the shift is from reform to recovery. This was announced in a recent speech by Mr. Hopkins. It finds echo here and there throughout the country in the utterances and writings of many who claim to know the mind and purpose of the Administration. This note of recovery instead of reform is very much welcomed in large areas of the business world. There is much speculation as to what it all means. And in proportion as business is convinced of the sincerity of these pronouncements will there be a response to a program of cooperation looking toward recovery. Whether the Administration is thoroughly convinced of the necessity for a shift for the good of the people or for political advantages is a question with which many minds seem to wrestle. At the same time just the pronouncement and continued discussion with the emphasis upon recovery tends to create a new atmosphere and a new optimism as to the future. TIME WILL BE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE SINCERE AND GENUINE TREND IN PRESENT ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE AMERICAN NEGRO'S WELFARE

The Negro question in America has always been a serious problem, involving human slavery in some form, versus human liberty. From 1607, the date of the first shipload of Negroes, unloaded at Jamestown, Virginia, to be sold as cattle, the Negro question has been the problem of the American people. Years before our Colonial government was set up; or the Federation of States was entered into, the Negro question was the absorbing economic and political problem of the people. From the Colonial period to the Constitutional Government, this question continued to burn upon the hearts of the people, who themselves were subjected to British tyranny, oppression and taxation without representation.

The Colonies rebelled against the British yoke of tyranny, and set up a Constitutional democracy, in which they declared their independence to their mother country. The Negro joined in this revolution and shed the first blood for American freedom and independence from slavery. But this blood and sacrifice, brought him no relief from chattel slavery. The independence he died to establish, and the constitution he fought to ordain, denied him citizenship and freedom. Following the Dred Scott decision, which declared that a Negro had no rights a white man was bound to respect, the South continued to hold the Negro as property, as he did his mules, hogs and cows.

The question finally became the paramount issue between the North and the South; the North standing for the freedom of the slaves and the South for perpetual slavery. The ques-

Race Problems Study Planned By Republicans

Philadelphia Tribune

Name Dr. R. Bunche To Conduct National Political Survey

3-16-39

Philadelphia, Pa.

CHICAGO, March—Dr. Ralph Bunche chairman of the political science department of Howard University, Washington, D. C., has been asked by Glenn Frank, chairman of the Republican National Program Committee to make an objective study of the relation of the Republican Party's national policy to the problems of the American Negro.

This study will be part of the process through which the Program Committee is formulating its recommendations to the Republican National Committee. Dr. Bunche is a graduate of the Universities of California and Harvard, with a Ph. D. degree from the latter institution.

tion split the states, the churches and school, and family ties and kindred relationships. Between 1844 and 1860, we experienced a political readjustment on the question of human slavery. Those believing in the freedom of the slaves formed the Republican party, and stood for the preservation of the Union as formed in 1789; and those believing in human slavery under the Dred Scott decision organized the Democratic party. The Republicans won the war and saved the Union; the Democrats lost the war and their government. The Democrats set up a government at Montgomery, Alabama, with Jefferson Davis at its head. The Union remained indissoluble at Washington with Lincoln at its head. Thus the issue of slavery was clearly drawn between the two political parties, the Republicans taking the side of the Negro and the Democratic party the side against the Negro; the war being over, the Union preserved and the Negro freed; the Republican party began its contribution to the American Negro, as a man with rights and not as property to be sold at the auction block like common cargo.

First, the Republican party preserved the Union, that it might be able to free the Negro and protect him in his rights.

Second, a Republican Congress passed the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery in the United States and anywhere else that the United States had jurisdiction.

Third, President Lincoln following up the adoption of the Federal Constitution issued the Emancipation Proclamation declaring the slaves free within the jurisdiction of the United States and anywhere else it had jurisdiction, dated September 22nd, 1862, effective January 1st, 1863.

Fourth, following the adoption of the 13th amendment to the Constitution, a Republican Congress adopted the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, making the Negro a citizen, with the right to vote; to have and to hold property; to sue and to be sued and to enjoy all the privileges any other citizen enjoyed under the Federal Constitution.

Fifth, following the passage of the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution; a Republican Congress passed the 15th Amendment to the Constitution; prohibiting the States the right to deny the Negro or any other citizen of the United States the right to abridge or deny the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The Republican party has passed every law, national or local giving the Negro his rights as a man and a citizen; and no political party has ever passed any law recognizing the rights of the Negro under our form of government or attempted to protect him in the rights the Republican party has given him. On the other hand the Democratic party has opposed every law that gave the Negro his rights as a citizen, and has sought by amendments, tricks and intrigue to take from him every political right the Republican party has given him. The Republican party never has passed a law, or advocated a law depriving the Negro of any right under the law a white man enjoys. Every jim-crow statute, whether on rail roads, elevators, Government services or else where was put on the books by Democrats over the organized opposition of the Republican party. The gift of the ballot, and the right to cast it unmolested by anybody, and freedom from slavery, along with the right to free speech, free press, and of assembly, are the most sacred gifts to man that governments can give. These precious jewels are the contributions of the Republican party.

—The Union-Review.

The Negro's Fight Is Inside of the Republican Party Not Outside

The Negro's struggle for economic and political equality, in the United States, is inside of the Republican Party and not outside. Following the man, and not the party leads nowhere. All the talk about following men, and repudiating parties, is demogoguey of the cheapest kind. What man has ever gotten anywhere in politics who was not backed by a political organization? No man can announce himself for public office, on a platform of his own making, and succeed without the nomination and support of some political party? And men, who tell you they believe in men, and not parties, are demogogues seeking to exploit the public for selfish gains. Politics is no more a one man organization, than our form of government, is a one man government.

Our government, is a government by political parties, and not by a one man party. Individual men accomplishes nothing, but political parties, composed of men, agreeing in purposes and aims, accomplish everything; so it is evident, that if the Negro in the United States ever makes progress toward the goal he seeks, he must associate himself with the political party that stands for and advocates what he wants. Wisdom suggests, since he cannot organize a race party with any hope of success, in a democracy, he had better look around, and associate himself with the party that stands for the things he wants and is entitled to. In order to find such a party, he must examine closely the record and background of the present political parties, studying closely and impartially, the past and present attitude of the parties to the race. Not one act, or year of the parties history, but the entire history of each party, from the time of its organization to date; and only by this process of reasoning and fact finding, you will have the best chance to win the rights and privileges you are fighting for.

The Editor of the Union-Review having followed this process of reasoning through to the end, has reached the conclusion; that the Negro has the best chance to win economic and political equality in America, on the inside of the Republican Party. We do not believe the Negro can win his fight by deserting his party and fighting it from the outside, behind the enemies breastwork, but we believe firmly, that if the Negro will remain on the inside of the Republican Party fold he will win all he is fighting for. A free ballot and a fair count; a voice in the government he is taxed to support; and an equal chance to earn an honest dollar for the support of himself and dependents. It is treason to desert to the enemy. It is cowardice to run away from the fight and sell your birthright to men who have denied you your freedom of soul and body for a meal ticket. Temporary security has never brought any people human liberty, but human liberty has brought to the world permanent security. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

The Negro who deserted the Republican party for a democrat meal ticket, reminds us of the Southern States seceding from the Union. The South seceded from the Union to accomplish what it believed it could not accomplish in the Union; so it seceded as the Negro deserted the party of freedom in 1932-36; because they thought that a meal ticket today was worth more to them than human liberty was for all time to come. The South sought to perpetuate human slavery; the Republican Party convinced the Democratic South that the Union of the States was indissoluble and slavery had to go. The South lost everything it had outside of the Union, and had to re-construct itself back into the Union of the States to win its fight; and in seventy short years the South is back in the saddle at Washington, and in control of every branch of the Federal Government, and the majority of the states. The South found out that its success was inside of the Union and not on the outside.

Will the Negro be wise enough to see that his fight is inside of the Republican party, and not on the outside, and come back to the fold and win his rights, or will he continue to be a fool, and prefer half rations on relief, over private work with a full dinner pail. It remains to be seen what fools we mortals be. No man of race ever won a victory by joining the enemy and fighting their friends within the enemies camp.

—Union-Review.

POLITICAL- 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Republican Party Must Do

From week to week there is much discussion as to what party the Negro will support in the 1940 election. Just a few years ago it was not necessary to debate such an issue. Political leaders of the Republican party could rest assured that the Negro vote was in the bag and all they had to do was wait until election day and time to vote. But in recent years some changes have been made in respect to the Negro using his franchise. The Republican Party for a long time considered the Negro as property, and even today some still believe that the Negro is Republican property mortgaged to the Democratic Party because of the WPA and Relief. Some overlook the fact that as changing conditions come about in our civilization the Negro is forced to make changes in order to adjust himself to intelligent living. So today we have the Negro on both sides of the fence with the two major parties in the middle fighting to obtain Negro votes. The Republican Party may have a chance to win back what has been lost, but not until the party leaders realize that more consideration will have to be given the Negro. There is no two ways about it. The Negro is not going to support either party for a song and a dance. There must be some dealing—and such dealing that will enable the Negro to better his economic, social and political conditions. If the Republican Party is interested in reclaiming the lost sheep we suggest that some consideration be given to the following things:

1. The Republican Party must give out patronage on the basis of voting strength regardless of color, creed or circumstances.

2. The Republican Party must go into the deep South and proclaim the millions of Negroes and see that they are given a vote free and unrestricted as other citizens.

3. The Republicans will have to pass a Federal Anti-Lynching bill that will protect Negroes, especially where mobs of hoodlums and lynchers take the law into their hands.

4. The Republican Party must end jim-crowism in Federal service, throughout the United States, in the matter of transportation and interstate commerce and the courts of the land.

5. The Republican Party must give Negroes the same opportunity as others to hold public office whenever and wherever they are qualified. Such states as Illinois Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Kansas, Missouri, West Virginia and many others should have Negro Federal Judges. We should have Negro public officials in our municipal government. We should have Negro executives wherever there are large concentrated Negro districts in any city in the United States.

6. The Republican Party must see to it that the United States Constitution is more than a mere piece of paper with a few ideals written on it for the service of any one particular class. And the Negroes as well as other citizens should be given their just dues and consideration under the Constitution. This should be done in Mississippi as well as New York.

7. The Republican Party must see to it that the Negroes of this country are given the same opportunity to qualify in the army, navy and air corps as other American citizens during peace time as well as war time.

The Negro race is fourteen millions strong in the United States and there is no difference in the Negro race than any other group of people and they should be regarded as citizens just as other people. If a black man is good enough to die for his country, and good enough to vote for public officials, then he is good enough to be respected as a citizen.

This is a bird's eye view of the situation as we see it where the Negro is concerned in the political picture. We humbly submit it for your consideration hoping that it might do some good in helping the Republican Party to shape its plans and policies for 1940.

Might we further say that unless some changes are made there is very little hope of gathering up the lost sheep because the Negro of today is going to play ball with those who play ball with him. He is not so much concerned about the party as what is in store for his economic and social advancement. He has stood by and seen party irregularities within both major parties. He has stood by and seen members of other groups who did not follow strict party regularities elevated to public office as a compromise to use their strength in maintaining the party while others who went down the line day by day are standing by on the side lines beating up their gums about being mistreated. So the Negro is in the market and he is ready to deal with those whom he thinks will give him a fair deal.

NOTE:—Next week we will sumbit things the Democrats must do!!

VETERAN EDITOR SEES REPUBLICAN VICTORY IN 1940

Fred R. Moore Of New York Age Believes Colored Voters Are "Coming Back"

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Fred R. Moore, veteran editor of The New York Age, a stalwart elder statesman in Republican ranks for many years, visited Republican National Committee Headquarters this week while en route home from the South where he has been making a survey of economic conditions and seeking a much needed rest.

Mr. Moore was Minister-Designate to the Republic of Liberia by appointment of President William H. Taft in 1912; served for two terms as a member of the Board of Alderman of New York City and has actively participated in every Republican campaign, State and National, during the past 40 years.

He was cordially thanked by Chairman John Hamilton and Franklyn Waltman, Director of Publicity, for his unswerving and untiring efforts in behalf of the principles of the party. Hale and hearty, despite his 82 years, he discussed the national political situation as he appraises it. Particularly, he discussed Republican presidential prospects in 1940 and the relation of the Colored people thereto.

"In my opinion," he said in a short interview, "Republican presidential prospects throughout the country are looking up. Probably one of the most important factors in 1940 is the large Negro vote in New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Iowa, and Kentucky, and other states with large Negro populations. This vote, in these states alone, in the next presidential election will approximate 1,534,651, and is usually the decisive factor.

"These people are deeply concerned with present day conditions," he remarked. "They are concerned with those conditions which bear down upon them and contribute to making life considerable of a hardship. Unemployment and relief, and the many racial discriminations in Governmental policies are among the elements which most confuse and discourage them.

"Also, many of them are concerned, of course, with the burdens of high taxation, with labor troubles which help contribute to their distress, Farm Programs which do not seem to "click" among our people in the South, and that type of Government which smacks of socialism.

"They are tired of a program which excludes them from regular employment, the only thing which can and will give a man confidence in himself and that decent self-respect which he most cherishes and desires.

"Colored citizens, along with others," he said, "cannot understand why, after nearly seven years of experimentation, and the expenditure of billion of dollars for recovery, nearly 12,000,000 people still remain out of employment. More than anything else, Colored men desire jobs, jobs, jobs, that they may support themselves and their families. Their faces are set against the possibility of the next generation of their race living, and expecting to live, at the expense of and on the Government. They wish their ability and their diligence to take them out of the ranks of the "downtrodden" and restore them to levels of economic independence.

With reference to relief, he said "Many of these people who have been on relief all these years cannot easily be weaned away. Programs of education should be launched by our party to educate them to an appreciation of the fact that hopelessness is the only reward of the future if present conditions continue. They want to be free with other citizens of the Republic to accomplish those things which free men under our ordered Constitution have a right to expect and to enjoy. They are looking to the Republican Party to propose and carry out policies calculated to assure a real recovery, and a favorable change from present day hardships and economic bewilderment."

Mr. Moore expressed himself as being deeply concerned over the mounting debt of the Government. He feels that the nation cannot spend itself into prosperity. "The Republican Party," he said, "has a great opportunity, with its present sane and aggressive policies, to win back to its support that large number of Colored men and women throughout the country, who, in their desperation, have been lured away by haphazard experimentation from the party which is most responsible for the progress they have made in this country during the nearly 75 years of

The Republicans and the Negro

By KELLY MILLER

THE Republican Party which for the past six years has tasted the stigma of defeat is now frantically staging a come-back by appealing to the memory of Abraham Lincoln. The 130th anniversary of the birth of the martyred President was dramatized by Republican clubs all over the nation, in the hope to revive the fortunes of the Grand Old Party. The keynote sounded by ex-President Hoover seemed to be strangely out of harmony with the spirit and genius of the backwoods statesman.

Not once was the Emancipation Proclamation mentioned, nor the cause which led up to, or the consequences which grew out of it. The voice of no member of the benefited race was heard in the air in connection with this celebration. The rejuvenated leadership of the Grand Old Party, like the Pharaoic dynasty of Egypt, knows not Joseph.

The freedom of the Negro and manhood rights constituted the impelling motive of Abraham Lincoln's career as well as the foundation principle of the Republican Party. Its crowning achievement is registered in the three human rights Amendments to the Constitution. The Grand Old Party cannot hope to rebuild its fortuna upon any other foundation than that which has been laid.

President Hoover, in the keynote address spoke of "the liberties of man," but there was a far cry between his interpretation of the liberties of man and Abraham Lincoln's meaning of human rights. The first Republican President heard much in his day of the liberty of the rugged individuals to exploit their less fortunate fellowmen for their own enrichment. Against this brand of liberty Lincoln rebelled; with all of the energy of his soul, and would, if living so rebel today. It is futile to attempt to graft the Republicanism of Taft, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover upon that of Lincoln. The graft simply will not thrive.

CHIEF RELIANCE OF GOP

The chief reliance of the reformed GOP rests in the hope that the New Deal may slip up in order that it may slip in. It is entirely possible that some new political organization devoted to economic and industrial reform may come to power by profiteering upon mistakes and mishaps of the New Deal; but it must stem from the same root and thrive on the same substance as the New Deal which it would supplant. Its keynote must be the welfare of the forgotten man, rather than that of rugged individuals, else it would be a travesty to appropriate the name of Abraham Lincoln only to prostitute it.

A political party such as that proclaimed by the Lincoln birthday orators would certainly not be the party for which Abraham Lincoln lived and died.

As a matter of practical politics, it is difficult to see how the GOP can hope to gain power in 1940 by ignorng its erstwhile black ally.

Through neglect and indifference the overwhelming majority of the Negro vote in the North and West has shifted allegiance and joined the fortunes of the New Deal under the sponsorship of the Democratic party. This new alliance has been confirmed by practical recognition and advantage of incalculable value for which the new Republican Party offers no off-sets.

As matters now trend the Negro vote in 1940 will support Roosevelt and the New Deal as overwhelmingly and as enthusiastically as it did in 1932 and 1936.

G. O. P. "BRAIN-TRUST"

THE MOST INTERESTING bit of national political news to come to our attention of late is the information that Dr. Glenn Frank, head of the Republican party's program committee, has appointed Dr. Ralph Bunche, head of the department of political science in Howard University, to conduct a national survey of the defection of Negro voters from the Republican party to Democratic ranks. Dr. Bunche will make a national tour embracing all Negro centers north of the Mason and Dixon line to study why Negroes, considered traditionally Republican, are for the most part to be found in the Democratic party.

It appears that the Republicans are following the example of the Democrats in forming a "brain trust". Whether the "brain trust" will be just another "one of those things" remains to be seen. However, it doesn't require a Harvard graduate or a Howard professor or anyone else, no matter how qualified that person might be from an educational standpoint, to tell what is wrong with the Republican party. It simply has strayed from the principles of Abraham Lincoln and that is all there is to it. And in straying from those principles it has shunted the Negro aside at every turn and has given him no cause to want to remain loyal to the party.

Add to these reasons the present accepted (by whites) Negro leadership and you have to go no further in searching for the cause or causes of defection. As long as these glib-tongued Negro "leaders" remain in the saddle and continue the present closed corporation among themselves, the rank and file Negro voters will be found in the Democratic camp, because of the fact that the present leadership has been discredited at every turn and has become known as a selfish one with only the chosen few being beneficiaries of what little honors the party has to give.

Dr. Bunche will not discover the cause of the defection by discussing the problems with any of the present "national leaders". He will have to talk to the man in the street the common man who is more interested in the common welfare of all of the people than are all of the present "national leaders" of which New York boasts so many. The only wisdom or political acumen that these "leaders" display is in quietly and expeditiously working themselves into the inner councils of the party before they can be headed off. Then once inside they shut the door on other Negroes and set themselves up as the leaders of the race.

That, Dr. Bunche and Dr. Frank, in few words is the basic and primary cause for the defection of Negroes to the Democratic party. Get rid of these selfish "leaders" and you will once more restore the confidence of the man in the street in the G.O.P. But you've got to do that first and any proper survey will bring that conclusion.

WHEN WILL THEY LEARN?

Our Republican state officials have lots to learn about dealing with Negro leaders. Unfortunately it seems hard to get them to understand what course to take.

During the campaign Negro political leaders are called upon to line up the voters and get them to the polls. In spite of all some say they do a pretty good job of it.

But after the election is over the elected officials turn in another direction for recommendations of Negroes to political jobs. As a matter of fact, a big white politician with a slight acquaintance with some Negro who never does anything to help a community and is often unfit to hold a job, has more luck landing his man than the Negro political leader who does the real work and knows who ought to

be favored.

Invariably, a big white politician selects some Negro whose only claim to a job is his ability to fool somebody who refuses to line up with others and at the same time who is too often the poorest candidate for the job.

This arrangement has two distinct disadvantages. First, it prevents Negro voters from having confidence that Negro leaders can do them any good and secondly, the least qualified persons gets the job.

The Bystander believes this is the cause of our poor representation at the state house. It certainly tends to pull down cohesive political units in the state.

So Governor Wilson and the rest of your official family, at least take your Negro political friends in on what you plan to do for Negroes. It is the more intelligent method of handling the situation.

Political Research

DR. RALPH BUNCHE

—who heads the Political Science department at Howard university, has been selected by the Republican Program committee to make an expert study of the relation of America's national policies to the problems of the Negro. Dr. Bunche is a graduate of the University of California and Ph.D. from Howard, is outstanding in the field of political affairs. He recently has returned from Africa where he made an exhausive study of colonial administration. Last week he received the $500 Anisfield award toward publishing a book on race relations.

Experts associated with the Program committee are studying every phase of American life with a view to developing an effective program to be presented to the Republican party.—(ANP)

Miller Concludes Negroes Will Stick To Roosevelt

By KELLY MILLER

The Republican Party which, for the past six years has tasted the stigma of defeat is now frantically staging a comeback by appealing to the memory of Abraham Lincoln. The 130th anniversary of the birth of the martyred President was dramatized by Republican Clubs all over the nation, in the hope to revive the fortunes of the Grand Old Party. The keynote sounded by ex-President Herbert Hoover seemed to be strangely out of harmony with the spirit and genius of the backwoods statesman.

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THREE ACHIEVEMENTS

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NOT SAME STORY

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POLITICAL- 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

Republicans Bid Southern Lynchers to United Front

By Ben Davis, Jr.

In order to find the purest specimens of Republican double bookkeeping, one merely has to look at GOP pretensions on the question of Negro rights.

Everywhere, of course, the Hoover-Dewey Party is pretending great friendship and interest in achieving the full citizenship of the Negroes. They are still using the name of Lincoln in vain, and they're still trying to lure the Negro people into committing hari kari by voting Republican in 1940.

They've hired a flock of investigators, including a Negro scholar, hoping that a report will be bruoght back indicting the Negro people's allies, namely labor and the New Deal.

But all of this is only one side of the Republican wooden nickel.

The other side is revealed more recently in one of the most amazing and damaging admissions ever made by the GOP high command or by one of its hired penmen.

WANTS "SOLID" SOUTH

The arch-reactionary and Negro-hater Mark Sullivan, whose duty it is to sell Republican goldbricks, urges the so-called "solid" South to vote Republican in 1940. And why?

Writing for his New York Herald Tribune masters, on June 18, he says:

"If it could happen in 1928 (when the GOP carried several Southern states—Ed.) why not in 1940. The reason in 1940 will be different from the reason in 1928—but the reason in 1940 will be strong.

"For the South, in addition to economic objections to the New Deal, HAS BECOME FULLY AWARE THAT THE NEW DEAL FAVORS NEGRO SUFFRAGE—not only favors, but INSISTS on it."

In other words, horrors! the New Deal believes in the enforcement of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution. That's, of course, a crime to the Tory Republicans and to Mark Sullivan who has spent most of his life finding arguments to "justify" disfranchisement of the Negro.

By the same token, Sullivan's "slander" is a compliment to President Roosevelt and the New Deal, even if the New Deal has done too little along the proper lines.

Sullivan continues that the "New Deal goes far" on Negro suffrage—meaning of course that it goes too far for him. And to him here is the pay-off:

"A New Deal suggestion for 'resettling' landless Southern farmers, white and colored, on land to be bought by the government, includes a requirement that out of the first proceeds received by the assisted farmer from the sale of his crop, he must pay his poll tax, so that he can vote. If the New Deal dominates the Democratic Party, then the Democratic Party will be for unrestricted Negro suffrage in the South."

Therefore, says Sullivan, the South ought to vote "Republican in 1940." And realizing that even the name "Republican" is still bitter as gall to the "unreconstructed rebels," Sullivan would even change it.

He suggests "Southern Democratic Party," or "Constitutional Democratic Party" or something more obviously fascist like "American Party."

All he requires is the names of the GOP candidates on the ticket. As the saying goes, "a rose by any other name"—or rather a skunk.

Thus a vote for the Hoover-Dewey ticket in 1940, no matter who the candidate is, means a vote to disfranchise the Negro people, to turn the wheels of progress backwards to the pre-civil war period, and to scrap the Constitution.

It also means sinking the hopes of the poor white workers and sharecroppers in the South. (Hundreds of thousands of them cannot vote because of the poll tax, and millions of them suffer because the semi-slave status of the Negroes which the anti-New Dealers in the South are trying to perpetuate.) It is an attempt to smash such progressive organizations as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The about face of the Republican Party on the Negro question is now complete. From Lincoln, who fought for Negro freedom and the extension of democracy, to Hoover and Dewey, whose party now stands for re-enslaving the Negro people and wiping out a basic fundamental of American democracy.

It is the consummation of the wedding of the Northern Tory Republicans and the Southern anti-New Deal Democrats, begun long ago and expressed most recently when Vandenberg rubbed shoulders with Cotton Ed Smiths in the Senate to defeat the anti-lynching bill.

John D. M. Hamilton, Republican National Chairman, bargained for this when he went South last year and told the anti-New Deal lynchocrats, "we see eye to eye with you on many questions" in a let's-get-together fashion.

And no one is surprised at Hamilton's bargain with Negro-haters, in view of his recently exposed connections with the nationwide campaign of the fascist anti-Semite General Moseley.

Put Sullivan's undisguised admissions together with Hamilton's bargains, and it becomes clear that the Ku Klux Klan will become the shock troops of the Republican Party to terrorize the Negro people out of their vote—if they can.

Another phase of the Republican-KKK tie-up will be through the fascist Knights of the White Camellia, allies of the storm-trooper Moseley, and professional persecutors of the Negro people and Catholics.

All of this is a part of the Republican "divide-and-rule" strategy, of smashing the growing democratic unity between labor, New Deal and the Negro people.

But the Negro people are far from being sucked into the Republican flame like moths. On the contrary, they continue their role as one of the most progressive sections of America's population.

Take, for example, the results of the poll in Cleveland, Ohio, on a third-term for President Roosevelt, published last Monday. It favored a third term for the President, with the highest percentage (84 per cent) of those voting favorably coming from the Negro communities.

Many Negro newspapers, among them the influential St. Louis Argus, have declared for a third term for President Roosevelt.

This indicates once more that the Negroes have long since abandoned voting by party labels—which are not infallible in these complex times—but definitely cast their fortunes with the camp of democracy and progress.

Having experienced efforts of the Republicans to use the "Lincoln tradition" to woo them to the GOP, the Negro people sense pretty well how the Tories can make false use of traditions for reactionary purposes.

They are seeing through the Tory use of the "third-term tradition" to defeat a victory for democracy.

The whole struggle for Negro rights today is, in every sense of the word, the struggle to extend progress and democracy for the entire nation.

The real "Lincoln traditions" are being carried out by forces centered around the New Deal, together with labor and progressives from every walk of life. These forces are charged with the responsibility of carrying through the fight for the passage of the anti-lynching bill, for taking the leadership against every manifestation of racial discrimination.

It rests upon those New Deal forces in Congress, to wage a vigorous offensive for the passage of the anti-lynching bill, for Congressional investigations of lynchings and violations of civil rights, for the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments.

If this is not done, the reactionary Republicans will be the first to hypocritically use it against the New Deal during the coming election campaign.

ENEMIES OF PEOPLE

The enemies of the Negro are the enemies of the entire American people. If Ham Fish is trying to block passage of the anti-lynching bill in the House, then he is also the pro-fascist, whose isolationist policies are endangering American safety and peace.

If Sen. Robert Reynolds of North Carolina, is one of the chief filibusters against the anti-lynching bill, he is likewise an unofficial spokesman for Hitlerism in the U. S. Senate.

Garner showed his fangs once more when the corrupt Garner-Quin machine in San Antonio, Texas, tried unsuccessfully to enthrone reaction by defeating the only Southern Congressman to vote for the anti-lynching bill, Maury Maverick.

The list could be multiplied indefinitely.

In making it plain that they intend to scrap the gains made by the Negro since the civil war—and particularly, under the New Deal—the Republicans have revealed themselves even more glaringly as the main center of fascism and reaction for 1940.

Sullivan's bald confession of the Republican intention to return the Negro to slavery is a warning to the entire country.

Michigan Ignores Negro Newspapers

Pittsburgh Courier 7-1-39

By ROBERT CRUMP

DETROIT.—(ANP)—The Republican party running true to form in this state by its constant refusal to give the race much consideration in the way of appointments and other things, has refused to spend any of the vast amount of money appropriated by the state legislature for the advertising of Michigan for tourist trade, and to publicize its recreational and agricultural advantages with Negro newspapers.

The largest appropriation ever made by the state for that purpose—$200.000—was put into effect a

few months ago, with $25,000 going to each of four tourists bureaus, with $100,000 to be handled by the state administrative board for newspaper and magazine advertisement.

It was brought to the attention of the administrative board, of which Governor Dickinson is chairman, the advantage to the state as well as to the party for a certain allocation to be made for Negro newspapers which would bring thousands of tourists into the state and at the same time show the present administration's fairness.

On one pretext or another the board has seen fit to turn the offer down, which means that the newspapers will not forget that fact at election time, as Negroes hold the balance of voting power in the state. A Negro tourist bureau is being formed here as a result o fthis which will put in its demands for funds when the next appropriation is made.

GETS POST AS PUBLICITY MAN

Courier 7-22-39

Dr. Emmett J. Scott, former confidential secretary to the late Booker T. Washington and outstanding in educational and political circles, has just received the appointment as assistant director in charge of Republican publicity in the Negro press. Dr. Scott was appointed by John D. M. Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Emmett Scott Placed In Charge Of Publicity For Republican Party

WASHINGTON, July 20—John Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee, last week announced the appointment of Dr. Emmett J. Scott as an assistant publicity director in charge of Republican publicity in the Negro press. Dr. Scott also will serve as one of the advisers to Chairman Hamilton on problems relating to the colored citizens.

"Dr. Scott is one of the outstanding Negroes of this country and the Republican National Committee is indeed very fortunate to obtain his services at this critical period in the history of our country," Chairman Hamilton asserted.

Courier 7-22-39

Dr. Scott, known to tens of thousands of Negroes for his activities in national and local civic and social welfare, is now a member of the Board of Indeterminate Sentence and Parole for the District of Columbia; is secretary of the Southern Education Foundation—a merger of the Anna T Jeanes Fund, the John F. Slater Fund and the Peabody Fund, with an endowment slightly less than $3,000,000.

He was for many years confidential secretary to the late Booker T. Washington and secretary of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. He served for 19 years as secretary and as secretary-treasurer of Howard University, Washington, D. C., and is a member of the Republican State Committee in and for the District of Columbia.

He was a member of the advisory committee of the Republican National Committee in the 1924 campaign, vice-chairman of the Colored Voters' Division of the Republican Committee, campaign of 1928, and a member of the Planning Committees of the Republican National Committee, Colored Voters' Division, campaigns of 1932 and 1936.

Dr. Scott served as a member of the American Commission to Liberia, by appointment of President William Howard Taft, in 1909, and as secretary of the National Negro Business League from its organization in 1900 until May, 1922, when he resigned after having been unanimously re-elected.

During the World war he served as Special Assistant to Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, advising in matters affecting colored troops and civilians.

He is an author of distinction having published "Tuskegee and Its People"; is aslo co-author of the "Biography of Booker T. Washington—Builder of a Civilization." He also is the author of the "American Negro in the World War," and "Negro Migration During the World War," this latter publication being prepared for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Emmett Scott Named to World Wide Union

Pittsburgh Courier 7-29-39

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Dr. Emmett J. Scott, former secretary of Howard University, was recently appointed a member of an advisory committee of 28 prominent Americans by Representative Hamilton Fish, Republican, of New York, as president of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union.

As a member of the advisory committee he is to fill out a questionnaire giving his views on important issues that will be discussed at the thirty-fifth conference of the Interparliamentary Union to be held at Oslo, Norway, beginning August 15.

EMMETT SCOTT ONE OF 28 'BIG FOLKS' TO GIVE HIS OPINIONS

WASHINGTON, July 27—Dr. Emmett J. Scott, former secretary of Howard University, was recently appointed a member of an advisory committee of 28 prominent Americans by Representative Hamilton Fish, Republican, of New York, as president of the American group of the Interparliamentary Union.

As a member of the advisory committee he is to fill out a questionnaire giving his views on important issues that will be discussed at the 35th conference of the Interparliamentary Union to be held at Oslo, Norway, beginning August 15.

Courier

These issues include: World peace and neutrality, ethnic, colonial and refuge problems, overpopulation, foodstuffs and raw materials, the promotion of peace by arbitration, judicial settlement and international law, outlawing bombing of defenseless cities and safeguarding food ships, reduction and limitation of armaments, and advisability of inviting the Interparliamentary Union to hold its conference next year in the United States.

Other prominent Americans appointed on the advisory committee appointed by Mr. Fish include Colonel William Haywood, chairman; Bernard M. Baruch, Miss Mabel T. Boardman, Lucius Boommer, Madame Julia Cantacuzene, Bainbridge Colby, John W. Davis, Charles G. Dawes, John Foster Dulles, Henry P. Fletcher, John M. Franklin, William Green, John L. Lewis, Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Allan Nevins, Herbert Hoover, Julius C. Holmes, Patrick J. Hurley, John J. O'Connor, Frank L. Polk, Capt. T. Rieber, former Governor Alfred E. Smith, Representative Bertrand H. Snell, L. J. Taber, Grover Whalen, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Owen D. Young.

POLITICAL- 1939
PARTY AFFILIATION

REPUBLICAN

LANDON LEADS NOBODY

In 1936, following a barrage of newspaper propaganda, conducted largely by Wm. Randolph Hearst, Republicans, assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, and nominated Gov. Alf M. Landon of Kansas as the party's candidate for the Presidency.

From the time Mr. Landon was nominated and began making speeches the blunder the Republicans had made in nominating him was apparent to every one. As a platform speaker and a defender of the Republican faith, he was about the poorest candidate the Grand Old Party had ever named. Despite the ballyhoo made for him by his supporters, it was apparent even at the time the convention met that Mr. Landon did not measure up to the high calling of the Presidency. He was a dwarf along side of Herbert Hoover, Arthur H. Vandenberg, John D. M. Hamilton, and the Vice Presidential candidate, Col. Frank Knox.

Party loyalty, rather than a belief that the Republicans had a capable contender for the Presidency was chiefly responsible for the millions of voters who did vote Republican in 1936.

9-29-39

The records will show that never before did colored voters desert the Republican party in such overwhelming numbers as they did in 1936. The failure of Alf M. Landon to impress colored citizens of being as good a "Republican" as Franklin D. Roosevelt had much to do with the party's heavy losses among colored voters.

Nashville

So crushing was the defeat that Gov. Landon received in 1936 until no Republican, wishing to see his party get back in power, wants to take the chance of inflicting Mr. Landon on his party either as a candidate or as a leader having a hand in shaping the party's policies. Since his defeat, and even while making his inept speeches in the campaign, Mr. Landon showed himself to be a sort of fellow-traveler of the New Dealers. And as such he subsequently has been wined and dined by New Dealers in a most complimentary manner. It is the Democrats and New Dealers who continually point with pride to Mr. Landon as the "titular leader" of the Republican party. Republicans themselves have not conceded titular leadership to the gentleman from Kansas since they recovered from the defeat into which his ineptitude led them in 1936.

With the foregoing facts about Mr. Landon, and full knowledge of the fact that he is "a dead cock in the pit" no attention needs to be given by even the Negro members of the Republican party to anything Mr. Landon says in support of a future "lily-white" program for the Grand Old Party.

For any American to raise a race issue and suggest racial discrimination as a means of promoting the upbuilding of a political party proves that man to be a bigot and wholly unappreciative of what is necessary to advance the cause of democracy in these United States. For a Republican to do it, wholly disqualifies the man for laying claim to a knowledge and appreciation of the fundamental tenets of Republicanism. Gov. Alf M. Landon is such a man.

Mr. Landon is being applauded by the bigots of the nation for having recently said that it was necessary for the Republicans to quit including Negroes in any appreciable numbers on delegations to Republican conventions.

It is generally known that nowhere in the South are Negroes ever sent as delegates out of proportion to the number of Negroes affiliated with the Republican party in that particular state. Most certainly they are not sent from Northern states in numbers out of proportion to their strength in their party.

The problem facing Republicanism in the South is one that concerns both white and Negro members of the party, and it is one which has been scandalously neglected by both in the past. It is the problem of building up a party membership that can make a decent showing on election day. It is the problem of having an organization that functions even up to the election rather than one which dies following the party convention in June, thus leaving to the Northern members of the party the entire burden of carrying the party's flag to victory.

If anybody raises the contention that Northern leaders, both white and colored, are entitled to have front rank in shaping the policies and in directing the affairs of the Republican party, no objection to this can be raised by any sound-thinking realist in the South. But we voice an objection to any Northern Republican raising the cry of "Negro domination" in an effort to plan for the party a course of action, which, if it succeeds, will not only fail to bring any Southern bigots into the Republican party but will also injure the party among thousands of Negroes in the North, who will vote against the Grand Old Party in a justifiable reprisal for any raw deal it visits upon their brothers and sisters in the South.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
October 9, 1939

Republicans In The South

(The Gad

In urging the formation of a strong white republican party in the South, Alfred M. Landon suggests something that has been tried upon at least one notable occasion with results that were none too happy for those whose services were enlisted.

President Theodore Roosevelt had the same thought and attempted to put it into execution during his occupancy of the White House. It was called the 'Lily White' movement at that time but it turned out to be black enough for the gentleman engaged in it. The enterprise, attended by much beating of drums, was launched at Birmingham and this writer sat at the reporter's table and was an observer of subsequent events.

Those called to lead the movement were Julian Bingham, collector of internal revenue and patronage referee in Alabama; Dr. J. W. Hughes, postmaster of Birmingham, and Julian Davidson, United States district attorney. They carried out instructions to the letter, turning down all negro delegates to the state convention and setting up a white party that was to become the pattern for all other Southern states.

Then the cyclone struck within a matter of days. By some ironical fate, it so happened that a college of negro bishops was being held in Birmingham at the very moment and when the newspapers recorded that a Republican convention had been held without a black face in the entire assembly, the roar that was raised could be heard from coast to coast.

"Those outraged colored bishops returned to Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, New York and elsewhere and organized an indignant charge upon Washington that quickly had the redoubtable Teddy on the run. It was not enough that he had to repudiate the convention but to hold the support of the colored leaders, he had to summarily 'fire' every federal officeholder who had any part in the affair. That ended the lily white movement and it is doubtful if any greater success would attend a fresh move for a white Republican party in the South.

G.O.P. Leader Forecasts Colored Delegates from Northern States in 1940

Call 10-13-39

Kansas City Star

Titular Head of Republicans Misquoted in Southern Interview; Did Not Advocate 'Lily-White' Delegations

(By STAFF WRITER)

Negroes in national conventions will be the rule in the future if the position taken by Gov. Alf M. Landon, originally made public in the Atlanta Constitution, is adopted by political parties.

He said in substance that representation should be given to Negroes in the North, the section where their votes count.

Governor Landon is the titular head of the Republican party and will continue to be until its next national convention. His position makes it highly unlikely that he would have suggested a step which had not support already within the party and the likelihood of being put into effect. Not only is it probable that his opinion will carry weight enough to put Negroes on northern states' Republican delegations, but out of competition will lead to their being delegates in other party conventions as well. All in all Governor Landon's statement is the big news for Negroes in the 1940 campaign so far.

Because tongues are a-wagging, this paper sought an interview from the G. O. P. leader to see what he had to say, either in addition to the published interview, or as a result of the comments that have come to him since. We found him in his office in Topeka where he conducts his oil business, the same activity he had before he was elected governor of Kansas and nominated for president. He was hale and hearty and evidently happy in his familiar surroundings. Defeat had left no mark on him, no bitterness, no "might have been." That morning he had taken a horseback ride through the countryside where the pawpaws were ripe and the dew lay cool upon the grapes. He was very sure that life was worth living in Kansas.

SHOULD HAVE JOBS AND REPRESENTATION

Of the interview, Gov. Landon said the Atlanta Constitution in quoting him as saying Negroes in the North should be given representation in the National convention, had omitted part. He had said that and had coupled "jobs" with representation. He wanted them to have both as their just reward for support of the Republican party. They should stand on the same basis as any other voters.

Considerable comment had come to Gov. Landon. The few who disagreed with him centered their contention on his other statement, namely that the South had suffered harm from the one-party system. They assumed that a two-party system which he said would assure it better government would mean also a loss to Negroes. On that assumption they addressed him in the name of "thirteen million American citizens appealing for justice."

To this comment Governor Landon's reply is that he had suggested a constructive step which when taken by the Republican party, would give to its Negro supporters the same consideration it gave others. He had not suggested that anything be taken away from Negroes in the South. He was sending the following letter to Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press:

October 5, 1939

Mr. Claude A. Barnett,
The Associated Negro Press,
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Barnett:

Replying to your letter of October 3, I presume you refer to the interview in the Atlanta Constitution. I have the original article in front of me.

I do not see how, by any stretch of the imagination, anyone can interpret it that I favor the elimination of the Negro delegates from the Southern states to the Republican National Convention.

Of course there are, as you say plenty of high-type Negro leaders in the South — some of them are my personal friends — and when I was asking for more responsible and representative leaders, I was appealing to the best element in both races to help build a two-party system in that section.

ALF M. LANDON

There is a demand for new leadership everywhere, regardless of race. New conditions call for new thinking.

I repeat again what I said: The real trouble with the Republican Party in the South was not the Civil War, nor was it the tragic period of Reconstruction. The trouble was the fatal error of the Republican party **in believing that it had paid its obligations to the Negroes of the North by appointing Negroes to jobs or delegates to the Convention from the Southern states.**

In other words, I want more recognition of the "high-type Negro leaders" in both sections.

Incidentally, you might be interested in knowing that the first colored Vice Chairman of the Republican State Committee in Kansas was named by me as State Chairman in 1928. And that practice has been continued in Kansas ever since I started it.

With best wishes, I am
Cordially yours,
ALF M. LANDON

SOUTH THE LOSER BY POLITICAL LETHARGY

Summed up, the interview brought out that Gov. Landon made this public statement three weeks ago in order to get something definite and workable before his party which would both bring Negroes to its support and give them their just reward. His comment upon the South's need of a two-party system carried no inferences. It was his opinion that that section was the loser by its present political lethargy, but whether he was right or wrong in that opinion, he was looking to the future, and the worth of his suggestion was to be judged by how well giving Negroes jobs and representation would work out for them, for the Republican party and for the nation.

Having been a committee, Gov. Landon was familiar with the make-up of Republican national conventions, and therefore with the number and influence of Negroes who are members of it from the South. He did not express any opinion as to their past worth or future possibilities.

Southern politicians will try to use the Landon statement for their own ends, so thinks the Gazette of Cleveland, Ohio. Editorially, it says

LANDON RIGHT

"Gov. Landon is right! There is no question as to that. But the 'lily-white' Republicans' were quick to publish the Landon statement in such a way as to make it appear that he backs up their every 4-year effort to eliminate as far as possible Afro-Americans from membership in the delegations of that section of the country to the next Republican national convention. Of course, Gov. Landon does not indorse anything of the kind, but the 'lily-whites' are already jockeying to get control of the southern delegations — something our southern Republican leaders should start now to organize to defeat. Of course the Atlanta Constitution and other southern Democratic newspapers will boost their efforts, if for no other reason than to encourage a fight among southern Republicans and 'lily-whites.'"

P.-T. A. Leader Against Poll Tax

A continued fight to assure the schools of Alabama a minimum term of eight months was urged yesterday by Mrs. Albert Thomas, Auburn, legislative chairman of the Alabama Congress of Parents and Teachers, in an address before the Montgomery County P.-T. A. council.

Mrs. Thomas said that the schools needed $4,000,000 to assure the program and that as steps toward this goal, the Alabama poll tax should be abolished, while there should be no lowering of income tax rates.

Mrs. Thomas said that less than 20 per cent of the adults in Alabama voted, many of them being kept from the polls by the taxes. She said that in her opinion, there was no danger of thousands of negroes going to the polls as some feared. Of the 18,000 negro war veterans who are of required age, she said, only 1,500 voted.

Following the address Mrs. Harry Nelson, president of the Montgomery council, announced there would be a Founder's Day luncheon Feb. 16 at the Blue Moon Inn. Mrs. T. H. Edwards, Mrs. W. E. Bose, Mrs. J. M. Deshields, Mrs. J. O. Price, Miss Janie Lou Rives, Mrs. Frank Grove, Mrs. C. D. Cowden, Mrs. Rush Pearson and Mrs. Seelye Meriwether were appointed members of the luncheon committee.

Mrs. J. C. Sellers urged cooperation of all members in making the scrap book to be used at the State Convention, and Mrs. A. A. Schmidt, chairman of the national study course, said each council president would be sent full details about the work planned for 1939.

Mrs. H. G. Ferris announced the pre-school age course would begin Jan. 16 at the Bellinger Hill School and that classes would be held each Monday following at 3 p.m.

The Time For This Reform Is Here, Parrish Reader Says

Editor, The Post:

We have read that there is a time for all things. This rule applies with equal force to Alabama's rotten chimney corner poll tax law. The time is ripe for reform. Why should we discriminate against our brethren because of $1.50? It is not worth it. The Federal Constitution does not mention any amount of money to be paid into any treasury before one can vote, but recognizes all men as being equal. One man's voice should go as far as any other man's every election day. This would be democracy in the true sense of the word.

It is much easier for crooked politicians to buy up enough votes to win elections when great numbers of people are disfranchised and not allowed to vote. We understand their selfish motives and we say remove any law that will tend to promote injustice to the public. The state Legislature will soon be in session at Montgomery and we expect it to do something.

Mr. Dixon has led us to believe that we can expect results and we are counting the days and will be watching every man's move and vote when this needed reform is brought up.

LOUIS K. FREEMAN,
Parrish

THIS POLL TAX PROBLEM

Regarding the famous cumulative polltax system of Alabama The Birmingham News recently said:

The unscrupulous politican can sometimes purchase votes of the less fit of the electorate; the honest voters who do not have the price of the poll tax prefer to stay at home. Removal of the cumulative features of Alabama's poll tax law would at least give encouragement to the thousands of honest voters of the State who are unable to pay years of back taxes.

The greater the number of voters, the more difficult it is for elections to be purchased by dishonest aspirants for office.

1-13-39

The Dothan Eagle, a wayward journal of opinion, retorts in its own manner:

From the surface that looks all right—but underneath the handsomest kind of epidermis you'll sometimes find a busted appendix.

So let's toss The News' argument upon the table and reach for a scalpel. That there are "thousands of honest voters who are unable to pay back taxes" is perfectly true, but it is also perfectly true that the first year they got behind they were perfectly able to pay $1.50. The reason they didn't pay the $1.50 was they didn't care that much about voting — and through the years they remained coldly indifferent.

The most that any person can owe in back poll taxes is $36, but the average delinquent owes only a fraction of that amount.

The man who really pants and pines to vote can raise enough dough to pay his poll tax. The fact that he doesn't do it does not mean that he is dishonest—but abolish the cumulative features and you will add many hundreds to the existing thousands that can be bought, and what is to be gained by way of making elections more decent? To be sure it will cost unscrupulous politicians more money to win, but who is naive enough to believe the unscrupulous politicians won't raise enough additional money for the attempt? Necessity, they say, is the mother of invention.

And another thing: What about those who have paid their poll tax every year through the years? Is it fair or right to penalize them for exemplifying their interest in government by exercising their full citizenship?

People who make political predictions lead with their chin, but The Eagle is willing—aye, eager—to poke out its chin like this: The bill to abolish cumulative poll tax will never get out of the committee.

Nevertheless we could broaden the base of democracy in Alabama without danger to the established order by easing the rigors of the cumulative polltax. It would be foolish, to be sure, to abolish the poll tax—since voting is a recognized privilege instead of an inherent right — but it might well be wholly in the public interest to make the tax cumulative for a much shorter period, say 2 or 3 years. Alabama could very well afford the luxury of a larger voting population, but plainly could not afford the luxury of inviting everybody that is 21 and over to help himself at the ballot box. That wouldn't do, and Alabamians, we feel sure, will not consent to it.

Alabama, we think, is prepared to make a reasonable concession, but it is not yet ready to give every guest a silver candlestick just because that guest expresses admiration for it.

A Plan To Evade State Reapportionment

By proposing to set up a system in Alabama by which elections will be settled by county unit votes, opponents of reapportionment may be merely resorting to the old defense tactics of maintaining the status quo by threatening a worse fate.

The present legislative apportionment in Alabama, based as it is on the population figures of nearly 40 years ago, is unfair and unjust and illegal. Even at that, however, it is superior to the county unit system proposed. The latter would carry over the present inequalities and fix the voting powers of the counties in state elections as they were back at the adoption of the present constitution.

2-9-39

The county unit proposal, naturally, comes from a county that would stand to lose power by reapportionment. The author is State Senator R. M. Guy, of Lowndes. Let us examine the facts as to Lowndes, in comparison with some other counties.

At the time of the 1900 federal census, Lowndes had 35,651 population. It was accorded one senator. The 1930 (or latest) census showed a drop to 22,878 population. With one senator for its 22,878 people, Lowndes has the highest rate of representation in the State Senate.

The other extreme might be represented by Jefferson County, but to avoid the charge that county prejudice enters in, let us consider Covington County, a rural county in South Alabama not far from Lowndes. Covington, having a population of only 15,346 in 1900, was compelled to share a state senator with two other counties, Butler and Conecuh. By 1930, Covington had increased to 41,356 population, its two companion counties also gained, and the result is that that senatorial district has a population of 96,980.

In other words, Senator Guy represents 22,878 people and Senator Joe Poole of the Seventeenth District represents 96,980. Is that democracy? Do we want a system in any way perpetuating that discrepancy, or permitting such discrepancies to increase?

* * *

Over on the House side, Lowndes' position is still more untenable. Because Lowndes had 35,651 people back in 1900, it has two representatives in the lower chamber of the State Legislature. It still has two representatives, although its population has dropped to 22,878. Covington has one representative for its 41,356.

Those two counties are not the only ones where a comparison might be drawn. Is there democracy, for instance, indicated in the following figures on population per representative in the State Legislature: Bullock, 10,008; Henry, 11,410; Hale, 13,132; Wilcox, 12,440; Clarke, 13,008; Sumter, 13,464; Marshall, 39,802; Jefferson, 61,642; DeKalb, 41,104; Mobile, 39,454; Houston, 45,935?

But the grossest inequity of the Guy measure is seen in the effect it would have on state elections. It would destroy entirely anything like majority elections in the state. It would enable counties with small populations to outvote counties with larger populations. All the faults and undemocratic situations of the present which have grown out of the flagrant disregard of the constitution' mandate of reapportionment would be tended by the Guy bill to all state el
We would be choosing our governo

torney general, our judges, our senators, our party leaders as well as making our laws substantially on the basis of population 40 years ago.

A few figures here might be helpful, if it is remembered that the figures mean voters and the will of voters in a free government. Under the Guy bill, the county unit votes would be based on the present apportionment, that is, the apportionment based on the census of 1900. Each county would have two unit votes for each representative in the State Legislature.

On that basis, the following 10 counties, Sumter, Lowndes, Butler, Perry, Clarke, Wilcox, Bullock, Russell, Hale and Henry, with a total 1930 population of 253,761, would have 40 unit votes. That would be one unit vote for each 6,344 persons. On the same basis the following 20 counties, Cullman, Covington, DeKalb, Houston, Limestone, Marshall, Lawrence, Blount, Randolph, Conecuh, Baldwin, Escambia, Monroe, Geneva, Coffee, Macon, Colbert, Franklin, Marion and St. Clair, with a 1930 population of 630,931, would have the same number of unit votes. That would be one unit vote for each 15,773 persons.

It may be noted that the counties in both lists above are all rural counties. The question of the differing viewpoints of urban and rural population does not enter into these figures. We have here 6,339 persons having equal power in the state government with 15,773 persons of like interests and problems.

* * *

Of course the unfairness of the whole idea of basing a county unit plan on the population of 40 years ago becomes clearer when one considers the trend toward urbanization which has been apparent in Alabama as elsewhere in the nation in these four decades. The 10 counties listed above as having a total population of 253,761 with their 40 unit votes could overthrow the wishes of the 777,030 persons in Jefferson, Montgomery, Mobile, Madison and Tuscaloosa, who would have only 36 unit votes. In these five counties, there would be one unit vote for each 21,592 population.

Bringing the comparisons down to a still more absurd limit, one finds that Bullock County would have a unit vote for each 5,004 persons, as contrasted with Jefferson's unit vote for each 30,821. In other words, each voter in Bullock County would have six times the weigh in choosing the state's governor as does the voter in Jefferson County. (Only total population is considered in this comparison. If voting strength were the basis, the discrepancy would be worse, due to Bullock's larger proportion of Negro population.)

Now frankly, Mr. Guy and you other opponents of a majority system of making decisions in our state, do you think that the people of Bullock are entitled to six times as much voting power as those in Jefferson? Are they six times as intelligent? Are they six times as patriotic? Do they have six times as many interests at stake?

Are the people of those 10 rural counties listed above twice as good as the people of those other 20 rural counties? Do they deserve twice as much strength in choosing their common governor and other state officials?

The county unit system in determining state elections is bad under any circumstances. At its best it is a political deviation from the principle on which this country was founded, that all citizens have substantially the equal right of rule and that the will of the majority is the law. But when an attempt is made to impose a county unit system upon a representation which is itself unconstitutional, just about the limit is reached in un-American practices. Hitler himself could not have devised a much worse scheme.

The Guy county unit proposal may be nothing more than an effort to shift attention from the reapportionment fight. Inasmuch as it seeks to perpetuate the unjust and undemocratic and un-American apportionment of the present and extend those faults to all the state government instead of only to the legislative, it seems impossible that any reasonable, state-minded legislator whose interest and loyalties extend beyond the boundaries of his own county could be interested in the proposal.

If the proposal is nothing but a smokescreen, then it will probably react unfavorably upon its backers by directing still more attention to the dangers, as well as to the absolute illegality, of continuing to ignore the reapportionment matter.

Consider These Facts

It is needless to say that Alabama's vicious cumulative poll tax is not only undemocratic but disgraceful.

Anyone with even a casual knowledge of the facts knows that—whether he admits it or, for political expediency, denies it.

How can we in good conscience condemn the suppression of minorities abroad when we tolerate at home a franchise-robbing system that is denying a vast majority the right of voice in government?

Yet that is what is happening—not in far-away Germany, Italy or Soviet Russia, but right here in Alabama.

Recent studies show that less than 19 per cent of Alabama's adult population has a vote. Compare this with West Virginia, where 88 per cent of the adult population votes, or with Indiana's 78 per cent, Colorado's 73 per cent, Missouri's 70 per cent, Wisconsin's 63 per cent, Nebraska's 70 per cent—to mention only a few.

Or take two of our sister states: Florida, with 36 per cent of its adults taking a part in government, and Louisiana, with 40 per cent.

These two states, whose problems and conditions are similar to Alabama's, have recently seen fit to abolish the poll tax altogether. And contrary to the shadow boxers, there has been no appreciable increase in Negro voters as the result.

* * *

Take the case of Mississippi, which has a poll tax but limits back payments to two years.

Studies made by Governor Dixon show that Mississippi, with only about half the white population Alabama has, was polling a larger vote back in 1935 than the all-time high Alabama cast in the 1938 gubernatorial race.

These same studies show there are almost no Negro voters in Mississippi.

* * *

That the racial bugaboo habitually raised by foes of poll tax reform is pure myth is proved by figures even closer home.

Statistics compiled by a committee representing eight state-wide women's organizations in Alabama, with a combined membership in excess of 100,000, show there are some 18,000 Negro war veterans in this state who are exempt from payment of poll tax by virtue of their Army service. Yet the total number of Negro voters in Alabama, veterans and non-veterans, is only a fraction of 18,000.

The poll tax, to quote Governor Dixon, "is not barring the Negro from the polls in Alabama but it is barring thousands of white citizens."

* * *

So much for arguments why the cumulative features of the tax should be modified if the levy itself is not abolished.

The issue before Alabama's Legislature is even narrower than that, the task much simpler. It is not a question of whether the Legislature favors poll tax reform but merely one of giving the people of this state their inherent right to decide for themselves.

To deny that right is to deny the first principles of democratic government and is a step toward destruction of the things for which the founders of democracy fought.

* * *

Regarding legislative reapportionment, the duty of the lawmakers is even plainer. Here it is not merely a question of adhering to the principles of democracy but one of obeying the Constitution they are sworn to uphold.

For more than a quarter of a century Legislatures in this state have flouted the section of the Constitution which decrees that its representation shall be apportioned on a basis of population every 10 years.

Governor Dixon summed up the situation in his opening address to the Legislature on January 17 when he said:

"As long as those of us who have been elected to make and enforce the laws ignore the Constitution which we are sworn to uphold, I fail to see how we can in good conscience ask obedience on the part of others."

* * *

The Constitution, of course, does not say that the legislators must submit reapportionment to a vote of the people. It says that the Legislature itself must assume the duty of reapportionment.

That it has failed to do, and now Mr. Dixon is offering the only other alternative—an opportunity for the lawmakers to transfer that duty and responsibility to other shoulders, the people being willing.

We cannot see how any right-thinking member of the Legislature can fail to support both the reapportionment and poll tax amendments.

A DILEMMA AND A SUGGESTION

We see by the public prints that the reapportionment amendment and the polltax amendment, advocated by Governor Dixon, are virtually dead. The Advertiser confesses that it is not surprised. It has not believed at any time that the prospects of their submission and ratification were good. Probably they would fare better at the hands of the people than they are faring at the hands of the people's representatives in the legislature, but as matters stand the people will not be put to the test, at least not now.

Among Governor Dixon's campaign commitments were his declarations for a more liberal polltax policy and for legislative reapportionment. True to these commitments the Governor recently addressed the legislature urging it to submit suitable constitutional amendments regarding the two subjects. In private conferences with members of the legislature he has urged them to go along with him in his efforts to carry out his pledges. But in his efforts he encountered the unbeatable off-set system in Alabama politics, and so we are not surprised that all capitol reporters agree that next week these two measures will be chloroformed without benefit of medical aid.

If all seven amendments should be submitted at once the acrimonious debate would turn on the questions of polltax reform and reapportionment. The other amendments would be forgotten. Probably all of them would be lost, for once the people of Alabama turn against one proposed constitutional amendment they are prone to turn against all others on the same ticket. In every such election one frequently hears it said: "I am against all amendments." At other times when the people are caught in another mood they seem prone to ratify all proposed amendments.

In these circumstances The Advertiser suggests that the polltax amendment and the reapportionment amendment, both being entirely different in character from the others, be isolated from the others and held in abeyance for a few months, and then submitted, no other amendments to be on the same ticket with them. After all the time element with respect to them is by no means as important as with the others. Apparently there is no serious opposition to the other proposed amendments. There is a bright prospect that the people will ratify them.

These two amendments will not be submitted with the others, if we may believe all that the reporters hear is true. Let us assume that this is a fact. If it is a fact, let us face it frankly.

There is no reason to abandon the issues involved because of one defeat. To one who understands his Alabama and loves all of its worthy interests it seems fortunate that these two highly controversial measures should be isolated from totally unrelated measures and considered strictly upon their merits, provided that the administration and the legislature are prepared in their hearts to demand a show-down at the more propitious time which The Advertiser anticipates.

Let us Alabamians vote 90 days hence on the five amendments that do not seem to be especially controversial in character, and then later turn our minds and hearts, to a consideration of two fundamental principles involving the rudimentary interests of the citizens of a democracy.

It occurs to The Advertiser that the time has come for another show-down on the democratic process in Alabama, and that good sportsmanship upon the part of all concerned should cause them to yield to the people and let the people decide the fundamental issues that divide and harass our leaders.

The Advertiser frankly is not prepared to say how the reapportionment law should be written; it only knows that the constitution of Alabama pledges public servants to reapportion every ten years and that the pledge has been adroitly and callously disregarded since 1901. Reapportionment measures since 1901 have been killed by politicians with tongues in their cheeks. Reapportionment has at last become something of a moral issue and responsible men can no longer take it lightly.

Reapportionment is not in the same category with the polltax question, for reapportionment is mandatory on oath-bound legislators. They are free to do as they please about the poll tax. They are not free to do as they please about reapportionment, because a pledge is involved.

But polltax and reapportionment are fundamental questions related to the democratic process. Has the time not come at last when the people should be permitted to decide what shall be done about these questions which heretofore have been settled only by politicians with tongues in their cheeks, and dubious interests to protect?

Polltax and reapportionment are matters of special interest to leaders who would broaden the base of democracy, to leaders who accept as true the old bromide that the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy, a bromide that is dear to The Advertiser, for one.

The Advertiser will not now pledge itself to advocate ratification of any given reapportionment amendment or any given polltax amendment. But The Advertiser does believe that the time has come in the history of this state when the people should be consulted. The Advertiser therefore recommends that the defeat of these two measures next Tuesday shall not be accepted as final by Governor Dixon and his friendly legislature, but that in the late summer session the legislature shall submit the two measures to the people of Alabama.

Perhaps it is just as well that these questions shall not compromise other measures that must be authorized now. Perhaps we would be fortunate if they could be submitted to the people independently of all other measures.

These measures involve the democratic process. Isolate them and treat them separately, but do not accept a defeat at the hands of Jefferson county and the Black Belt as final!

After all the responsible statesman must think of the rights and privileges of the whole people.

It will do the people of this state good to witness an old-fashioned debate on these two questions. Whatever the people decide to do about them we shall be rid of the questions for a generation. Let's arrange for a debate and a vote on the question of democracy in Alabama, and once the measures are submitted, let us vote as we please.

Politicians with tongues in their cheeks are in an intolerable position personally. Moreover they are mere caricatures of statesmen. Let the people rule!

HEAVY VOTE-DISTRICTS GOATS OF BLACK BELT

BY HUGH W. SPARROW

Editor's Note—This is a second of a series of two articles relating to the recent edfeat of reapportionment and the back poll tax amendments, largely due to Black Belt maneuvering.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 24—While the Black Belt's political wizards shrewdly endeavored to make "Imperial Jefferson" the reapportionment red herring, study of the Senate's vote in killing reapportionment Tuesday discloses that the real goats were the people of about 13 other under-represented senatorial districts.

Senators from 12 of these districts accomodatingly preserved the Black Belt's top-heavy legislative voting superiority at the expense of theri own districts' continued under-representation by voting "nay" with Black Belters or by not voting at all, the equivalent of voting "nay" vote, since constitutional amendments require 21 votes to pass the Senate and only the actual votes raelly count.

Voters of still another district suffered similarly Tuesday, but the absence of that district's senator, E. M. Baker (DeKalb and Cherokee) was to be expected because he has been ill throughout the entire session.

Vote Is Shown

In making the study of the Sanate's vote, records show that the Senate actually killed reapportionment by postponing the amendment indefiniteliy, with senators voting as follows:

For Indefinite Postponement—Boyd, Carlton, Clayton, Cooper, Crumpton, Dozier, Elmore, Faulk, Guy, Harrison, Henderson, Hildreth, Holmes, Howard, Johnston, Stakely, Street, Thomas and Tucker—19.

Against Indefinite Postponement—Booth, Calhoun, Conway, Harris, Lusk, McCall, Malone, Poole, Shaver, Simpson and Young—11.

Absent or Not Voting—Baker, Devane, Rowe and St. John.

Using the record May 1, 1934, primary vote as basis, a checkup of the voting strength of counties composing the districts represented by the senators who voted with the Black Belt minority, in comparison with Black Belt voting strength, discloses the following senators helped defeat reapportionment when their own counties stodo to gain by a reshuffle:

Dan R. Boyd, Ninth District, composed of Chambers and Randolph Counties.

W. A. Dazier, Twenty-Seventh District (Lee and Russell Counties).

A. L. Crumpton, Thirty-Fourth District (Cleburne, Clay and Coosa Counties).

W. C. Holmes, Twenty-First District (Baldwin, Escambia and Monroe Counties).

Charles A. Stakely, Twenty-Eighth District (Montgomery County).

T. H. Street, Tenth District (Tallapoosa and Elmore Counties).

Hayse Tucker, Seventh District (Tuscaloosa County).

T. S. Faulk, Twenty-Third District (Dale and Geneva Counties).

K. C. Harrison, Fifteenth District (Shelby, Autauga and Chilton Counties).

Other Absentees Named

Excluding Senator Baker, the three other "absentees" who likewise represented counties which stood excellent chances for increased representation under reapportionment, were:

P. F. Devane, Nineteenth District (Choctaw, Clarke and Washington Counties).

J. M. Rowe, Twenty-Fifth District (Coffee, Crenshaw and Pike Counties).

F. E. St. John, Jr., Third District (Blount, Cullman and Walker Counties).

In the May 1, 1934, primary, Senator Boyd's two-county district polled 7,871 votes, about four and one-half times the vote of the Black Belt's Wilcox and Lowndes Counties, each of which are separate senatorial districts. Boyd's district, moreover, polled about three times the vote of four other single district Black Belt counties, Barbour, Greene, Marengo and Dallas.

The three counties composing Senator Crumpton's district in that same election polled 5,716 votes—more than three times the vote of Lowndes and Wilcox Counties, and about twice the vote polled in Greene, Marengo, Barbour and Dallas.

Senator W. A. Dozier's two-county district composed of Lee and Russell, polled 5,673 votes which, like the preceding district, outvoted Lowndes and Wilcox about 3 to 1, and Marengo, Dallas, Greene and Barbour virtually 2 to 1.

In Senator Holmes' district, Baldwin, Escambia and Monroe Counties, totaled 6,607, or almost four and one-half times the vote of Lowndes and Wilcox and 2 to 1 the totals registered by Barbour, Greene, Dallas and Marengo.

Montgomery Also Loses

Although Montgomery County is a Black Belt county and its representatives invariably stand hitched on reapportionment with the Black Belt bloc, Montgomery, nevertheless, polled 14,689, or more than eight times the vote of Wilcox or Lowndes and about four times the total of Barbour, Dallas, Marengo and Greene.

Senator Street's Elmore and Tallapoosa counties totaled 9,557, about six times that of Wilcox and Lowndes and three times the total of Dallas, Greene, Barbour and Marengo.

Although Senator Tucker's Tuscaloosa district, like that of Montgomery, usually votes "Black Belt" on reapportionment, Tuscaloosa, nevertheless polled 7,324, a vote many times greater than Wilcox and Lowndes and nearly three times the total of Barbour, Greene, Dallas and Marengo.

The Wiregrass district, composed of Dale and Geneva and represented by Senator Faulk, cast 6,891—four times the vote of Wilcox and Lowndes and twice that of Dallas, Marengo, Barbour and Greene.

Senator Harrison's three-county district of Shelby, Autauga and Chilton, moreover, polled 7,618, about the same four to one and two to one ratios over the Black Belt counties as shown by Senator Faulk's district.

Even larger vote ratios over Black Belt counties are disclosed by Senator Devane's district, composed of Choctaw, Clarke and Washington; Senator J. M. Rowe's three-county district, which links Coffee, Crenshaw and Pike, and Senator St. John's populous third district, composed of Blount, Cullman and Walker Counties.

Vote Much Larger

In those three districts the vote was more than eight to one over Wilcox and Lowndes and about three to one over Barbour, Marengo, Dallas and Greene.

In all of the 13 counties whose Senate votes were needed but not forthcoming on reapportionment, the combined vote ranged from two to one up to four to one over five other two county Black Belt districts.

Those districts include Senator W. C. Johnston's Twenty-Sixth District, composed of Macon and Bullock, which polled 2,285; Senator Howard Cooper's Eighteenth District, composed of Bibb and Perry Counties, with a 3-797 vote, and Senator Verdo E. Elmore's Fourteenth District, composed of Pickens and Sumter, which voted 3,105.

Why did the representatives of these more populous and under-represented counties and senatorial districts vote apparently against their own interests?

The answer again seems to be Jefferson County and the prejudices worked up against the state's largest area by Black Belters.

Not only did Black Belt whisperers tell the other counties that if Jefferson obtained larger representation their gasoline and sales tax split would be interferred with by "Imperial Jefferson," but also that their schools would lose much revenue now paid in Jefferson and going to schools in other areas.

Fat Revenues Cited

These charges were broadcast despite the fact that in the last 17 years Jefferson County has never sought a dime from the state while Mobile was getting millions in improvements and the other large county, Montgomery, was enjoying the prosperous inflow of tax millions.

These charges were voiced, moreover, despite the fact that Black Belt counties and not the other counties are the principal beneficiaries of a generous school fund distribution from the state.

Black Belt schools reportedly have been living off the fat of the land, the expenditure per white child being far greater than in North Alabama counties which have fewer Negroes. In fact, Gov. Frank M. Dixon in his A. E. A. speech Thursday disclosed that in one Black Belt county, at least, a father collects a rebate from the county school system to reimburse him for the cost of carrying his children to school in the family's own car instead of the school bus.

Surprise Action By Board Comes After NAACP Protests

Lowly Unnoticed

M 1-39 Atlanta, Ga.

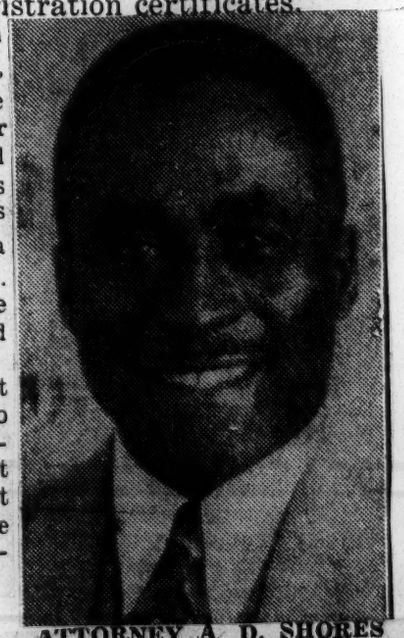
Attorney Shores Credited With Victory; Had Filed Petition Demanding Court Order to Board

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(SNS)—

It was learned Wednesday that all colored persons who made application to vote with the registration board during June 7-15 received letters in a surprise move notifying them that they would be given registration certificates.

At the close of the registration June period, Atty. A. D. Shores, filed a petition demanding the court to order the three-member board to show cause why qualified citizens should not be registered as electors. Although the petition was denied a hearing by the court a second one was filed by the N. A. A. C. P. attorney. Before the time of the hearing all applicants had been notified of the acceptance.

Atty. Shores said yesterday that the association would continue to file suits in behalf of persons desirous of voting. Plans are on foot already by the association to get several hundred persons to the registration office at its next registration period in August.



ATTORNEY A. D. SHORES

—Whose suits in behalf of colored persons desirous of voting brought results this week. All persons who applied for registration learned that they were accepted this week for the first time in the history of B'ham. Atty. Shores, brilliant lawyer, stated that suits would be filed following the August period if colored citizens were not registered on their legal qualifications.

POLITICAL-1939
SUFFRAGE

ALABAMA

Women's Groups Plead For Change In Poll Tax Law

Clash Of Views Between Their Spokesman And Senate Opponent Of Amendment Marks First Hearing

Post

BULLETIN

MONTGOMERY, March 17. — (Special.) — Governor Dixon's hotly debated reapportionment and poll tax reform proposals were reported out by the Senate constitutional amendments committee at noon today—without recommendation. The measures, both facing strong opposition, now go on the Senate calendar for a vote Tuesday.

3-17-39

By James C. Hutto
Post Staff Correspondent

MONTGOMERY, March 17.—Strong pleas for modification of Alabama's franchise-robbing poll tax law were voiced today before a joint House-Senate committee hearing in the face of formidable opposition from a powerful bloc in the Legislature.

Mrs. Albert Lee Thomas of Auburn, heading a delegation representing eight state-wide women's organizations with a combined membership of 100,000, flayed the cumulative poll tax as "fundamentally undemocratic, unjust and outmoded."

She urged that the Legislature give voters of the state opportunity to express themselves at the polls on Governor Dixon's proposed constitutional amendment to limit back poll tax payments to two years.

She cited statistics to show that the present poll tax, which accumulates from the time a person is 21, is depriving thousands of white citizens, including many women, of the right to vote.

A cash of views between Mrs. Thomas and Sen. W. M. Malone of Athens ensued when the latter took issue with her assertion that modification of the poll tax—or even its repeal—would not noticeably increase the number of Negro voters in Alabama.

"It's not the poll tax that now keeps Negroes from voting, but our boards of registrars," she declared.

Senator Malone interjected that "in Limestone County, when word got around in January that they were going to reduce the poll tax 49 Negroes appeared before the Board of Registrars and asked to be registered and were registered."

'Broad-Minded Board'

"Wouldn't that indicate that there is a large number of Negroes in Alabama that want to vote?" the senator asked.

"No," Mrs. Thomas came back sharply. "I think it indicates a broad-minded Board of Registrars."

"We've got three women on the board," Mr. Malone replied. "If we had been in their places I don't think any Negroes would have been registered. I'm going to ask the governor to relieve us of that situation next year."

Senator Malone later moved to kill the poll tax amendment by indefinite postponement, but he was reminded by his colleagues on the Senate committee on constitutional amendments that his motion was out of order since committees have no power to stifle constitutional amendments.

18,000 Exempt

In a further attack on the racial myth raised by the opposition, Mrs. Thomas declared that "studies show there are 18,000 Negroes in Alabama who are exempted from the poll tax because they are war veterans and yet there are only 1500 Negro voters in the state."

Sen. James A. Simpson of Jefferson County took issue with her on the latter figure, declaring "there are 1600 Negro voters in my county alone."

3-17-39

Raymond E. Thomason, member of the Jefferson County Board of Education and a spokesman for organized railroad men in his district, also urged submission of the poll tax issue to a vote of the people.

Mr. Thomason said he believed modification of the poll tax law to permit a larger electorate would tend to defeat "all the isms going around the country" by making for better citizenship.

'Teachers Don't Want It'

When Mr. Thomason expressed belief that modification of the cumulative features would give schools some additional revenue from the poll levy, Rep. C. L. Weston of Barbour County replied that "the teachers in my county don't want any money from that source."

Mr. Weston, himself a schoolteacher, added that the people in Barbour County, including teachers, farmers and everybody else, are opposed to any change in the poll tax law."

Favorable action on Governor Dixon's proposals to submit legislative reapportionment and poll tax reform to a vote of the people appeared increasingly doubtful with disclosure that a number of the governor's own leaders in the Legislature are opposed to the hotly-debated measures.

Some of those who have been the governor's stanchest supporters on other measures, even including his hotly-fought tax equalization bill, are among a powerful bloc, led by Black Belters, whose bitter opposition to reapportionment and modification of the cumulative poll tax law is deep-rooted in tradition and long-standing sectional strife.

The situation has raised doubts in the minds of observers as to how far Governor Dixon can go in "putting on pressure" for passage of these two of his seven proposed constitutional amendments.

Furthermore, because they are constitutional amendments, they must win at least a three-fifths vote in each branch of the Legislature—or a minimum of 64 votes in the House and 21 in the Senate.

The Senate committee on constitutional amendments opened public hearing on these and other measures in the governor's program this morning, after giving prompt approval to his proposals for parole reform and optional use of voting machines.

Voting Machines

The two measures approved in Senate committee late yesterday were to be given second reading in the upper chamber this afternoon and placed on the calendar for a vote Tuesday.

Subject to ratification at the polls in a state-wide referendum to be held July 11, one of the measures would permit cities and counties to install voting machines if their governing bodies desired and the other would authorize the Legislature to set up a modern pardons, parole and probation system.

Enabling legislation to carry out these and other amendments ratified by popular vote would be enacted by the lawmakers when they resume their regular session July 18.

Administration proposals for biennial instead of quadrennial sessions of the Legislature and for court reforms were discussed by the Senate constitutional amendments committee but action was deferred pending minor revisions to be made.

The court reform bill, which would allow circuit judges to waive grand jury action in order to expedite pleas of guilty in non-capital felony cases, will be amended to provide that defendants must have an attorney present when such pleas are taken, it was decided by the committee.

This measure also would make it possible for circuit judges, in their discretion, to place first offenders on probation.

39 New Bills

Though called specifically for the purpose of acting on Governor Dixon's seven constitutional amendments, the extraordinary session which convened yesterday brought on a flood of non-administration bills, some of them sweeping in scope.

Among a total of 39 bills dropped into the hoppers of the two houses were conflicting proposals to divert surplus income taxes, now earmarked for bond retirement, to education and old-age pensions, to increase property tax exemption on homesteads and to reduce ad valorem taxes generally.

All would require constitutional amendment, as would many of the other proposals introduced.

A proposed amendment to abolish the fee system in five North Alabama counties and place county officials there on a salary basis was introduced in the House by Reps. James B. Allen and Roy McCord both of Gadsden.

It would apply to Etowah, Dekalb, Cherokee, Talladega and Morgan Counties and would affect probate judges, sheriffs, tax assessors, tax collectors, circuit clerks and registrars in chancery.

Soon after its introduction Sen. John A. Lusk Jr. of Gadsden announced he would amend the measure in the Senate to make its provisions apply only after present officeholders have completed their terms.

Introduced in the Senate was a constitutional amendment by Sen. Dan T. McCall of Mobile to take the sheriff of that county off a fee basis and place him on a salary.

Anti-Tax Proposal

Although they apply only locally, both the McCall and the Allen-McCord amendments must be approved in state-wide referendum upon their approval by the Legislature.

Rep. Roger Snyder of Birmingham offered a bill in the House to prohibit any city or county from levying a sales or excise tax without winning majority approval in a popular vote—a measure which Mr. Snyder said was prompted partly by Birmingham's new hotly-debated municipal cigaret tax.

Mr. Snyder also introduced a bill proposing a referendum and recall amendment to the Constitution for the purpose of removing from office, by majority vote, public officials whose actions did not suit the electorate.

The governor and members of the Legislature would be exempt from the recall measure, but other state officials, as well as city and county officers, would be subject to its provisions.

Reapportionment Substitute

Offered in the Senate as a substitute for Governor Dixon's reapportionment plan was a bill by Senator Malone proposing drastic reduction of the membership of both House and Senate.

It would provide a Senate of 18 members, instead of the present 35, and a House of 67, instead of 106, by limiting the number of senators to two for each congressional district and the number of state representatives to one of every county, regardless of size.

Senator Malone announced earlier this week that he would join with downstate Black Belters in opposing the governor's reapportionment plan on the claim that to redistribute representation in the Legislature on a population basis, as the present Constitution directs, "would turn control of the state over to Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery Counties."

Mr. Malone, incidentally, won his seat in the Senate after defeating former House Speaker Harry Walker, also of Athens, veteran leader in the fight for reapportionment.

May Prolong Session

Under Governor Dixon's plan, a board composed of the governor, secretary of state and attorney-general would be responsible for apportioning the Legislature on a population basis every 10 years if the Legislature itself failed to do so.

Not since the Constitution was drafted in 1901 has any Legislature obeyed its reapportionment mandate.

Introduction of so many non-administration bills raised the question in some minds as to whether the special session, due to be completed within three weeks, might not be prolonged.

It was pointed out, however, that administration leaders, if they wish, can always force adjournment if they have a majority of votes—which they doubtless would have if the session showed signs of dragging out.

In that event, sponsors of any measures thus left on the calendar could reintroduce them at the Summer session.

DIXON QUOTES FIGURES

By United Press.

MONTGOMERY, March 17.—Alabama's cumulative poll tax law was described as a "shame" today by Governor Dixon.

He said that Mississippi, with only half as many white people as Alabama, voted 40,000 more at general elections.

"Alabama, with its present system," the governor said, "is way out of line with voting requirements of other Southeastern states."

He quoted other figures compiled last Summer by his personal representatives which showed:

That North Carolina, Florida and Louisiana entirely eliminated the poll tax without an increase in Negro votes.

That Virginia, with only a two-year back tax requirement receives $750,000 a year as compared to Alabama's $350,000 annually.

That West Virginia votes 88 per cent of its white population above 21 years of age while Alabama votes only 19 per cent.

That from 1892 to 1936 Alabama's number of voters increased only two per cent while its population increased 70 per cent.

A Posthumous Protest Against The Poll Tax

Editor, The Post:

I would like to write a few lines in regard to some of those amendments advocated by the state administration, and on which the voters are to decide by the ballot in July. I think the third amendment bearing on holding the state Legislature every two years instead of four should be supported by every voter if for no other purpose it would shorten the time the people would have to contend with a worthwhile or unneeded law by having it repealed. The sixth amendment is the most important question that will be in the whole lot.

I wish it could have been possible for this amendment to have been for the purpose of getting rid of the poll tax curse of our state altogether. This is not because I have to pay a poll tax for I finished paying poll tax 18 years ago. It's not the money involved that is the trouble, it's the principle of using this out-of-date, dilapidated means to qualify a person to vote. This form of tax was born in colonial days as a revenue to finance the operation of the Government, not as a means to exercise the franchise of the people. (The House yesterday shelved the poll tax reform bill).

I have talked with our men who we elected to the Legislature about this matter time after time and have written them while in session and I have been unable to get a definite answer yet. They just seem to not know much about the matter.

I consider the poll tax question the greatest question that has been before the Legislature of our state since 1901 when 80 per cent of the voters of Alabama were disfranchised by the ratification of our old Constitution.

I feel like the small group that has dominated our state by being elected by 20 per cent of the electorate just seem to be afraid of the whole people. It may be that when one of our law makers thinks of advocating a bill to liberate or give the people their freedom, he recalls the fate of Huey Long of Louisiana who paid with his life from an assassin's gun for doing for his people just exactly what some honest leader should do for us. But we all know that Huey Longs and Lincolns are few and far apart.

I still live in hopes that I will see the day when we will have a democratic form of government in Alabama, a majority rule of the electorate. This excuse of poll tax keeping the Negro out of politics is insane; the Negro could vote the same as anyone if he could get registered. That's what keeps him from voting.

JAMES M. EVANS,
Arab.

Proposed Amendment, As Well As Reapportionment, Given Support

Editor, The Post:

Thousands of farmers throughout the state will watch closely the actions of their representatives and state senators in Montgomery when a vote is taken on the proposed amendments for poll tax reform and for reapportionment. By and large, the great majority of the farmers of the state favor poll tax reform and reapportionment, and they expect their representatives to vote yes on these issues.

We farmers have been nurtured on democracy. It is our lifeblood. The poll tax today stands in the way of democracy and is one of the reasons for the oppressive tax policies of the past.

At our state convention in 1937 and in local and county meetings throughout the state since then, our members have been unqualified in their stand for poll tax reform and reapportionment. We call on our legislators—if they want to return to Montgomery—to vote yes for these amendments.

GERALD HARRIS,
Vice-President Alabama Farmers Union, Green Pond, Ala.

* * *

It's Title Eight They Want Repealed

Editor The Post:

I warmly appreciate your kindness in publishing my letter.

However, regarding the social security titles referred to in article, through error you printed title eight as title three. You will note that the original letter calls for title eight. I was so anxious for the public or that group of the public that might be interested in H. R. Act No. 11 to know definitely just what titles in the social security act we advocate repealing.

I was indeed sorry that this error occurred. As a matter of fact we do not want title three repealed. You can, I am sure, see what erroneous impression this will leave in the minds of those who are more or less familiar with the present social security act.

J. BURTON HOLT.

* * *

Farmer Fears Arrest On Tobacco Tax Law

Editor, The Post:

I live in Jefferson County and over three miles outside of Birmingham. I own my home and I am a farmer. I do a large portion of my buying and purchasing in downtown Birmingham. I have just read in the newspapers about a new City of Birmingham tax on cigarets and tobacco. I notice that the city has enacted a law giving their tax "snoopers" the right to search the person of an individual in an effort to find tobacco that does not have the city stamps. I notice in the newspapers that they can put a person in jail who is caught with tobacco in his possession inside the Birmingham city limits for more than six hours which is not stamp taxed. Because of the fact that I frequently spend more than six hours inside of Birmingham, I fear arrest and imprisonment, because naturally any tobacco I have was bought from my neighborhood country store and I would have some of this in my pocket when I visited the city.

I ask the Chamber of Commerce or some Birmingham merchant to give me some legal protection to prevent my arrest and imprisonment, should I visit Birmingham and stay more than six hours carrying with me tobacco without city stamps. Frankly, I feel that this city law is an act to harrass and give the city officials unlawful rights to search people over such frivolous matters.

I hope that some court will void this law which gives these Birmingham tax agents the right to search the person of an individual over such trivial matters.

ELMORE N. DYSON,
R. F. D. No. 2, Box 335.

* * *

Regarding The Use Of 'Nor' And 'Or'

Editor, The Post:

Although your feature, "Today's Common Error," is helpful to those who desire to improve their English, I must dissent from the teaching you gave in your issue of March 14. You stated that one should say, "Your father cannot read nor write," and that one should not say, "Your father cannot read or write."

An analysis of this sentence shows that "not" modifies both "read" and "write." Or, to use the language of lesson 107 in Reed and Kellogg's Higher Lessons in English, the force of the negative "not" is felt throughout the sentence and should not be repeated by "nor." This means, of course, that if the reasoning of Reed and Kellogg is here sound, your very worthy contributor was in error when he said one should not say, "Your father cannot read or write."

Accordingly, one should say:

"He has no money or character" (not "He has no money nor character").

"He has no regard for justice or for his fellow man" (not "He has no regard for justice nor for his fellow man").

A. F. LOKEY.

Democratic Primaries

A recent act of the Legislature places the County Democratic Executive Committees in Alabama in full charge of the party primaries. The Democratic committees in Alabama's 67 counties will be entrusted with the management of all party elections, from the appointment of election officials to the actual canvassing of votes.

Although the recent new law, empowering the County Democratic Committee to appoint election officials, was passed to keep Republican probate judges, sheriffs and circuit court clerks from naming Republican election officials to serve in Democratic primaries, the law will serve other good purposes. For one thing, the primaries are taken entirely out of the hands of elected public officials and placed in the hands of party officials. This should tend to help keep the party closer to the people, less under control of public jobholders.

In Jefferson County the Democratic Executive Committee will be entrusted with the appointment of some 1,500 or more election officials to serve in the primaries, a responsibility that should require the closest attention and most conscientious care. For the election officers are the very liferoots of our governmental system, just as the party primary is the starting point of the machinery for democracy.

Birmingham, Ala. News
February 9, 1939

A Plan To Evade State Reapportionment

By proposing to set up a system in Alabama by which elections will be settled by county unit votes, opponents of reapportionment may be merely resorting to the old defense tactics of maintaining the status quo by threatening a worse fate.

The present legislative apportionment in Alabama, based as it is on the population figures of nearly 40 years ago, is unfair and unjust and illegal. Even at that, however, it is superior to the county unit system proposed. The latter would carry over the present inequalities and fix the voting powers of the counties in state elections as they were back at the adoption of the present constitution.

The county unit proposal, naturally, comes from a county that would stand to lose power by reapportionment. The author is State Senator R. M. Guy, of Lowndes. Let us examine the facts as to Lowndes, in comparison with some other counties.

At the time of the 1900 federal census, Lowndes had 35,651 population. It was accorded one senator. The 1930 (or latest) census showed a drop to 22,878 population. With one senator for its 22,878 people, Lowndes has the highest rate of representation in the State Senate.

The other extreme might be represented by Jefferson County, but to avoid the charge that county prejudice enters in, let us consider Covington County, a rural county in South Alabama not far from Lowndes. Covington, having a population of only 15,346 in 1900, was compelled to share a state senator with two other counties, Butler and Conecuh. By 1930, Covington had increased to 41,356 population, its two companion counties also gained, and the result is that that senatorial district has a population of 96,980.

In other words, Senator Guy represents 22,878 people and Senator Joe Poole of the Seventeenth District represents 96,980. Is that democracy? Do we want a system in any way perpetuating that discrepancy, or permitting such discrepancies to increase?

* * *

Over on the House side, Lowndes' position is still more untenable. Because Lowndes had 35,651 people back in 1900, it has two representatives in the lower chamber of the State Legislature. It still has two representatives, although its population has dropped to 22,878. Covington has one representative for its 41,356.

Those two counties are not the only ones where a comparison might be drawn. Is there democracy, for instance, indicated in the following figures on population per representative in the State Legislature: Bullock, 10,008; Henry, 11,410; Hale, 13,132; Wilcox, 12,440; Clarke, 13,008; Sumter, 13,464; Marshall, 39,802; Jefferson, 61,642; DeKalb, 41,104; Mobile, 39,454; Houston, 45,935?

But the grossest inequity of the Guy measure is seen in the effect it would have on state elections. It would destroy entirely anything like majority elections in the state. It would enable counties with small populations to outvote counties with larger populations. All the faults and undemocratic situations of the present which have grown out of the flagrant disregard of the constitutional mandate of reapportionment would be extended by the Guy bill to all state elections. We would be choosing our governor, our attorney general, our judges, our senators, our party leaders as well as making our laws substantially on the basis of population 40 years ago.

A few figures here might be helpful, if it is remembered that the figures mean voters and the will of voters in a free government. Under the Guy bill, the county unit votes would be based on the present apportionment, that is, the apportionment based on the census of 1900. Each county would have two unit votes for each representative in the State Legislature.

On that basis, the following 10 counties, Sumter, Lowndes, Butler, Perry, Clarke, Wilcox, Bullock, Russell, Hale and Henry, with a total 1930 population of 253,761, would have 40 unit votes. That would be one unit vote for each 6,344 persons. On the same basis the following 20 counties, Cullman, Covington, DeKalb, Houston, Limestone, Marshall, Lawrence, Blount, Randolph, Conecuh, Baldwin, Escambia, Monroe, Geneva, Coffee, Macon, Colbert, Franklin, Marion and St. Clair, with a 1930 population of 630,931, would have the same number of unit votes. That would be one unit vote for each 15,773 persons.

It may be noted that the counties in both lists above are all rural counties. The question of the differing viewpoints of urban and rural population does not enter into these figures. We have here 6,339 persons having equal power in the state government with 15,773 persons of like interests and problems.

* * *

Of course the unfairness of the whole idea of basing a county unit plan on the population of 40 years ago becomes clearer when one considers the trend toward urbanization which has been apparent in Alabama as elsewhere in the nation in these four decades. The 10 counties listed above as having a total population of 253,761 with their 40 unit votes could overthrow the wishes of the 777,030 persons in Jefferson, Montgomery, Mobile, Madison and Tuscaloosa, who would have only 36 unit votes. In these five counties, there would be one unit vote for each 21,592 population.

Bringing the comparisons down to a still more absurd limit, one finds that Bullock County would have a unit vote for each 5,004 persons, as contrasted with Jefferson's unit vote for each 30,821. In other words, each voter in Bullock County would have six times the weigh in choosing the state's governor as does the voter in Jefferson County. (Only total population is considered in this comparison. If voting strength were the basis, the discrepancy would be worse, due to Bullock's larger proportion of Negro population.)

Now frankly, Mr. Guy and you other opponents of a majority system of making decisions in our state, do you think that the people of Bullock are entitled to six times as much voting power as those in Jefferson? Are they six times as intelligent? Are they six times as patriotic? Do they have six times as many interests at stake?

Are the people of those 10 rural counties listed above twice as good as the people of those other 20 rural counties? Do they deserve twice as much strength in choosing their common governor and other state officials?

The county unit system in determining state elections is bad under any circumstances. At its best it is a political deviation from the principle on which this country was founded, that all citizens have substantially the equal right of rule and that the will of the majority is the law. But when an attempt is made to impose a county unit system upon a representation which is itself unconstitutional, just about the limit is reached in un-American practices. Hitler himself could not have devised a much worse scheme.

The Guy county unit proposal may be nothing more than an effort to shift attention from the reapportionment fight. Inasmuch as it seeks to perpetuate the unjust and undemocratic and un-American apportionment of the present and extend those faults to all the state government instead of only to the legislative, it seems impossible that any reasonable, state-minded legislator whose interest and loyalties extend beyond the boundaries of his own county could be interested in the proposal.

If the proposal is nothing but a smokescreen, then it will probably react unfavorably upon its backers by directing still more attention to the dangers, as well as to the absolute illegality, of continuing to ignore the reapportionment matter.

Reapportionment And Poll Tax Bills Held Hopeless

By ATTICUS MULLIN

UNLESS Gov. Dixon invites a considerable number of senators and representatives into his extensive melon patch in the next three or four days, the people of Alabama will not get a chance to vote either upon reapportionment of the Legislature or upon an amendment to excuse backward citizens from all but two years' poll taxes.

During the Senate session Thursday morning the writer made a fairly good check of Senate sentiment and found 14 senators who could be depended upon to vote for the proposed submission of the reapportionment amendment. One senator was regarded as doubtful. The Constitution says that two-thirds of the Senate membership must vote affirmatively to submit an amendment to the historic document. That means that 21 senators must be brought into line and there are only 14 actually in line.

The story about the proposed poll tax amendment was nearly the same as the reapportionment bill. Sixteen senators were found in favor of such an amendment submission. That left five votes still to be found before such an amendment could be submitted.

Other Five Unopposed

No objection could be found Thursday among senators to the other five amendments advocated by Gov. Dixon. These will be given approval by the Senate almost unanimously unless there is a vast change in sentiment.

If the reapportionment and poll tax amendments are defeated in the Legislature, it will not be a blow at Gov. Dixon. As a matter of fact most of the real active Dixon leaders in the Senate are opposed to both amendments. These men have gone along with Gov. Dixon on his important measures which they regarded as necessary to a successful administration but they have notified the Governor that they cannot go with him on the two amendments in question.

The duty of a Governor is to make recommendations to the Legislature. He cannot veto a bill submitting an amendment. Nor does he really have to sign it. It becomes effective with or without his signature. So the Governor is not directly responsible for the fate of an amendment submission measure in the Legislature. He cannot be blamed if it is defeated and he gets little credit if it is passed. Sometimes the people step on amendments after they are submitted. In fact they do that thing many times.

New Deal In Jobs

Gov. Dixon has announced that it will be his purpose to give each county in Alabama a proportionate share of persons on the public payroll. That means that Gov. Dixon will make many changes in the personnel of the State before the examinations come on in the merit system plan. Gov. Dixon has not up to the present used patronage in getting his wishes met by the Legislature and no single member of the Senate with whom the writer talked Thursday believed that he would do so in the case of the amendments now before the Legislature. In other words they had no reason to believe that he would open the gate to his luscious melon patch for votes. If he did, the writer would not predict the defeat of either amendment. But if he does not, we freely predict the death of the poll tax and the reapportionment amendments.

It was learned in the Senate Thursday that the committee on the Constitution and constitutional revision would report without recommendation all of the Dixon amendment submission bills and that a vote upon their merits would take place upon the floor with ample time for discussion. There is no disposition to kill or delay any amendment in the committee, the writer was assured.

Third readings on the amendments proposed by the Governor will be had next Tuesday. The Legislature may dispose of them before it gets through Wednesday but if it does not it will adjourn until the following Tuesday so that the Alabama Education Association will have space in the hotels.

WOMEN SHARPEN AX TO SLICE POLL TAX

MONTGOMERY, March 14.—(Special)—Leaders of eight statewide women's organizations in Alabama, claiming a combined membership in excess of 100,000, today threw their support behind Governor Dixon's proposed constitutional amendment to modify the cumulative poll tax law.

Their action came on the eve of the special session of the Legislature which will convene tomorrow to act on the governor's proposal that back payments of poll tax be limited to two years—one of seven amendments which the chief executive is asking the lawmakers to submit to a vote of the people.

A joint legislative committee representing these eight organizations also is supporting another amendment in the series which would permit optional use of voting machines by cities or counties.

Mrs. Albert Lee Thomas of Auburn, chairman of the joint committee, has written the presidents of local units of the organizations urging them to write their local legislators in behalf of these two amendments, it was announced by Mrs. Nannie R. Nash of Birmingham.

Mrs. Nash represents the Alabama Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs on the committee and Mrs. Thomas represents the Alabama Congress of Parents and Teachers.

Other organizations in the group of eight and their representatives on the committee, Mrs. Nash announced, include the following:

Alabama Association of University Women, Mrs. Frank A. Grove, Montgomery; Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. J. Bruce Airey, Wetumpka; Alabama Council of Home Demonstration Clubs, Mrs. J. W. Morris; Alabama Home Economics Assn., Miss Josephine Eddy, Montevallo; Alabama Methodist Missionary Society, Mrs. Thomas J. Hayes, Andalusia, and the Alabama Women Lawyers' Assn., Mrs. Ida Rosenthal, Birmingham.

In Right Direction

While these groups are on record favoring outright abolition of the poll tax as a requirement for voting privileges, Mrs. Nash said, they consider Governor Dixon's proposal to limit back payments to two years as "a good step in the right direction."

A pamphlet circulated by the joint committee points out that Alabama is one of only eight states which levy any poll tax at all and is the only state where the tax accumulates from the time a voter becomes 21.

"There is really no good argument for the poll tax as a requirement for voting," the pamphlet states. "It is manifestly unfair to be required to pay for a privilege which is inherent in one's citizenship under a democratic government.

"Intelligence is necessary for wise decisions. But $1.50 a year is no guarantee of intelligence.

"At present Alabama has about 400,000 registered voters. There should be almost 1,000,000 white voters alone."

The document goes on to point out that "safeguards such as education and registration would not be changed" by modification of the cumulative poll tax law.

It cites also that two Southern states which have abolished poll taxes altogether, Louisiana and Florida, "have had no trouble in maintaining 'white supremacy.'"

As to voting machines, the pamphlet sets out that a constitutional amendment authorizing use of these devices where desired "would be a great step toward election procedure."

VOTE DISPARITY CITED

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 20—Here's one of the many reasons why the so-called Black Belt counties have been so determined to choke off again reapportionment of Alabama's House and Senate, proposed in a constitutional amendment slated to be defeated Tuesday in the Senate.

Taking the 1934 Democratic primary vote, one of the highest on record, as a basis, and dividing the vote cast by each of five typical Black Belt counties (which, like Jefferson, have one senator each) into Jefferson's total vote for nomination of a senator, the following result may be found:

Wilcox polled 1,614 to Jefferson's 39,391. Hence each Wilcox County voter's ballot was exactly 24.4 times as important as that of a Jefferson resident.

Lowndes' 1,757 Democratic voters, on the same basis, had 22.39 times as great a voice in Alabama's Senate as a Jefferson County Democrat. Barbour's 3,294 votes, moreover, had 11.9 times the voting weight of a Jefferson County man. Marengo County Democrats, polling 3,121 ballots, had 12.6 times the power of Jefferson folk, and even more populous Dallas, polling 3,576, had 10.9 greater voting weight per vote in the nomination of a senator than Jefferson.

Furthermore, although the five Black Belt counties were electing five senators, the combined vote of the five was but 13,342 compared with Jefferson's 39,341 for one senator. Jefferson's total vote thus was 2.9 greater in the nomination of one senator than the combined vote of the five counties for five senators.

Legislature Is Criticized For Not Observing Mandate Of Constitution

Editor, The Post:

We are at a loss at the action of the Legislature in voting down the two important proposals, reapportionment and poll tax changes. We are now to suffer for another long period of time, probably not even getting these two important changes made.

We live and thrive under the Alabama Constitution, people hold it up for their guarantee of protection in other matters, as to their rights and protection. Yet it contains the mandate to reapportion representation every 10 years according to population and plainly makes it mandatory on the people to make such change every 10 years. This mandate which was inserted in the Constitution by its framers, was intended as a matter of right, not discriminatory to any particular county, but according to population. It is just as much law as that part of the Constitution which prohibits any person from being put in double or former jeopardy for some crime which may be charged.

The poll tax law at present is unjust to those who wish to exercise their rights and privileges in electing their choice candidates to public office. Many of them are unable to pay the tax accumulating on them since 21 or from time of last payment. If the two-year proposal could be enacted into law, there would be no doubt double voting capacity and most of the tax payment kept up in the future. Let us not stop where the Legislature left off, but keep the good work going till we get both of these proposals acted upon.

The action of the chairman of the Alabama Council of Women Democrats should be condemned in sending letters to our legislators saying that it might be harmful to pass these proposals at present, and trying to sidetrack the benefits, privileges and wishes of a progressive people. We admire true Democrats in the men's and women's organizations but, let us not stay in the same old ruts for 29 more years under the same circumstances. President Roosevelt has taught us to be progressive and liberal.

E. HOMER BROOKS.

Dixon Loses 2 Bills Just As Expected

Reapportionment Dies In Senate; House Slays Poll Tax Amendment

Others Pass Easily

Speaker Bankhead Quoted As Fearing Republican Enfranchisement In 7th

By GROVER C. HALL, JR.

Both Houses convene today at 10 a.m.

The administration's poll tax and reapportionment amendment bills were formally laid to rest yesterday with separate services in House and Senate.

The Senate held simple, brief rites for the reapportionment amendment bill. Senator Charles A. Stakely moved to indefinitely postpone the the bill. His motion carried 19 to 11.

Senator Stakely

The House, disinclined to any ungainly haste, debated the poll tax bill at some length and several made passionate appeals for submission of the amendment to the voters. Then, in the afternoon the House voted, 60 to 41, against submitting the amendment for ratification. It would have taken 65 votes for submission.

William B. Bankhead, speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives, was insinuated into the debate as an argument against submission. Representative Max Branyon, of Fayette, asserted that Speaker Bankhead opposed the bill because he feared it would enable the Republican party to unseat him.

Representative Branyon had declared that passing the bill would be "striking a death blow to Democracy." He then explained his conviction that the $3 low-cost requalification would prove disastrous to Democratic supremacy in Alabama.

W. B. Bankhead

"Doesn't it seem likely," Branyon reasoned before his colleagues, whose interest obviously had been pricked by a new argument against the bill, "that if a large number of Republicans qualified in his district that the Republican National Committee would pour money in to embarrass the Roosevelt administration?"

Branyon called attention to the beauty of such a development as a Republican target. Branyon yielded to a question from Representative Mark Hodo, of Jefferson, author of the bill.

Hodo Disagrees

"Do you know that Speaker Bankhead favors this amendment?" Hodo asked.

Branyon answered that this was incorrect — that he could state with complete assurance that Speaker Bankhead was against the amendment and believed it would jeopardize his chances of reelection. Branyon said Bankhead's fear of the possibilities had been communicated directly to him.

(The position of speaker of the national House is commonly regarded as second in power only to that of the President of the United States. Speaker Bankhead's district—the 7th—has the heaviest proportionate Republican vote of any in Alabama).

Other of Dixon's proposed amendments were easily passed in one or both Houses yesterday.

The House passed the amendment bills:

To permit a prisoner who wishes to plead guilty to waive grand jury action in order to begin serving his sentence immediately, 89 to 0. (By Guy Hardwick, Houston).

To create authority to set up a modern pardon and parole system, 93 to 1 (C. C. Peacock, of Coffee, dissenting). (By George Bliss Jones, of Lauderdale).

Proposing biennial legislative sessions, 89 to 3. (By Bill Davis, of Madison).

To permit county option in the use of voting machines, 84 to 0. (By George Stone, of Mobile).

The Senate passed the amendment bills relating to a new pardon and parole system, voting machines, waiving of grand jury action.

Debate In House

Four of five representatives made spirited appeals for submission of the poll tax amendment. For the most part these appeals followed a pattern—the right to vote is an inherent right of every man that Alabama's back tax accumulation is effectively an abridgement of this right; expressions of withering scorn for representatives who feared to let their constituents vote their convictions; that a cardinal aim of Democracy was to encourage all citizens — regardless of creed or ism—to participate in their government.

Representative D. C. Mathews, of Clarke, offered an amendment that would make Alabama the 41st State to abolish poll taxes entirely. The lanky representative spoke to this amendment almost fiercely:

"I have never heard of any reasonable argument for poll tax...Voting is not a privilege—but a right, a right cemented in my blood by ancestors who marched up the slopes of Gettysburg...

"They talk about the man who has been paying his poll tax all the time, the man who has requalified by paying back taxes. They say it wouldn't be fair to now let a man requalify for $3. Why should we not set up a bargain counter?...When a merchant reduces the price ofa pair of shoes from $5, or $3, or $2.50, do you object to your neighbor taking advantage of the sale price?..."

Matthews's amendment was tabled 81 to 7, on motion of Representative George Miller, of Sumter.

Representative Roy Mayhall, of Winston, wanted to know why the administration hadn't exerted itself more in behalf of the bill.

"I don't know whether these words will go out of here," Mayhall said, looking at the press table, "but I just want to say these these bills have been defeated for two days in the Birmingham papers."

Sanderson Reflects

Representative L. A. Sanderson, of Montgomery, reflected that such proposals had been coming up for some time and that he had voted in various ways on them. This time, he said, he would vote against it.

"It's not so hard to pay back taxes," he said. "When I was running for office I payed mine and my wife's and a few friends . . . While I don't believe this would increase the franchisement of many young negoes—they wouldn't have the nerve to go before the board and try to register—we'd have a lot of trouble with these old mean negroes . . . I don't know whether we need so many voters after all. I don't think it would make anybody mad—not even the Governor—if we vote against the bill."

Representative Hosmer Scott, of Walker, scolded the press for disclosing to the public that the House would make short shrift of the bill.

"This bill," complained Scott, "has been indicted, tried and convicted by the subsidized press of Alabama!"

"When you men vote against this bill you're telling the people who voted for you and sent you here, that they haven't sense enough to vote . . . Why're you scared to let 'em vote on the bill when those who vote are already qualified and are your crowd?"

Representative J. N. Langan, of Mobile, asserted that "I believe the people of Alabama should have an opportunity to express themselves..."

Administration Leader Earl McGowin took cognizance of the assertions and implications that Gov. Dixon was himself half-hearted about the bill:

"I don't want to argue the merits or the demerits of this bill. All of you are thoroughly informed regarding it. But I do wish to say that Gov. Dixon had a survey made of poll tax systems and consulted with members of this House before his inauguration . . .

"He recommended this in his address before the Legislature in as strong language as he could command. He is not letting down his platform or his convictions . . ."

Vote On Reapportionment

Senators voting for indefinite postponement of the reapportionment bill:

Boyd, Carlton, Clayton, Cooper, Crumpton, Dozier, Elmore, Faulk, Guy, Harrison, Henderson, Hildreth, Holmes, Howard, Johnston, Stakely, Street, Thomas, Tucker—19.

Against the killing the bill: Booth, Calhoun, Conway, Harris, Lusk, McCall, Malone, Poole, Shavr, Simpson, Young—11.

Vote On Poll Tax

Vote on the poll tax bill:

For—Speaker Merrill, Bagley, Ball, Brown of Lee, Castleberry, Chewning, Christopher, Cook, Davis, of Madison, Delony, Devers, Ellis, Golson, Graves, Gwin, Hill, Hodo, Jenkins, Jones, Kaul, Langan, Langley, Matthews of Jackson, Megginson, McCord, McDanal, McGowin, Neighbors, Newman, Owens, Peacock, Scott, Segrest, Sessions, Smyer, Stallings, Stone, Tucker, Waldrop, Wood and Young—41.

Against—Allen, Austin, Barchard, Barnes, Beck, Booth, Boswell, Branyon, Carwile, Clayton, Cobb, Collier, Cope, Davis of Montgomery, Dearman, Dobbs, Doster, Dominick, Flowers, Garrett, Gewin, Graham, Green, Hall; Hardwick, Hare, Haynes, Henson, Locke, Lovelace, Martin, Matthews, of Clarke, Mayhall, Miller, Nation, Norman of Bullock, Norman of Lowndes, Payne, Petrey, Pool, Phelps, Quarles, Robinson, of Lowndes, Robinson, of St. Clair, Sadler, Sanderson, Sherrer, Sightler, Snyder, Spence, Taylor, Thomas, Tidmore, Toomer, Walden, Wallace,

Welch, Weston, Whigham, White, and Wright—61.

Bills passed yesterday in the House:

By Merrill: Readopting the 1868 State seal.

By Delony: Validating bonds issued for rebuilding the Sheffield High School, destroyed by fire.

By Hodo: Permitting the State treasurer to designate places where insurance companies may deposit collateral required by law.

By Graves: Amending the act permitting educational institutions supported in part by the Federal Government to borrow from the U. S.

By Allen and McCord: Submitting a constitutional amendment to take offices in several counties from the fee system and put them on salary basis. (As amended bill applies to officers of Etowah, DeKalb, Lauderdale, Lawrence, Limestone, Lee, Shelby, St. Clair, Jackson, Walker, Marshall, Cherokee, Morgan and Tallapoosa Counties. Talladega County, originally included, was taken from the bill.)

In the Senate:

By Weatherford: Validating bonds issued for rebuilding the Sheffield High School.

By Poole, proposing an amendment to the Constitution to permit installation of new pardon and parole system.

By Hildreth: Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to permit circuit judges to accept guilty pleas with or without Grand Jury indictment.

Fight To Kill Poll Taxes Grows in South

BIRMINGHAM, Ala, May 26 — (Bob F. Hall for CNA) The tide against the poll tax is definitely rising throughout the South. In Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and Alabama, the American Federation of Labor has gone on record for its repeal. The Congress for Industrial Organization in every Southern state and in its national convention has instructed its affiliates to engage actively in the fight for the abolition of the poll tax.

Negro Teacher Petitions For Right To Vote

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., June 24—(AP)—A negro school teacher sought the right to vote in a petition filed in Circuit Court today.

B. Atkins Collins, the teacher, alleged he was denied the right to register by the Jefferson County Board of Registrars June 9.

Qualified whites, the petition also asserts, are "registered forthwith" by the registrars.

Collins asked a jury trial in his petition, which is directed against the Board of Registrars.

Opelika, Ala., News
June 27, 1939

Negro Teacher Files Petition, Right Vote

Birmingham.—(AP)—A negro school teacher sought the right to vote in a petition filed in circuit court here by Arthur Shores, negro attorney.

B. Atkins Collins, the teacher, alleges in his petition that he was denied the right to register by the Jefferson county board of registrars June 9.

Qualified whites, the petition asserts, are "registered forthwith" by the registrars.

Collins asked a jury trial in his petition, which is directed against the board of registrars.

St. Petersburg, Fla., Times
June 25, 1939

Negro Demands Ballot

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (AP) — A negro school teacher sought the right to vote in a petition filed in circuit court yesterday. B. Atkins Collins, the teacher, alleged he was denied the right to register by the Jefferson county board of registrars June 9. Collins asked a jury trial in his petition, which is directed against the board of registrars.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
June 25, 1939

Negro Seeks To Vote

BIRMINGHAM, June 24—(AP)—A negro school teacher sought the right to vote today in a petition filed in circuit court here by Arthur Shores, negro attorney.

B. Atkins Collins, the teacher, alleges in his petition that he was denied the register by the Jefferson County board of registrars June 9.

Qualified whites, the petition asserts, are "registered forthwith" by the registrars.

Collins asked a jury trial in his petition, which is directed against the board of registrars.

Huntsville, Ala., Times
June 25, 1939

NEGRO FILES PETITION FOR RIGHT TO VOTE

BIRMINGHAM, June 24 (AP)—A negro school teacher sought the right to vote today in a petition filed in circuit court here by Arthur Shores, negro attorney.

B. Atkins Collins, the teacher, alleges in his petition that he was denied the right to register by the Jefferson county board of registrars June 9.

Qualified whites, the petition asserts, are "registered forthwith" by the registrars.

Collins asked a jury trial in his petition, which is directed against the board of registrars.

VICTORY RESULT OF LONG FIGHT

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 13.—Negro voters in this city won a signal victory last week in their long fight against disfranchisement when nearly a score of them were registered here for the forthcoming primaries, while an appeal from a Circuit Court decision upholding the local Board of Registrars' right to deny them this privilege was pending.

The victory represented the culmination of a long fight led by Arthur D. Shores, local N.A.A.C.P. attorney to compel local authorities to register qualified Negro voters.

When Negro citizens were refused permission to register here last month, Shores filed a mandamus petition in the local courts to compel the local registration board to register them, Circuit Court Judge J. Russel McElroy denied this petition without hearing June 19. Shores immediately noted an appeal and threatened to take the case to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary.

It was while this appeal was pending that qualified Negro voters were registered. Those who were registered included not only those persons on whose behalf the suit was brought but also other qualified persons.

Birmingham Registrar Yields on Negro Vote

By Robert F. Hall
(Special to the Sunday Worker)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., July 15.—Jefferson County registrars sidestepped a court test of their systematic discrimination against Negros seeking registration as voters. But their action was a confession of the weakness of their position and is generally construed as a victory, in the first round, for the NAACP in its drive for the right to vote for Negroes.

If this seems a little enigmatic, we can retrace the history of the Birmingham franchise cases.

1—The Board of Registrars, during the recent registration period (June 7 to 15) refused to issue voting certificates to Negro applicants, as has been its custom.

2—The NAACP, acting through the young Negro attorney, Arthur D. Shores, filed petitions for six Negro applicants, holding that the refusal to register these applicants was because of their race and constituted a violation of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the U. S. Constitution.

3—Circuit Judge McElroy refused to grant the mandamus called for in the petitions and declined to hold hearings.

4—Attorney Shores filed an appeal.

5—A few days later, the Board of Registrars sent through the mails voting certificates to all six of the petitioners as well as to a large number of Negro applicants who had not filed petitions.

By this last action, the Board of Registrars effectively robbed the NAACP of possible litigants for the present. That is score one for the reactionaries. But this reluctance to face a test case, this confession of the weakness of their position, has not solved anything. The NAACP is determined to take further legal steps when the registration books reopen on August 9.

In such steps, the NAACP has been assured of enthusiastic support by the Negro people of Birmingham. Almost every Negro organization in the city has pledged its support, and it is estimated that 3,000 to 5,000 Negroes will apply for registration in August.

Meanwhile it has been reported that the four school teachers who put their cases in the hands of the NAACP and have challenged the right of the board arbitrarily to deny them their rights as citizens, have been called on the carpet by Dr. B. C. Glenn, Superintendent of Education and threatened with the loss of their jobs unless they withdrew their petitions.

This is not surprising. Dr. Glenn returned from a trip to Italy several years ago singing the praises of Mussolini and promising to introduce Fascisti reforms in the Birmingham school system.

For the benefit of any school officials or other employers who feel inclined to discourage citizens from seeking their constitutional right to vote, we would like to cite Section 5507 of the Revised Federal Statutes. This statute makes it a crime to "prevent, hinder or control" a citizen in the exercise of his suffrage, through bribery, threats, intimidation, or threats to deprive him of his occupation or employment. It fixes a penalty of a $500 fine and a prison term of from one month to one year, or both.

POLITICAL-1939
SUFFRAGE

ALABAMA

POLITICAL MIRACLES ARE HAPPENING IN ALABAMA

But will the good work continue? That is the question foremost in the minds of Alabamians while our Legislature remains in session.

I do not believe in 20 years has Alabama or any other State enjoyed the high type representation we now have at Montgomery but it remains to be seen whether pressure from powerful selfish groups will stop them short of their goal.

Most of us have some definite things in mind which should be done to set us out in front of other states, so I am expressing myself and hope others will do likewise. Those things foremost in my mind are:

OUR SCHOOL SYSTEM—FRANCHISE LAW—FAIR TAXATION—JUSTICE FOR THE SOUTH

I shall admit that these questions cover broad territory and to deal with them frankly requires plenty of political courage, but having no political ambitions I shall take my chances.

I first charge that our schools are not being run for the benefit of our children, referring to the Birmingham Schools in particuar, and that we are not getting full value for our Educational Funds. I am prepared to prove that children are not getting what it takes to meet the demands of life today. Competent surveys reveal that public school graduates are ill-equipped to become useful citizens, and that few have any protection against mob hysteria, propaganda, shallow prejudice, or economic gold bricks. Nothing is taught thoroughly, they are not taught how to study, or summed up do not learn how to learn. I say that our children are being graduated from high school without knowing how to spell, punctuate, speak English properly or to think in a straight line. What we need is a return to real Education, and an abandonment of all these fantastic ideas (some Communistic) of present school leaders. I contend that my children are better qualified to earn a livelihood if they gain a general knowledge than if they learned how to build a boat, house or play football, and I do not mean there should be no place for vocational education or athletics, but I do say that acquiring a smattering of this and that does not equip them to carry on in the kind of America that lies ahead. Many cannot send their children to college so it seems to me a feasible plan to set up at proper locations worthwhile vocational schools of the Junior College type even if it means closing some of these so-called "Normal Schools," I would like to have a good excuse for the large sums being spent for normal schools in Alabama, as tests show that they are turning loose on our children many who should take a post graduate course in a good high school. The first criterion of the effectiveness of one as a teacher is the relationship of their knowledge to the knowledge of the pupil, and I suggest that one who wishes to become informed on this condition write to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, that is, if you are prepared for the shock. We have many excellent teachers in our school systems and I am grateful for what they have done and are doing for my children. What I propose is the re-dedication of our school system to the purposes for which it was originally intended and that can only be done, in my opinion, as follows:

This Legislature vote the funds, say $100,000, and authorize Governor Dixon to set up a Board to make a complete survey, investigation and house-cleaning. The howl by School Politicians for more money to waste, poorly educated children and the teaching of crack pot theories will continue until it is done.

FRANCHISE LAWS

Most of the clamor for changing our Poll Tax Laws are coming from those, uninformed, with selfish motives, who didn't think enough of their government to pay the tax, Northern uplifters, Communists and others having no sincere interst in good government in Alabama. I suggest the uninformed read Claude Bowers "The Tragic Era." Let's arouse in our good Alabamians a desire to pay up, even if it means foregoing the purchase of one of those funny spring hats. I am sure the men would be agreeable to that.

I contend our only hope lies in a Militant White Democratic Party, of and for the South. We didn't have the money 70 years ago to buy negro and scalawag votes and we are little better off now. With all due respect to those who argue that we are one of few States still requiring the payment of poll taxes I say that is the reason we are electing better men to office than they are, and further we have not had a scandal in our Judiciary and that's more than they can say. Seventy years ago they had Sumner, Stevens and Morton trying to enslave the South and we have the same stripe there now trying to do the same thing, but they happen to be Democrats this time appealing for the Northern negro vote. David E. Chamberlain, Yale Graduate, Union Officer with negro troops and last Carpet-bag Governor of South Carolina, wrote in his later years "My hope of elevating the negro by giving him the ballot has proven a delusion." It is a sad condition when men of the type we sent to Montgomery this year had to solicit the support of negro voters in our White Primary. Negroes are voting in Primaries in Jefferson County and nothing is being done about it, and will not until we strengthen our Registration Boards and enforce our Election Laws. It's getting so it takes a goodly sum to be elected to any office in Jefferson County and it would be ten times worse if we ever let down the bars.

In my opinion one of the most important tasks confronting Governor Dixon is the selection of members of Boards of Registrars in some Counties. The enforcement of our Franchise Laws is one of the most important things confronting us.

When it comes to taxation we have several sources where more revenue is available from progressive and just taxation, such as severance or occupational taxes upon natural resources, whiskey ads which are flaunted before the eyes of our children daily, join with other States to amend the 16th amendment to the Constitution limiting Federal taxes on incomes that something be left for States, put a stiff severance tax on timber, certainly on sizes being used by paper mills. And we should amend our ad valorem tax laws to encourage growth of timber and conservation of our farm lands. I am a firm believer that homesteads should be relieved of taxes by the State, County and City and it can be accomplished by proper study. Minnesota collected in 1937 $9,033,930 from occupational tax on iron ore alone. Wisconsin limits ad valorem tax on growing forest lands to 10c per acre. Unless we adopt some measures of protection we shall not have much left, and that in the face of farm incomes less than they were in 1900. Is there nothing we can do at Montgomery to awaken those tongue-tied Southern Democrats in Washington who are permitting the market for our cotton to be destroyed?

If we are to get justice for the South we must make up our mind to wage a real fight even though that fight has to be at the next Democratic Convention. In the meantime we might pass a few retaliatory measures like those imposed against us just to let them know we mean business. We might just as well know now that we shall have to do the fighting with the aid of many influential citizens among us both in business and politics, because they are a part of the system which is and has been robbing us for seventy years.

I have tempered this statement but if there are those who agree in principle I would like to join with them. Let's get together and start the ball rolling.

W. B. HOUSEAL
Farley Building, Birmingham, Ala.

Paid Political Advertisement by W. B. Houseal

Birmingham to Issue Vote Certificates to Negroes

(Special to the Sunday Worker)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Aug. 5.—From two to four thousand Negroes are expected to apply at the Jefferson County Court House for certificates as voters when the registration books open on August 9, for an eight-day period. An educational campaign has been conducted for several weeks by the NAACP and the Southern Negro Youth Congress, with the warm co-operation of virtually every Negro organization in the city.

Negro leaders expect that the Board of Registrars will issue certificates to a large number of the applicants in an effort to avoid a court test of the arbitrary practices which have been used to prevent Negroes from voting. In the recent registration period in June, the NAACP went into court to force registration of six Negro applicants who were denied certificates by the Board. However, before the cases could be appealed to a higher court, the Board hurriedly sent certificates through the mails not only to these six, but to every other Negro applicant whom they had rejected and who would make a possible litigant.

In the present instance, the N. A. A. C. P. is prepared to take up the case of any qualified voter who is rejected by the Board and appeal the case all the way to the United States Supreme Court, if necessary, according to Arthur D. Shores, brilliant young Negro attorney for the organization.

The Alabama constitution sets the qualifications of voters as one who can readand write an article of the constitution or who owns $300 worth of property. There is no question, said Mr. Shores, that a majority of the applicants can fulfill these simple qualifications. The fight, he said, at this stage is not against the law governing qualifications, but against the practices of the Board of Registrars.

Negroes are denied their voting certificates purely and simply because they are members of the Negro race, he said, which is a violation of the 13th and 14th Amendments to the U. S. Constitution.

Friends of Mr. Shores contend that the assault upon the young Negro attorney in the court house last week resulted from his activity in the right to vote campaign. Following the attack, Shores was arrested along with his assailant and during the trial, the state's attorney repeatedly attempted to inject this issue into the case. This was prevented, however, by Shores' own attorney, Crampton Harris, a prominent New Dealer and former law partner of Associate Justice Hugo Black.

Others who have participated in the right to vote campaign have also felt the pressure of the reactionaries. Three school teachers who acted as litigants in the test case were called on the carpet and threatened with dismissal from the county school system unless they withdrew their names.

However, the NAACP has pointed out that there is a Federal statute providing for fine and imprisonment of any one who threatens the loss of employment to any citizen because of his exercising or attempting to exercise the franchise.

TRIAL TO FRAME GEORGIA NEGRO ATTORNEY FAILS

Arrested for Fighting to Win Right of Negroes to Cast Vote; Defense Conducted by Outstanding New Dealer

(Special to the Daily Worker)

BIRMINGHAM, July 28.—An attempt to frame Arthur D. Shores, Negro attorney, active in the fight for the right of Negroes to vote, collapsed here today.

He was acquitted in Police Court by City Judge Martin of charges of disorderly conduct brought against him following an outbreak in connection with his prosecution of a policeman for beating a young Negro prisoner. It happened like this:

The police officer, George Williams, had beaten Will Hall, a prisoner, with a rubber hose. Charges of brutality were brought against him before the Civil Service Board and Shores represented Hall.

The hearing was held Wednesday. As Shores left the hearing room, Monroe Conner, Negro police informer, leaped upon him from behind. W. H. Hillins, Shores' partner and G. H. Lucas, jumped in and pulled Conner off the young attorney.

All four were arrested by the police, who were naturally handy and charged with disorderly conduct.

NEW DEALER DEFENDS

Shores was represented by Crampton Harris, prominent New Dealer and former partner of Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black.

The prosecution did not attempt to make out a case for disorderly conduct against Shores but concentrated his efforts on attacking the attorney's activities in behalf of the Negroes' right to vote. Defense witnesses were asked if they were members of the National Association for the Defense of Colored People.

Shores was acquitted, Lucas and Hillins were fined five dollars each and Conner was fined ten dollars and costs.

Williams was later placed on probation for one year and ordered to appear before the Civil Service Board for a public reprimand.

Negro Right to Vote Campaign Makes Gains

Progress Noted in South Against Vicious 'Lily White' Law

(Special to the Daily Worker)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 27.—The nation-wide campaign for the right of Negroes to vote in local primaries in the South is gaining ground. Work of the Birmingham branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples and the Southern Negro Youth Congress has been completed with tremendous success.

Up until this year, there were hardly 500 qualified Negro voters, although the total Negro population for Jefferson County is approximately 150,000. Through the efforts of the NAACP and the Southern Negro Youth Congress, over 3,000 Negroes have been qualified recently to vote in the primaries. This figure of prospective voters represents the largest number ever to qualify for the ballot since Alabama passed its "lily white" voting laws in 1901.

Registration books in the city open again on November 16, and the drive is being continued to double the number of applicants by that time.

Poll Taxes And Reform

Alabamians who believe that this state's poll tax laws really help improve the electorate, as well as those who believe that the poll tax is an unfair and unwise bar to the right of the ballot, will do well to watch a case involving the Tennessee poll tax laws which is expected to be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States to test the validity of the poll tax.

Henry Purdle, of Grundy County Tennessee, in a recent Congressional primary election, was refused permission to vote because he had not paid a poll tax. Now Purdle is suing the Grundy County Democratic Committee and has taken his case to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, which is expected to act on it at its next session.

Should the case finally reach the Supreme Court and should the Supreme Court rule that the poll tax is illegal, it would become necessary for Alabama to revise its election laws.

Alabama has a preponderance of laws which would prohibit undesirable and unworthy persons from exercising the ballot, in addition to the cumulative poll tax law. Should the poll tax law be declared unconstitutional this state still would be able to keep unworthy persons from voting. As the law now stands it prohibits many worthy and desirable citizens from exercising the privilege of the ballot.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PEFI 63

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SUFFRAGE

ALABAMA

Birmingham, Ala News
March 20, 1939

WOMEN SPLIT ON PLAN TO CHANGE POLL TAX LAWS

Group Official Says Relief For Voters Would Be Detrimental

BY FRED TAYLOR
Birmingham News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — The administration's proposed poll tax law modification amendment to permit persons to vote on payment of two years' back poll taxes was denounced as "dangerous and detrimental" today in letters sent Speaker Hugh Merrill and other House and Senate leaders by the Alabama Council of Democratic Clubs.

The letters, signed by Mrs. Mabel Jones West, Birmingham, chairman of the Alabama Women's Democratic Club and executive secretary of the council, asked the Legislature to kill the poll tax proposal because "we believe that any change would be detrimental to this state and its people and would place us in grave danger of losing what we have spent years in attaining."

The action by the women's Democratic groups followed the appearance before a joint House and Senate committee on amendments last week of Mrs. Albert Lee Thomas, Auburn, chairman of the Alabama Women's Joint Legislative Council, committee on electoral reform, and several other women spokesmen for eight other organizations, including P.-T. A.

Thus two separate groups of women's organizations over the state are supporting and opposing the proposed constitutional amendment on poll taxes, which capitol political observers say is certain to be killed by the House tomorrow at the same time the Senate is meting death to the administration's reapportionment proposal.

The Alabama Council of Democratic Clubs, with headquarters in Birmingham, is headed by Mrs. Charles J. Sharp, chairman. It is composed of the Alabama Women's Democratic Club, headed by Mrs. West; the Jefferson County Democratic Club, headed by Mrs. Velma Brown Smiley, and Democratic Club of Birmingham, headed by Mrs. Gertrude Jeffries.

Letters were sent by the council to Speaker Merrill and House Members James A. Hare, George Miller and Senators O. D. Carlton, C. C. Thomas and James A. Simpson. They stated that since it was not possible for the groups to appear at the committee hearing, when Mrs. Thomas and her group appeared, "that we would like very much to have the following open letter from our organization read during the floor debate on this measure."

The letter asserted in part that "our enemies are the same today that our forefathers fought" and added that "the Alabama Council of Democratic Clubs, composed of thousands of women who have consistently fought to hold what we now have of democracy and white supremacy, believes that to make any change in our poll laws at this time would unleash the dangerous and alien elements emphasized and brought into the South by the recent so-called conference for human welfare in its organized efforts to defy our laws and to break down our traditions."

At the same time E. Homer Brooks, Birmingham, a candidate for lieutenant governor in the last campaign, issued a statement urging members of the House and Senate to back the reapportionment and poll tax amendments "so that we may have a chance to carry out the mandate of the Alabama Constitution in reapportionment and also give us a chance to dismantle the present cumulative poll tax system."

Brooks, who advocated both reapportionment and poll tax changes in his campaign, asked "every committee and organization in the state to cooperate and put up the necessary pressure in obtaining a favorable vote in the Legislature."

In her plea for removal of poll tax barriers, Mrs. Thomas declared that "Alabama is out of step and at the foot of the class regarding poll tax requirements," adding that this is the only state that has cumulative poll tax laws.

She pointed out that less than 20 per cent of persons of voting age in the state participate in elections and argued that Alabama and the South would lose influence and prestige in the Democratic party if such barriers were not removed. She based her contention on reports that representation in Congress likely would be based in the future on the number of votes cast by states, which, if imposed, would reduce Alabama's representation in the national assembly.

Mrs. Thomas, speaking for her groups, said they believed in the complete abolition of poll taxes as fundamentally just, but that they were supporting the two-year amendment as a "step forward." Accompanying her before the committee were Mrs. Frank Grove, representing the American Association of University Women; Mrs. Roland Nachman, Montgomery, representing P.-T. A.; Esther Hagerdorn, representing Montgomery Business and Professional Women's Club; Mrs. L. Christ, Montgomery, representing the Methodist Missionary Society, and Mrs. Joe J. Morris, of Shorter, representing Home Demonstration Clubs.

Other arguments for and against the amendment were made before the committee, with Senator W. W Malone, Athens, asserting that recent registration of Negroes in Limestone County in anticipation of passage and ratification of the amendment indicated adoption of the amendment would tend to increase the Negro vote. Mrs. Thomas argued it would not, contending boards of registrars in various counties kept down the Negro vote.

In its action in sending the open letter to legislative leaders denouncing the proposed poll tax change, the Birmingham group reportedly wanted to impress the legislators that it was not only the Black Belt counties that were opposing the proposal.

"Little counties" outside the Black Belt reportedly likewise have joined the Black Belters in fighting the administration's proposal for reapportioning the Legislature strictly on a population basis, as directed by the state constitution. Reports are that 19 of the 35 senators will vote against reapportionment and that of this number only seven are from Black Belt regions.

Of the bloc of 63 votes in the House the oppositionists claim they have pledged aganst the poll tax amendment, only about one-third hail from the Black Belt, thus tending to show that the "little counties" elsewhere over the state are furnishing opposition to the proposal.

In fact, oppositionists contend it's not a matter of the Black Belt alone fighting the measures, but a question of "little counties" arrayed against the "big counties." The latter classification, of course, means Jefferson, Montgomery and Mobile in the large.

Gov. Dixon's other five constitutional amendments, however, are expected to win quick approval. They propose establishment of a "non-political" parole and pardon system, biennial instead of quadrennial sessions of Legislature, optional use of voting machines by counties, permission of circuit judges to act in certain felony cases, where guilty pleas are entered, without Grand Jury indictment, and permission for investment of trust funds.

A number of other bills also have been introduced in both houses and some of these are on either House or Senate calendar for action tomorrow along with the reapportionment and poll tax proposals.

Mobile Ala. Press
April 22, 1939

Colored Voters Give Endorsement to Inge

A petition signed by 35 colored voters of Mobile today called for the reappointment of Francis H Inge as United States district attorney when his term expires on May 9. The district attorney was praised for his efficiency, ability and the manner in which he conducted the office. The petition was being circulated by Richard Boykin, colored, of 304 North Ann Street.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
June 22, 1939

Advice From The Doctor

EDITOR JULIAN HALL, of The Dothan Eagle, relates that a Dothan doctor got a telephone call from a colored citizen the other day. The negro complained: "Mah wife's mighty sick. Dey's a daid dog out heah, and de odor's made her take to bed. What mus Ah do?"

"I suggest," said the doctor, "that you bury the dog."

Which causes Editor Hall to remark that apparently doctors get as many screwy telephone calls as do newspaper men from convivial groups at 2 a. m., who want to know how many battleships the U. S. had in the War of 1812, "just to settle a bet."

We also suggest that the doctor's story offers a nice commentary on the amazing ability of some of our folks to think and fend for themselves. And who can blame those outsiders for weeping and wailing because the South is so cruel that it refuses to let folks like that darkey and wife decide the fate of the country at the polls?

Negro Grads Can't Vote

Brmingham, Ala., June 28 (By Bob Hall for CNA)—Circuit Court Judge J. Russell McElroy this week denied without hearing a petition for writ of mandamus ordering members of the Board of Registrars to place the names of six Negro petitioners on the voting list.

Pressed by Arthur D. Shores, attorney for the NAACP, the litigation is the first legal step being taken to compel the board to recognize the constitutional rights of Negroes to vote.

The petition was filed on behalf of the following: Alton A Davenport, school teacher, A. B Tuskegee College; Mary C. Holmes, school teacher, A. B. Miles Memorial College; Osiea Mudson, steel worker and member of the National Executive Board of the Workers Alliance; Helen Pauline Ray, school teacher Alabama State Teacher College; Waymans C. Matthews, county school teacher, business man and B. S., Alabama State College; and Ethel Lee Goddam, recreation director, attended Miles Memorial College.

Shores said the case will be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court if a favorable decision is not reached in the lower circuit court, where arguments will shortly be presented before a jury.

'Amending' Session Gets Flying Start

Dixon's 7 Bills Offered In Both Houses And 2 Are Ready To Report

Speedy Schedule

Leaders Plan To Be Gone April 1 Despite Flood Of New Legislation Initiated

3-17-39

The Legislature convened in extraordinary session yesterday at 11 a.m., heard Gov. Dixon's recommendation at noon of seven constitutional amendments and proceeded to preliminary action on the proposals with dispatch.

Legislators, wearied by the grind of the regular session and anxious over their two and a half month absence from their business affairs, hoped to conclude the session at least by April 1, which would set a record of brevity.

Early adjournment, however, appeared somewhat jeopardized due to an unheralded welter of bills introduced yesterday along with the constitutional amendment bills. To expedite action, the Administration's seven bills were introduced in both House and Senate.

Two Bills Reported

The Senate committee on constitution and constitutional revision and constitutional amendments yesterday afternoon approved the amendment bills setting up a new pardon and parole system and the optional use of voting machines.

Gov. Dixon recommended in his address to the Legislature:

1. Automatic reapportionment after every decennial census by a board composed of the Governor, Secretary of State and Attorney General—if the Legislature proves derelict in its constitutional obligation.

2. Requalification of citizens as voters by the payment of poll taxes for two years back and the current year.

3. Biennial instead of quadrennial sessions of the Legislature, the per diem of legislators to be raised from $6 to $10, sessions to be limited to 60 calendar days.

4. Use of voting machines in counties desiring them.

5. Dispense with Grand Jury action when a prisoner wishes to plead guilty and begin his sentence immediately.

6. Investment of trust funds in securities guaranteed by the Federal Government.

7. A new system of pardon and parole, relieving the chief executive of every power save that of commutation of death sentence.

The poll tax amendment, which is in the same sinking boat as the reapportionment measure, would make $3 the repurchase price of a citizen's voting privilege. Opposition to this amendment stems in large part from the specter of a legion of "undesirable" voters getting on the poll lists.

Asked for comment on this at press conference yesterday afternoon, Gov. Dixon characteristically foraged in his middle righthand drawer and pulled out a sheaf of figures with which to make an answer.

"Alabama is clean out of line with other Southern States on its poll tax system," Gov. Dixon commented. "For example, only one other State—Virginia—requires that a citizen pay as far back as three years; three have two-year requalification periods; three have one."

These States, Gov. Dixon went on, have abolished the cumulative feature of Alabama's poll tax law: North Carolina, 1929; Louisiana, 1934; Florida, 1938. There has been no resultant increase of the negro vote, Gov. Dixon pursued.

Gov. Dixon asserted further in support of the poll tax reform:

In West Virginia, which has abandoned the Alabama system, 84 per cent of eligibles are qualified voters; in Alabama, only 19 per cent. There are 870,000 Alabamians eligible to vote; yet the largest vote ever polled—prior to 1930—was about 250,000. In 1935 Mississippi, whose white population is scarcely half of Alabama's, counted 355,000 votes. South Carolina, with less population than Mississippi, voted 347,000.

Arkansas, which has the same poll tax requirements as those proposed in the Dixon amendment, and a million less citizens, derives just as much revenue from this source as Alabama. Virginia, with a smaller population gets $750,000. Alabama gets $350,000 (earmarked for schools).

Although Alabama's population increased 70 per cent between 1892 and 1938, its qualified electors increased only two per cent.

Forty bills

Legislative Schedule

Legislature reconvenes today at noon.

A Senate committee will hold public hearing on the seven proposed constitutional changes.

Other committee meetings: House ways and means, 11:30 a.m.; House judiciary, 9 a.m.

The Right To Vote

A few days ago, Attorney Arthur D. Shores, acting as counsel for native Negro citizens of the United States, and citizens of Birmingham, Jefferson County and Alabama, filed court petitions and appeals seeking the constitutional rights of his clients to register and become qualified electors.

The right to take this action by the petitioners was and is legal, and it was the duty of Lawyer Shores as a member of the bar to serve his clients. Nobody therefore could reasonably assume differently. No lawyer can be true to his profession if he fails to serve his clients in accordance with the standards of that profession when they employ his services. 7-21-39

Most of the persons who applied for registration during the recent period were registered with a reversal of the prevailing practice of first restricting the number to "pass" and by requesting by letter that those who were "approved" come down to the Registrar's office to be given their certificate.

Many of those who had been turned down by the Board of Registrars felt that they measured up to the qualifications of electors and therefore sought to have the courts decide the point, as such redress and protection are provided under Alabama law.

Attorney Shores has risen to national heights for his fearless and unprecedented move in the fight for the civil rights of these clients. Voting is one of the most sacred and precious rights known to an American citizen. Any nullification of this right strikes at a cancellation of the principle upon which democracy is built.

It is with tremendous regret that we view the unwise counter moves to thwart the free course of liberty by the reported use of intimidation, threats and terroizing of Negro citizens to prevent their use of the courts to establish the legality of a citizenship right which it is uncommon to respect as a general thing in this section of the nation. A Negro's right to vote or to use the courts to gain his right to vote is not a matter to be decided by either his skin or the place where he is employed.

One must sense a suspicion of evil forms in the background indirectly working through good men to defeat the campaign to gain registration for every Negro who can lawfully qualify for the ballot. One invokes God that an enlightened view will be taken of this matter. Colored people only want a chance to qualify for every duty and test of citizenship. On what moral, intelligent, legal and modern grounds therefore can any fault be found?

The office of the Attorney General of the United States, we understand, is interested in those cases where efforts operate to interfere with civil liberties. Liberty crushed in one place gives encouragement for destroying it in other places, But the sources from whence come reports that intimidations are being made against those colored people signifying their intent to use the courts to achieve their ballots and make them of alarming concern. And we are not easily excited.

Under the Revised Stature of the United States Second Edition, Chapter 7, of Section 5507, the law reads:

"Every person who prevents, hinders or intimidates another from exercising the right of suffrage, to whom that right is guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, by means of bribery or threats or by depriving such persons of employment or occupation.....shall be punished...."

It simply is neither fair nor decent to tell any one that he must sacrifice his livlihood if he exercises his civil liberty. We ask God to forbid such a course.

We hope that no one who desires his franchise will give up any legal pursuit of it because of anyy devious scheme to the contrary. *"A Voteless People is a Hopeless People."*

Poll Tax Divides Survivors Of 1901 Convention In Reunion

Birmingham News 11-30-39

Paramount issues from which Alabama's organic law was forged in that hot Summer of 1901, particularly the varying views of poll taxes echoed yesterday in the reunion of the surviving members of the historic last State constitutional convention.

Thirteen of the 26 remaining of the original 155 delegates gathered here for a session of good fellowship.

Montgomery Ala.

The poll tax, written into the constitution, was described as "indefensible" by William C. Fitts, convention delegate from Tuscaloosa who, unable to be present yesterday wrote from Washington. Fitts, counsel for the RFC, advocated outright abolition of the tax, and he urged reapportionment of the Legislature on a population basis and new taxation methods to care for unemployment.

William H. Samford, now a member of the State Court of Appeals, voiced an opposite view saying the poll tax presented "the franchise of this State in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon" and said its repeal would be "a long step backward."

Citing that the 1901 constitution stipulated the Legislature should reapportion its representation to care for shifting populations, after each census, Fitts said:

"The Legislature, which was directly commanded to make the correction, flagrantly violated the constitution and succeeding Legislatures have persisted in flouting it. The rotten borough system persists, a system which denies to the citizens of the most populous sections of the State the representation to which they are entitled. This is the negative of democracy."

Efforts of Gov. Dixon to bring about reapportionment and to liberalize requirements for back poll tax payments to reinstate voting privileges were defeated in the last Legislature.

Samford said "the poll tax requirement was the result of the best thought of the greatest minds of that (1901) convention." Some others took a similar view.

Debate Avoided

The reunion never came to a point of debate but each delegate spoke his mind. All that was said headed up to one certain conclusion—that many of the problems and issues of 1901 have outlived the years since that memorable convention adjourned.

At times, however, the speakers veered from the old issues to current matters of government.

J. Thomas Heflin, former Senator and a convention member, said "we have in the White House today the best friend the common man ever had." On the other hand, O. R. Hood, Gadsden, criticized phases of the "New Deal" administration.

Heflin was called upon several times to tell stories, for which he is famous. In one he recalled in that "hot Summer of 1901" while the convention was in session he saw an egg broken and fried in the sun on the capitol steps.

Frank Julian, now head of the State Insurance Department, who was secretary of the 1901 convention, was toastmaster at a luncheon. He addressed the delegates, praising their "great devotion to duty and patriotism." Several speakers lauded the great minds of the elder statesmen now dead who led the convention. One speaker would oppose any "tampering" with the constitution, another would see cause for changes, but all appeared to view the constitution of 1901 as a master instrument of government.

J. Miller Bonner, legal adviser to Gov. Dixon, welcomed the delegates and lauded the guarantees of "due process of law" as embraced in the State's organic law.

Erle Pettus, Birmingham, gave the "in memoriam" address.

Constitution 11-30-39

Survivors Present

Surviving delegates registered were J. Thomas Heflin, La Fayette; John T. Heflin Roanoke; O. R. Hood, Gadsden; W. O. Mulkey, Geneva; John W. O'Neill, Birmingham; Erle Pettus, Birmingham; E. A. Phillips, Ashland; H. F. Reese, Selma; L. H. Reynolds, Clanton; J. O. Sentell, Luverne; J. Fritz Thompson, Birmingham; Mike Sollie, Ozark, and W. H. Samford.

Frank Julian, convention secretary, and J. B. Barnett, of Monroeville, a journal clerk, also were present, as were the following who served as pages: Joe King, Anniston; Dr. Cecil Gaston, Birmingham, and Henry Reese, Selma.

In his letter to the convention, Fitts wrote:

"The constitution of 1901 failed to capture the vision of civilization's growing concern for the improvement of conditions under which people must accommodate themselves to changing wants and requirements.

"Disfranchisement for failure to pay delinquent poll taxes, accumulated through years in which the citizen had no productive capacity, is indefensible in this day and time.

"Some of us would not have assented to these requirements but for the promise of reapportionment of representation. . . .

"Unemployment is to be a perpetual problem.

"How to meet this perpetual problem is the dire problem of the present. If the prosperous are to forever hand out to the jobless, the one will become supercilious and the other envious. Class hatred will ensue."

Later in his message, Fitts said that a "system of taxation designed to meet the problems of agrarian economy of 1901 is hopelessly inadequate in this age . . . the burden of supporting the necessary function of the State must be shifted from the land to the true indicia of wealth i. e., income, securities, personal property and privileges."

OF CONSTITUTION OKEH BY FRAMERS

News 11-30-39 Birmingham, Ala

Surviving Delegates Indicate Opposition To Changes Despite Strong Plea

BY FRED TAYLOR
Birmingham News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Although no action was taken on a proposal for abolition of Alabama's constitutionally provided cumulative poll tax requirements, except for a sharp warning voiced in an address by Justice William H. Sanford against changing the voting levy, surviving members of the 1901 Constitutional Convention reunion here yesterday almost to a man indicated strong opposition to making any changes in what they consider a master instrument of government.

The handful of surviving delegates to that memorable convention—only 13 of 26 surviving members were present at the reunion—never voted on anything except to name permanent officers and to meet annually hereafter, instead of every three years. But all expressed themselves to cite reasons why they consider the 1901 Constitution a nearly perfect governmental document and one adopted in changing times that still fills a great need.

The proposal for abolishing poll tax requirements was made in a statement read from an absent member of the convention—William C. Fitts, of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in Washington, who served in the cenvention from Tuscaloosa—who asserted that the voting levy is "indefensible." Fitts' communication, which was read and filed without comment, not only proposed poll tax abolition, but also urged reappointment of legislative representation and new taxation methods to care for unemployed.

Birmingham News

Justice Samford, of Alabama Court of Appeals, a member of the convention, responding to this and other proposals for poll tax changes warned against tampering with the constitution or removing the restrictive voting levy provisions.

"The poll tax requirement was the result of best thought of the greatest minds of that convention and has resulted in preserving the electorate of this state in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon people," said Judge Samford. "If it should ever happen that poll tax requirements in that constitution be changed and our electorate thrown open, it would be a long step backward. Nobody can say anybody controls this state but the white people in it."

Fitts' statement was read to the reunion by Frank N. Julian, Alabama insurance commissioner and secretary of the convention, who was unanimously chosen permanent secretary of the reunion organization. John W. O'Neill, only surviving Jefferson County member, who feted the group at a luncheon at Jefferson Davis Hotel, was chosen permanent presiding officer.

Anniston, Ala. Star
November 29, 1939

POLL TAX LAW ATTACKED BY WILL C. FITTS

Ex - Annistonian Deplores Disfranchisement Of White Voters

CONSTITUTION MEETING SURVIVORS IN REUNION

Joe King Only Surviving Member From This City

Joseph H. King, son of a one-time prominent local attorney, is now the only Anniston surviving member of the 1901 Constitutional Convention, of which the late John B. Knox of this city was chairman. Mr. King attended the meeting held in Montgomery today, he having served in the capacity of page when the Constitution was drafted.

Another surviving former Annistonian who was a member of the convention was W. C. Fitts, former attorney general of the state, but now connected with the RFC in Washington, to which position he was appointed after having managed Roosevelt's campaign in this state.

Unable to attend the convention, Mr. Fitts sent a letter to be read by the secretary and forwarded a copy to The Anniston Star. He says:

"The Constitution of 1901 which we framed is a distinct improvement upon its predecessors, but it failed to capture the vision of civilization's growing concern for the improvement of conditions under which people must accommodate themselves to changing wants and requirements. It naturally came about that this Constitution was a narrow instrument, concerned with and mainly executed to accomplish one particular purpose. Like any work done under such an aegis, it was over-done as I earnestly argued at the time.

"Disfranchisement for failure to pay delinquent poll taxes, accumulated through years in which the citizens had no productive capacity is indefensible in this day and time. Unfortunately, the instrument also leaves room for arbitrary exclusion of many worthy and well-behaved Negroes from any participation in the conduct of the government to which they contribute. Unless the state voluntarily brings itself to a reformation meeting these well-warranted criticisms of binding restrictions, too severe when inflicted and now outworn, aroused intelligent public opinion from within and vigorous, pestiferous interference from without will be encountered before very long.

Reapportionment Promised

"Some of us would not have assented to these drastic requirements but for the promise of reapportionment of representation. We embodied in the organic law the following: "It will be the duty of the Legislature at its first session after taking of the census of 1910 and after each subsequent census, to reapportion the membership of the Legislature on the basis of the new population."

"The essence of representative democracy is that the people shall participate in the legislative branch

of the government in direct proportion to their numbers. The Legislature, which was directly commanded to make the correction, flagrantly violated the Constitution and succeeding Legislatures have persisted in flouting it. The rotten borough system persists, a system which denies to the citizens of the most populous sections of the state the representation to which they are entitled. This is the negation of democracy.

Unemployment To Stay

"All the people of the state will never again be employed during long stretches of time. No need to ask the reason why. Anyone who looks at a steam shovel at work for five minutes, and then thinks, has the answer. Unemployment is to be a perpetual problem. How to meet this perpetual problem is the dire problem of the present. If the properous are to forever hand out to the jobless, the one will become supercilious and the other envious. Class hatred will ensue. When Egypt had too many fellahs for the fields they were put to building pyramids and tombs. When Rome had too **many captives for the triumphs and circuses they were put to building roads and aqueducts. Permanent improvements and beautiful structures outstay piles of dead leaves. A man with a mallet in his hand is more respected and more self-respecting than a man leaning on a shovel.**

"The time has long since passed when the sole function of the state is that of a benign arbiter between clashing individuals and groups. It should be recognized that the state must assume ever-increasing obligations and responsibilities of a character not contemplated in 1901. To meet these obligations new sources of revenue must be sought. A system of taxation designed to meet the problems of agrarian economy of 1901 is hopelessly inadequate in this age. Land, once a reliable criterion of the ability to pay, is now too often a liability rather than an asset. The burden of supporting the necessary functions of the state must be shifted from land to the true indicia of wealth, i. e., income, securities, personal property and privileges."

Poll Tax Divides Survivors Of 1901 Convention In Reunion

Paramount issues from which Alabama's organic law was forged in that hot Summer of 1901, particularly the varying views of poll taxes echoed yesterday in the reunion of the surviving members of the historic last State constitutional convention.

Thirteen of the 20 remaining of the original 155 delegates gathered here for a session of good fellowship.

The poll tax, written into the constitution, was described as "indefensible" by William C. Fitts, convention delegate from Tuscaloosa who, unable to be present yesterday wrote from Washington. Fitts, counsel for the RFC, advocated outright abolition of the tax, and he urged reapportionment of the Legislature on a population basis and new taxation methods to care for unemployment.

William H. Samford, now a member of the State Court of Appeals voiced an opposite view saying the poll tax presented "the franchise of this State in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon" and such a repeal would be "a backward."

Citing that the 1901 constitution stipulated the Legislature should reapportion its representation to care for shifting populations, after each census, Fitts said:

"The Legislature, which was directly commanded to make the correction, flagrantly violated the constitution and succeeding Legislatures have persisted in flouting it. The rotten borough system persists, a system which denies to the citizens of the most populous sections of the State the representation to which they are entitled. This is the negative of democracy."

Efforts of Gov. Dixon to bring about reapportionment and to liberalize requirements for back poll tax payments to reinstate voting privileges were defeated in the last Legislature.

Samford said "the poll tax requirement was the result of the best thought of the greatest minds of that (1901) convention." Some others took a similar view.

Debate Avoided

The reunion never came to a point of debate but each delegate spoke his mind. All that was said headed up to one certain conclusion—that many of the problems and issues of 1901 have outlived the years since that memorable convention adjourned.

At times, however, the speakers veered from the old issues to current matters of government.

J. Thomas Heflin, former Senator and a convention member, said "we have in the White House today the best friend the common man ever had." On the other hand, O. R. Hood, Gadsden, criticized phases of the "New Deal" administration.

Heflin was called upon several times to tell stories, for which he is famous. In one he recalled in that "hot Summer of 1901" while the convention was in session he saw an egg broken and fried in the sun on the capitol steps.

Frank Julian, now head of the State Insurance Department, who was secretary of the 1901 convention, was toastmaster at a luncheon. He addressed the delegates, praising their "great devotion to duty and patriotism." Several speakers lauded the great minds of the elder statesmen now dead who led the convention. One speaker would oppose any "tampering" with the constitution another would see cause for changes but all appeared to view the constitution of 1901 as a better instrument of government.

J. Miller Bonner, legal adviser to Gov. Dixon, welcomed the delegates and lauded the guarantees of "due process of law" as embodied in the State's organic law.

Erle Pettus, Birmingham, gave the "in memoriam" address

Survivors Present

Surviving delegates registered were J. Thomas Heflin, La Fayette; John T. Heflin Roanoke; O. R. Hood Gadsden; W. O. Mulkey, Geneva John W. O'Neill, Birmingham; Erle Pettus, Birmingham; E. A. Phillips Ashland; H. F. Reese, Selma; L. H. Reynolds, Clanton; J. O. Sentell, Luverne; J. Fritz Thompson, Birmingham; Mike Sollie, Ozark, and W. H. Samford.

Frank Julian, convention secretary, and J. B. Barnett, of Monroeville, a journal clerk, also were present, as were the following who served as pages: Joe King, Anniston; Dr. Cecil Gaston, Birmingham, and Henry Reese, Selma.

In his letter to the convention, Fitts wrote:

"The constitution of 1901 failed to capture the vision of civilization's growing concern for the improvement of conditions under which people must accommodate themselves to changing wants and requirements.

"Disfranchisement for failure to pay delinquent poll taxes, accumulated through years in which the citizen had no productive capacity, is indefensible in this day and time.

"Some of us would not have assented to these requirements but for the promise of reapportionment of representation. . . .

"Unemployment is to be a perpetual problem.

"How to meet this perpetual problem is the dire problem of the present. If the prosperous are to forever hand out to the jobless, the one will become supercilious and the other envious. Class hatred will ensue."

Later in his message, Fitts said that a "system of taxation designed to meet the problems of agrarian economy of 1901 is hopelessly inadequate in this age . . . the burden of supporting the necessary functions of the State must be shifted from the land to the true indicia of wealth i. e., income, securities, personal property and privileges."

21 Is A Magic Age In A Land Of Working Democracy

About 30,000 young Alabamians will be 21 years of age when the people of this state go to the polls next year to help elect a president of the United States, congressmen judges and lesser but still important officers. How many of these "new citizens" will step up to a ballot box and experience the first real thrill of being an American citizen, the casting of a vote?

All young men and women who will be 21 next year can now register as voters. In Jefferson County they may register at the Board of Registrars at the Courthouse.

For the first time in Alabama the young man and young woman of 21 will be recognized as new citizens with a formal ceremony when the Alabama Citizenship Day programs are held over the state. In Birmingham the Citizenship Day program will be held at 8 p.m. Thursday at the Municipal Auditorium.

Col. Harry Ayers, publisher of *The Anniston Star* and one of the first citizens of Alabama, will address the young voters at the ceremony here Thursday. Col. Ayers, an inspiring speaker, has been an active citizen of his native state for many years. He loves Alabama and understands it. He knows the good points and the faults of his fellow Alabamians as citizens. What he will have to say should be of particular interest to all Alabamians, 21 to 81.

The young men and women just becoming 21 are to be congratulated. Before them lies an opportunity to take an active, vital part in the management of their governmental units, in the building of their communities.

Within a few years the young new citizens of 1940 will be in charge of their state. Should we not help them start on the right path? Should we not encourage every intelligent, enthusiastic, energetic young man and young woman we know to register as a voter and become a real citizen at the magic age of 21?

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

POLITICAL- 1939
SUFFRAGE

ALABAMA

Negro Vote Crux Of Debate Betwixt Bruce Shelton-John Temple Graves

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(SNS)—A lively editorial debate between Columnist John Temple Graves (of the Birmingham Age-Herald and Editor Bruce Shelton of the Tuscaloosa was reported in three full columns of "Alabama" (News Magazine of the Deep South) in the issue of Nov. 13, 1939.

Columnist Graves, the magazine reported, contended that "sense, not dollars, should be the prerequisite to voting," claiming that the "Negro vote" was not involved, therefore opponents of poll tax reform for other reasons should not attempt to drag it in.

Retorted Editor Shelton, says the magazine, "The chief opposition to the repeal of the poll tax in Alabama comes from those counties which have a heavy Negro population....If these counties do not oppose the repeal of the poll tax on the Negro issue, then why do they choose it."

"Repeal of poll tax," the Alabama magazine reported Editor Shelton as writing, "would endanger the structure of white supremacy." "This newspaper (Tuscaloosa News) believes in white supremacy and it believes that the poll tax is one of the essentials for the preservation for white supremacy." The question was inferentially resolved to a "democracy with racial equality" and a "democracy with white supremacy," the latter favored by the Tuscaloosa editor.

Still plugging for poll tax reform, Columnist Graves is reported by the magazine as coming back defending "our own principal point that whatever needs to be done or is going to be done in the matter of restricting the vote of the Negro can be done more effectively and with less curruption through the education qualification than thru the poll tax."..."There is nothing radical in believeing that an educational requirement rather than a poll tax should be the instrument for restricting the franchise to persons qualified for the exercise of it and or maintaining the political ascendency of the white man in the South."

Then in its lead editorial, magazine "Alabama took up the "wooden horse of poll tax reform," naming in its bill of condemnation the New Deal, The Southern Conference for Human Welare, magazine "Look, Joe Gelders "pastel publishers and cosmopolitan publishers of the South."

It accused the campaign for poll tax abolition on "agitation" of "meddling missionaries" seeking a push-button "civilization "and asserted Alabama and the South's constitutional right to be left alone."

In a deceptive, disjointed and disconnected paragraph which was inconsistent in construction it said "A Negro Democratic Club was chartered in Alabama by the Democratic National Committee the other day, and the sound leadership of Tuskegee's President Patterson is scorned by those from afar who know nothing of the South and wish for another reconstruction directed from Washington."

POLITICAL- 1939 D.C.
SUFFRAGE

Propose Plan to Make Capital City a Municipality

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16—(By ANP) — A plan, recommended last Saturday to Congrress by E. O. Griffenhagen and Associates, provides for creation of a city council form of government and appointment of a highly-paid single administrator to run the city of Washington. The civic experts also left the door wide open for congress—should it so desire—to establish local suffrage here. About 25 per cent of Washington's Negro population are of voting age and will constitute a "balance of power" in local elections, should the proposed plan be adopted.

Pittsburgh Courier

NEGROES VOTE IN DEFIANCE OF KLAN

Record Balloting Answer To Hooded Miami Threat

MIAMI, Fla., May 2—(AP)—Negroes ignored warnings issued during a spectacular demonstration by paraders in Ku Klux Klan regalia to cast a record vote today in a city primary election.

City Clerk Frank J. Kelly said Negroes voted at a 5 to 1 greater ratio than ever before at one large precinct where separate poll books and balloting machines were installed to avert possible disorders. Kelly said more than 500 Negro votes were cast at that precinct alone and estimated the previous record for a city election at "scarcely more than 150."

Police Chief H. Leslie Quigg, who assured the Negro Citizens Service League through Kelly Monday that there would be no disorder, dispersed a rapidly-growing group of white men opposite the Negro polling place Tuesday. The men left after a few words from Quigg, who declined to disclose what he told them.

Monday night's demonstration, in which white-robed men in more than 50 license-shielded automobiles paraded through the Negro section, followed an appeal by the Service League for protection against racial violence. The petition, presented to Kelly, referred to "threats made by certain candidates, apparently to intimidate qualified Negro citizens."

The paraders burned 25 fiery crosses and distributed red-lettered cards reading: "Respectable Negro citizens not voting tomorrow. Niggers stay away from the polls." An effigy bearing a card reading "this nigger voted" was hung on a pole near one polling place.

Miami Negroes Ignore Pre-Election Warning

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St. Petersburg, Fla., Times.
May 2, 1939

Negro Voters Ask Protection

MIAMI.—(AP)—The Negro Citizens' Service league appealed yesterday for protection of negro voters from racial violence in today's city primary election and was told Police Chief H. Leslie Quigg would preserve order.

A letter presented to City Clerk Frank J. Kelly by the league's advisory board mentioned "threats made by certain candidates, apparently to intimidate qualified negro citizens." It asked for "such precautionary measures as, in your judgment, you deem necessary to insure the protection of negro voters from racial violence at the polls."

Kelly told the delegation he already had been assured by Chief Quigg and his officers that order would be preserved.

About 48,000 Miamians are qualified for the primary, in which six of 15 city commission candidates will be selected for a runoff election May 9. At that time three will be elected to the five-member commission.

Mayor E. G. Sewell and Commissioner R. C. Gardner are candidates for re-election but a third commissioner, Mrs. Anna M. Perry, is retiring. Sewell, Alexander Orr Jr., and C. D. Van Orsdel were elected two months ago to replace Mayor Robert R. Williams, John W. Du Bose and Ralph B. Ferguson, who were recalled after an 18 months' legal battle.

The terms of Orr and Van Orsdel have two more years to run.

Tallahassee, Fla Democrat
May 2, 1939

MIAMI NEGROES VOTE DESPITE KLAN'S THREAT

Burning Cross Parade Warned Them to Stay Away From Polls

MIAMI, (AP)—City election officials predicted today a record negro vote despite a warning by paraders in Ku Klux Klan regalia.

The Daily News estimated at noon 350 negroes had voted in one of the city's three negro precincts. City Clerk Frank J Kelly said the previous record in a city election was "about 500," and that an estimated 1,800 negroes were registered.

An effigy bearing the legend "this nigger voted" hung from a pole opposite a precinct polling place as the primary election opened.

75-Car Parade

White-robed and capped men paraded in 75 automobiles through the negro section last night, burned 25 crosses and threw out red-lettered cards with "K K K" on them, warning negroes to stay away from the polls. A hangman's noose dangled from one of the cars.

"The Klan demonstration has really inspired the negro to vote," Sam Solomon, president of the negro citizens service league, said. He estmated at least 1,500 negroes would cast ballots.

The league appealed yesterday to Kelly for protection of negro voters from racial violence, mentioning "threats made by certain candidates." Kelly assured league spokesmen the police would preserve order. A record registration of 50,369 was reported.

Mayor Is Candidate

Mayor E G Sewell, elected only two months ago to fill an unexpired term after three city commissioners were recalled, was among 15 candidates. Commissioner R C Gardner also sought re-election and among the other candidates was George L (Tiny) Parker, who retired as a National league baseball umpire after last season.

The six high candidates today will go into a runoff election next Tuesday for three commission vacancies.

Jacksonville, Fla Times-Union
May 2, 1939

Negro Voters Ask For Protection In Miami Election

MIAMI, May 1, (AP)—The Negro Citizens Service League appealed today for protection of negro voters from racial violence in tomorrow's city primary election and was told Police Chief H. Leslie Quigg would preserve order.

A letter presented to City Clerk Frank J. Kelly by the League's advisory board, mentioned "threats made by certain candidates, apparently to intimidate qualified negro citizens." It asked for "such precautionary measures as, in your judgment, you deem necessary to insure the protection of negro voters from racial violence at the polls."

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Tampa, Fla Tribune
May 4, 1939

Klan Fails To Scare

Nearly 1000 negroes voted in the Miami primary Tuesday in the face of threats and intimidations by hooded Klansmen. It marked the first time in the city's history that negro citizens made an organzed effort to register and vote. In previous elections not more than 50 negro votes were cast.

A Ku Klux Klan demonstration in which 25 fiery crosses were set up and warnings of noosed ropes exhibited to the negroes failed to prevent their appearance at the polls. Rather it served to inspire them to vote.

The fact that there was no disorder at any of the polling places speaks well for the efficient Miami police. But more than that, it indicates that the Klan did not see fit at the time to carry out its threat and that Miami negroes are no longer afraid of an organization which in the past has caused them to hesitate before exercising their legal right to cast a ballot.

The Klan seems to be losing its "punch." Founded on terrorism, it no longer scares even the humble negroes of Miami.

PRIMARY FOR WHITES ONLY VOTED FOR MIAMI

Tallahasse, Fla.—The Florida senate Wednesday passed a house-approved bill setting up a municipal primary for white persons only in Miami.

Men in white robes recently paraded through the Negro section warning Negroes to stay away from the polls. A large number of Negroes voted in last week's primary despite the demonstration.

Under the measure which now goes to the governing, a primary would be held only if more than six candidates qualified for the three commission offices to be filled. The six thus nominated by white voters would face further voting a week later in a general election in which Negroes could participate.

FLORIDA

Black Ballots

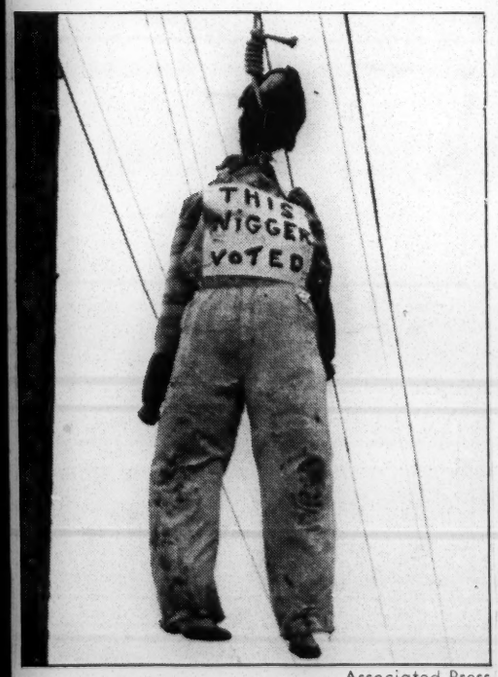
For its crusade to disinfect Miami's city hall of political dysentery, the Miami *News* won a Pulitzer Prize. Miami got a new mayor and, this week, a new city commission. In last week's primary for the commissioners, a lot of Miami Negroes got something they never had had before: a vote.

In the reform wave whipped up by the *News* Negro leaders saw their chance to improve the condition of Miami's ramshackle, malodorous Negro section on the city's east side. They stirred up such interest in the commission primary that election officials provided two extra, segregated voting machines in the chief Negro polling place, the fifth precinct fire station. Evening before primary day, certain white citizens took other precautions.

After dark, a parade of 75 automobiles, their license plates shrouded, drove through the Negro district. In the cars rode white-hooded figures, distributing threats lettered in red, twirling a suggestive nangman's noose. At 25 street corners the Ku-Kluxers paused to plant and ignite fiery crosses. From a pole they hung a black effigy labeled: "This nigger voted."

Night of the parade, policemen were conspicuously absent from the Negro section. But on primary day, spurred by Police Chief H. Leslie Quigg who was spurred by publicity, police dispersed ominous knots of white men near the polling places. Before the polls closed, more than 1,000 Negroes cast ballots, mostly for the reform candidates. By City Clerk Frank J. Kelly's estimate, this was 20 times more than in any previous Miami election. Incidental result of the primary: the reform administration elected a complete city council.

* Just how old-fashioned this sort of Labor fighting has become, Chicago's City Council demonstrated last week. The Council agreed to build a grandstand for memorial services for ten Little Steel strikers who were shot & killed by Chicago police on Memorial Day, 1937.



Associated Press

MIAMI'S VOTE-SCARER
Its creators wore hoods.

Pensacola, Fla. News
May 3, 1939

NEGROES BALLOT AS DO WHITES

Ratio in Miami City Race Nearly Same

MIAMI, May 3.—(AP)—Negro citizens who ignored a spectacular warning by hooded and white-robed figures not to vote in the city primary were shown in unofficial returns today to have made nearly identical selections of city candidates as white voters.

A special polling booth where negroes alone voted permitted the analysis. A total of 616 votes were cast there, and except for one candidate the election results among the negroes and whites were the same.

The exception was John T. Christiansen, who prior to yesterday's primary made public a letter to City Clerk Frank J. Kelly asking him to throw out any negro votes that might be cast for him. Christiansen was in sixth place when returns were tabulated, but at the negro booth he received only 23 votes.

Election officials said about 1,000 negroes voted. Here are the returns, with those from the negro booth shown separately

Mayor E. G. Sewell—total, 15,821; negro, 422.

Fred . Hosea—total, 10,084; negro, 253.

R. C. Gardner, (incumbent)—total, 7,732; negro, 196.

Randolph B. Railey—total, 7,328; negro, 192.

George E. McCaskill—total, 7,228; negro, 117.

John T. Christiansen—total, 4,214; negro 23.

These six high candidates face a runoff election for three city commission offices next Tuesday. Nine other candidates were in the primary.

Tampa, Fla. Tribune
May 2, 1939

Miami Negroes Ask Protection in City Primary Vote Today

MIAMI, May 1.—(A.P.)—The Negro Citizens Service league appealed today for protection of negro voters from racial violence in tomorrow's city primary election and was told Police Chief H. Leslie Quigg would preserve order.

A letter presented to City Clerk Frank J. Kelly by the league's advisory board mentioned "threats made by certain candidates, apparently to intimidate qualified negro citizens." It asked for "such precautionary measures as, in your judgment, you deem necessary to insure the protection of negro voters from racial violence at the polls."

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The terms of Orr and Van Orsdel have two more years to run.

Tells N.A.A.C.P. Conference How Florida Voters Defied Ku Kluxers

RICHMOND, Va., June 30—A high courage, an organizational unity, and a fixed determination to exercise their constitutional right to vote, were the characteristics which enabled 1,000 Race citizens to turn out at the polls in Miami, Fla., May 1, despite the terrorist threats of the Ku Klux Klan.

This was a part of the inside story as told to the thirtieth annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People here Tuesday, June 27, by Samuel B. Solomon, who organized the Miami voters in their historic action.

Mr. Solomon was among the speakers at the opening meeting of the conference held in the Mosque auditorium here.

Nathan Straus, administrator of the United States Housing Authority, told the conference about new avenues of Government housing in the fields of slum clearance, low-cost housing projects and the relationship of these things to better health for all citizens of the country as a whole.

Former Judge William H. Hastie, who recently resigned his post as federal judge for the Virgin Islands, sounded the keynote of the conference in a review of the struggle for citizenship rights for the Race, which the association has prosecuted, during the past thirty years.

POLITICAL - 1939
SUFFRAGE

FLORIDA

MIAMI NEGRO LEADER TELLS HOW HIS PEOPLE DEFIED AND BEAT K. K. K.

3 Candidates Supported Won Their Elections Despite Terror

By Ben Davis
(Special to the Daily Worker)

RICHMOND, Va., July 2.—In a quiet manner bespeaking courage and determination, Samuel B. Solomon, 38-year-old Negro leader of Miami, Fla., told the amazing story of how he led 1,500 of his people to the polls in Miami last May 2, despite Ku Klux terror.

"I don't know how it was done, and I can hardly tell it. But I know it was done. I never would be able to stay in the city now if the Negroes hadn't supported me by voting, and if a lot of white people hadn't helped me," he said modestly.

Solomon told his story in a special interview with the Daily Worker at 105 W. Leigh St., where he is stopping while attending the 30th Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, taking place here.

"One thing I do know, the Negroes are going to vote from now on in Miami, Klan or no Klan. The days of frightening us out of our rights by the use of white sheets are long gone," he went on.

Solomon is about five feet, seven in height, slender, and weighs about 135 pounds. He speaks scarcely above a whisper, and is very retiring in manner. He talks deliberately, is shy about making speeches, but is "willing to tell my story over and over again if it will help other Negroes to vote."

He has a stubborn fearless poker-face which lights up occasionally when he engages, almost unwittingly, in biting sarcasm and humor. He is a printer by trade, but is now an undertaker in Miami.

ACTION GAINS RESULTS

"Since we voted, the grand jury has condemned 10 blocks of slums in the Negro districts. I left the city surveying the Negro section for pavements, never before in the town. And with the assistance of the Federal Government, we are going to have some low-rent houses," Solomon said, recounting some of the achievements which have already begun since the historic vote of May 2.

The young Negro told a story of sitting in his home with his greased Winchester in his lap awaiting the Klan, and how 350 Negroes, equipped for anything, stood determined to defend their homes if necessary.

"Some of the newspapers said that the Reds were behind me. But there was no connection between us and any other organization. Many organizations supported us including the longshoremen," Solomon explained.

"This was such a setback to the Klan, that they quit wearing their robes, broke off from the parent organization. The robes we saw them wear just made us grit our teeth with determination to vote.

"We told Miami, we had decided to challenge the Klan for our lawful democratic rights," he went on.

The history-making vote of the Negroes in Miami was flashed all over the country last May 2, when 1,500 Negroes walked by all sorts of Klan terror to vote for the first time in 20 years. Reactionary officials had gone almost unchallenged in their brazen nullification of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution. There were city ordinances to the effect that Negroes were not allowed in the white section of the jim-crow city after dark, unless employed there, or had special passes. Other democratic rights were wantonly violated.

Samuel B. Solomon, Negro undertaker of Miami, Fla., who led 1,000 Negro voters who defied Ku Klux Klan terror in Miami on May 2. He received a tremendous ovation at Opening session of NAACP conference. Said he, "Negroes are going to vote from now on in Miami, Klan or no Klan."

"I began undertaking business in Miami about five years ago. Things for the Negroes simply got so bad that I felt that I had to help improve conditions or leave the city. And I chose to improve things," said Solomon explaining the motive of his organzing the Negro Citizens Service League.

"I went down to the City Commission to find out why something couldn't be done about health conditions in the Negro section. Thirty-five thousand Negroes lived in 20 blocks of slums. The shacks were so close together you could sit in the window of one and shake hands with a person lying in the bed across in the other. In front of my place, the garbage was piled so high, you could hardly get in and out. There was little or no protection for Negro women and children. Police brutality was common as dirt almost.

ALL FOR IT!

"The City Commissioners said 'nothing doing' to my requests. They said the Negroes didn't vote them in or out of office, so why should they pay any attention to our requests. Well, that gave me the key. And the Negro people were all for it. Soon we had things going and put out a program of community betterment for the Negro section of the city," Solomon explained.

The night before the election the Ku Klux Klan distributed in the Negro neighborhoods throwaways which said the following:

"Respectable Negro citizens are not voting Tommorow—Niggers stay away from the polls. KKK."

"But that didn't scare us any," Solomon continued, "when the Negroes read that they knew they had to vote. They knew they'd have to put people in office who wouldn't stand for such hooded tactics."

"Then something else happened. That same night I rode out in my car, and ran smack into the biggest Klan parade I ever saw. There were 73 carloads of nightshirt guys and a truck in front loaded down with crosses. They were burning these fiery crosses on every corner of the Negro neighborhood.

"So I went on to my office, more and more determined to vote. I found there about fifty Negroes who asked me what I was going to do. I said, 'Vote.' 'They said that's all we want,' and at the same time they took out their Winchesters and muskets. They were ready along with 300 more, for anything.

"The editor of the Miami Herald called me and asked me whether the Ku Klux Klan had been to see me. I replied 'No, but he could send them down if they wanted to come.' The Klan never showed up, even to this day," he said.

ICE CREAM FAILED

Solomon explained that one of the candidates for City Commission said he didn't want a "single Negro vote," but he later lived to regret it. The candidate, J. T. Christiansen, head of the Miami Ice Cream & Dairy Company, sold ice cream at the Negro junior high school. The children posted slogans which read:

"Mr. Christiansen doesn't want our votes, and we don't want his ice cream."

"Then Mr. Christiansen, repudiated his repudiation of the Negro vote. But it was too late, and he had to withdraw from the race," Solomon said with hardly a ripple in his face. "And by the way," he added, "Mr. Christiansen didn't sell any more ice cream."

"The day of election 300 Negroes voted the first two hours after the polls were opened. That was more Negroes than had voted in 50 years in Miami. Three of the candidates we voted for won."

Accompanying the Klan terror against the Negroes some of the newspapers, particularly the Miami Life carried on a special wild anti-Negro campaign. Solomon showed one viciously insulting headline in the paper this paper which said:

"Heavy Registration in Darktown Alarms Police."

"But now that we show we're not going to be so easily frightened, some of these same newspapers are friendly to us," Solomon explained confidently.

The platform around which the Negroes rallied to vote was for: better sanitary conditions; paved streets and sidewalks; elimination of slums; garbage and rubbish to be removed from streets; parks and improved hospitals; and protection for Negro women and children. It was a platform of struggle for practically any Negro community anywhere in America. "A lot of them said this platform made me a Red," Solomon said.

Solomon has received greetings from all over the country, including the late James H. Desverney, one of theorganizers of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Oregon Commonwealth Federation, and others.

He has received queries from Negro communities in any number of Southern cities asking him how he did it and urging him to send them the prescription.

Asked whether they hadn't passed a law since May 2, to keep the Negroes from voting, Solomon replied:

"Yes, they passed such a law. They railroaded it through the legislature and it's unconstitutional. We're not bothered about it. We are going to fight it. We're going to register and vote in Miami next time not 1,500 strong, but six to ten thousand strong. That's our answer."

Solomon's story is a product of the new and developing progressive South, and will in turn inspire the whole right-to-vote movement in the South today.

A Little Good News About The Cotton Situation

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture reports an increase in world consumption of American cotton for the current marketing year. The marketing year will end on Aug. 1, and by that time, it is expected, world consumption of American cotton will have reached 11,250,000 bales, compared with 10,900,000 bales in the previous year.

This, of course, is good news for American cotton growers and cotton dealers. But it will take a great deal more improvement to make the cotton situation assume a healthy look. For the picture is still depressing, and is likely to remain so for a good while to come. Naturally, however, anything that means any real improvement in the cotton situation is to be welcomed.

While world consumption of American cotton during this marketing season has increased by about 350,000 bales over the year before, there remains a world surplus of 14,250,000 bales grown in this country. This does not mean the total world surplus, but just the surplus of American cotton. In addition, there is a world surplus of between 8,000,000 and 8,250,000 bales of foreign cotton. This makes the total world surplus more than 22,000,000 bales. When one contemplates that huge figure, it is not at all surprising that cotton prices should be as low as they are.

The 14,250,000-bale surplus of American cotton which is expected to be on hand when the new crop starts moving to market in August will be the largest on record. A great part of this surplus was due to the crop of more than 18,000,000 bales produced in the United States in 1937, the largest production in history. Obviously, if it had not been for this huge overproduction year before last, the American cotton surplus would not be nearly so large now.

If we had produced a crop more closely in line with the production in other recent years, the surplus now would probably be only about half as large as it is. That one unwieldy crop undid most of the work that had been done in preceding years in improving the American cotton situation. It is well to remember the part that the excessive production of 1937 played in building up the present surplus and guard against a repetition of that experience.

Foreign consumption of American cotton has increased slightly notwithstanding the fact that cotton exports this year have been running 41 per cent below the preceding year. What has been taking place is that foreign users of American cotton have been taking supplies from their reserve stocks. Consequently, the foreign reserves of American cotton are much lower, having dropped from 2,250,000 bales a year ago to an estimated 1,250,000 bales on Aug. 1. This should mean that next year cotton exports from the United States will increase.

This using of cotton from reserve stocks by foreign consumers has been one factor making for confusion about the cotton situation in the minds of some people. There has been a great deal of talk about declining exports of American cotton. Of course, it is quite true that exports have declined very sharply. But if only that fact is emphasized one gets an inaccurate picture of the situation of American cotton abroad. For the fact is that foreign consumption of American cotton has not declined to anything like the extent that our exports have fallen off.

At best, of course, the situation of American cotton abroad has not been at all good. There has been a decline in the foreign consumption of American cotton as well as in our exports. But the figures on consumption afford a much more reliable index of how American cotton is faring abroad than those for exports. If foreign consumers use supplies from reserves of American cotton instead of buying new cotton, they are still using American cotton. And in time the reserves will become so depleted that they will have to be replenished.

How largely the United States may ever hope to recapture its lost foreign markets for cotton is problematical. To what extent we should conduct our national policies concerning cotton with emphasis on meeting competition abroad, through export subsidies or otherwise, is likewise doubtful.

For its part, *The News*, which as a Southern newspaper has a very special concern for the welfare of cotton growers, feels very strongly that the thing most essential to improvement of our cotton situation is to guard against excessive production. If we do not hold a fairly tight rein on the size of our cotton crops, the Southern farmers will find themselves the perennial victims of a huge carry-over, under the burden of which they cannot get prices which will yield them reasonably profitable returns.

Meanwhile, there is some encouragement to be found in the increased world consumption of American cotton reported by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in the improved domestic sales of cotton textiles, and in the fact that various factors have combined to raise the domestic prices of spot cotton to the highest level since August, 1937, the year when the largest crop on record sent prices tumbling down by about 50 per cent within a few months.

SOUTHERN NEGROES AROUSED

AT LONG LAST the worm is turning, so to speak, the "worm" in this case being the downtrodden and oppressed Southern Negro residents who, for too long for their own good, have docilely submitted to the indignities heaped on them by Southern white oppressors. And, strangely enough, in one instance it happened at the polls last Tuesday.

White-robed and hooded Ku Klux Klansmen paraded in 75 automobiles through the Negro section of Miami, Fla., the night before, burned 25 crosses and threw out red-lettered cards warning Negroes to stay away from the polls at the city's primary election to be held the next day. The klansmen went further; they hung an effigy bearing the legend "This Nigger Voted" from a pole opposite a polling place.

Under ordinary circumstances Negroes would have heeded the warning, as was their wont, and stayed away as they had been "advised". The demonstration inspired them, however, and instead of remaining away from the polling places, they flocked to the polls in far greater numbers than ever before. They elected to call the bluff of the Klansmen and were ready for any eventuality, we are advised. And nothing untoward happened.

All of which proves what we have contended all along: one of the principal reasons for the Southern white man's oppression of the Negro is his fear of the Negro's voting strength at the polls. As long as the Negro can be intimidated and prevented from exercising his constitutional rights of franchise, he can be held in check and "kept in his place." In a great many counties, in the various southern states the adult Negro population greatly outnumbers the white and if Negroes were allowed the free use of the ballot they could very easily elect Negro county officials and probably Congressmen. The white man knows this and so to prevent tihs from occuring resorts to every known legal and illegal method.

From other states and cities also come interesting news items. From New Orleans, La., comes the story that the nine-member Municipal Auditorium Commission must show cause in court on May 17 why it should not rent the auditorium to Negro organizations. Judge Hugh C. Cage issued the order in response to a petition of the Rev. R. W. Coleman who stated that an application last October to rent the auditorium for a concert by "high class Negro artists" was refused. More power to the minister and his committee in fighting this jim-crow.

And more power, too, to the Negro citizens of Missouri who are fighting against the proposal of the state legislature in the form of the Taylor bill to dodge the mandate of the U. S. Supreme Court in the case of Leroy Gaines in which the University of Missouri was ordered to admit the Negro student to its law school.

It is time that Negroes woke up down there in the deep South and started to call the bluff of their oppressors such as was done in Miami. And it is time that Negroes down there started to fight back against their oppressors. Some will probably have to be martyrs to the cause, too, but we're willing to bet that when Negroes start fighting back and using the same methods of their oppressors that lynching among other evils will become a thing of the past.

POLITICAL - 1939
SUFFRAGE

FLORIDA

Jacksonville, Fla., Times-Union
September 23, 1939

TESTING POLL TAX LAWS

In his testimony several days ago before the Dies committee, which is investigating subversive activities in the United States, Earl Browder, general secretary of the communist party, in America, said the communists undertook to spread "enlightenment" through "transmission belts." He defined these "belts" as "routes through which the communists could contact the masses," mentioning trades unions and peace societies.

The Associated Press account of his testimony in this connection contains the following:

"Later questioning by Representative J. Parnell Thomas, Republican, of New Jersey, a committeeman, brought testimony from Browder that these additional organizations could be described as transmission belts:

"The National Lawyers' Guild, the American Student Union, the National Negro Congress, the American League for Peace and Democracy, the World Youth Congress, the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, the Negro Youth Congress, the Consumers' National Federation, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers' Alliance."

Mention of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare forms a timely hookup with action this organization has started in Federal Court at Nashville and Chattanooga, Tenn. Purpose of the suit, it is stated, is to establish that it is unconstitutional for a State to require the payment of a poll tax by persons participating in Federal elections.

This action comes as an interesting development in the history of the Southern States. Here is an organization formed at a meeting in Birmingham about a year ago by some of this section's leading welfare workers, newspapermen and others, ostensibly for the purpose of finding ways and means to alleviate human suffering. One of courses it intends to pursue toward that end apparently is that of attacking traditions of the South.

That this is an objective of the organization was indicated at the Birmingham meeting where a heated controversy was stirred up over the question of segregating the white delegates from the negroes. Several prominent white delegates at the sessions contended that there shouuld be no such segregation, which resulted in repercussions whose echoes can be still heard in the "Old South" circles of Alabama and other Southern States.

Filing of the suit in Federal Court at Nashville and Chattanooga is in line with the trend of thought upon which the conference apparently was founded. It is in keeping with the communists' idea of spreading "enlightenment." In other words, it is "educational."

Sponsors of the suits may think that the Supreme Court of the United States has been so liberalized that it will reverse itself in a decision of less than two years ago, but that is hardly likely. In a decision handed dodwn on December 7, 1937, which incidentally was unanimous, the Supreme Court upheld the Georgia poll tax law. "Payment of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting is a familiar and reasonable regulation," the Court ruled. Its decision also embodied the principle that the "privilege of voting is not derived from the United States, but is conferred by the State, and save as restrained by the Fifteenth and Nineteenth Amendments and other provisions of the Federal Constitution, the State may condition suffrage as it deems appropriate."

There are many "liberals" in the South who agree with the theory that the poll tax is a relic of the dark ages, and that it should be abolished. These people should not be confused with this latest Human Welfare attack on the rights of the States to regulate the franchise, an attack which may have its roots in soil far removed from the scene of action.

Boomerang effects may be expected from this development on the trend toward abolishing the poll tax in the South. It may be that the good people of this section will see in this movement a plan of the communists to force upon the States one of their pet schemes of "enlightenment," with the result that the rebound in thinking here will be that the man who is unwilling to contribute a dollar toward the school expenses of the State for the privilege of voting is not the type of citizen that commands enthusiastic admiration.

Tampa, Fla. Tribune
October 18, 1939

Why Negroes Register

The absurdity of the charge of the White Municipal Party bosses that negroes are being registered by "special interests" to carry municipal elections is emphasized by statements of the negroes themselves that their registration is the result of a quiet campaign conducted by a negro voters organization to induce negro citizens and taxpayers to take a greater interest in city government. The negro registration can have no effect in the coming general municipal election because there is opposition to the primary nominee in only one district, where there are less than 50 qualified negro voters. So the current negro registration could not be prompted by a desire to carry the coming election, which, except in one particular, is no election, but just a ratification of primary nominations.

Good citizens can have no objection to Tampa's reputable and property-owning negroes qualifying to vote—and they appear to be the only negroes who are taking the trouble to do it, and they constitute a very small and politically negligible minority.

WHITE PRIMARY PARTY 'RAZZED'

Courier Post
10-2-39

TAMPA, Fla., Oct. 19.—In the recent furore here over Negro registration for the primary election, a local white daily came out with an editorial roundly trouncing the white primary party for crying wolf because of the indication of an organized Negro vote.

The local N.A.A.C.P. has a nucleus of 75 workers rounding up all those eligible to exercise their franchise. The White Primary party branded the activity as inspired by "special interest groups."

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FLORIDA

Pensacola Fla. News
May 11, 1939

MIAMIANS PLAN WHITE PRIMARY

Measure Is in Legislature For Approval

TALLAHASSEE, May 11.—(AP)—Miami, like most other Florida cities, probably will have a municipal primary for white persons only in the future.

The Florida legislature voted such an amendment to the City's charter and sent the bill to governor Cone.

Just before this year's primary early last week, a band of men in Ku Klux Klan regalia warned negroes against voting on candidates for three city commission seats.

At the primary May 2, more negroes than ever before cast votes under the promise of protection from law enforcement officers.

If the Miami charter amendment becomes law, negroes will be barred from the primary that picks six candidates for three places on the commission but will be permitted to vote in the general election a week later when the final three are elected.

The move to provide a municipal white primary had been advertised as required for local bills more than 60 days ago and did not result from the purported Ku Klux Klan demonstration.

At Miami B. Solomon, negro leader, said the Negro Citizens Service league will attack constitutionality of the measure if it is approved by Governor Cone.

Greensboro, N. C., News
May 3, 1939

NEGRO VOTERS IGNORE WARNINGS IN FLORIDA

Cast Record Vote In Miami City Primary Election—Klan Stages Parade.

MIAMI, Fla., May 2. — (AP)—Negroes ignored warnings issued during a spectacular demonstration by parades in Ku Klux Klan regalia to cast a record vote today in a city primary election.

City Clerk Frank J. Kelly said negroes voted at a 5-to-1 greater ratio than ever before at one large precinct where separate poll books and balloting machines were installed to avert possible disorders. Kelly said more than 500 negro votes were cast at that precinct alone and estimated the previous record for a city election as "scarcely more than 150".

Police Chief H. Leslie Quigg, who assured the Negro Citizens Service league through Kelly yesterday that there would be no disorder, dispersed a rapidly-growing group of white men opposite the negro polling place today. The men left after a few words from Quigg, who declined to disclose what he told them.

Last night's demonstration, in which white-robed men in more than 50 license-shielded automobiles paraded through the negro section, followed an appeal by the Service League for Protection Against Racial Violence. The petition, presented to Kelly, referred to "threats made by certain candidates, apparently to intimidate qualified negro citizens".

The paraders burned 25 fiery crosses and distributed red-lettered cards reading: "Respectable negro citizens not voting tomorrow. Niggers stay away from the polls." An effigy bearing a card reading "this nigger voted" was hung on a pole near one polling place.

"Moses Of Miami" Tells NAACP Delegates Of Florida Ballot Fight

Claims Negro Ministers Were Not Registered When Historic Struggle Began

Klan Parade Failed to Halt Negroes

By MILTON L. RANDOLPH

RICHMOND, Va.—Richmond in particular and the large variety of delegates attending the opening session of the thirtieth annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last week heard the plain, frank and sincere address of Samuel B. Solomon, recently heralded throughout the nation as the "Moses of Miami," because of his successful leadership of 2,300 Negroes to the polls during the spring election in that city.

Mr. Solomon claimed no special secret technique for putting over the job. He definitely indicated that his inspiration to face the issue came from the dire need of choosing between two great evils, that of dying from disease due to over-crowded conditions and neglected filth, or that of leading his people to use the instrument through which they could get these conditions rectified.

Mr. Solomon, now president of the Negro Citizens' Service League, was Georgia-born and educated. He stated, "Four years ago I moved to Miami, Fla., where I opened up my establishment as an undertaker. There I found in an area of fifteen blocks by six blocks 35,000 Negroes living. The houses were so close together that one could lie in his bed and hear the conversation of neighbors; streets were unpaved, garbage seldom removed and the neighborhood filthy. Very little respect was being shown for women and children. I realized that I had one of two things to do, either to leave Miami or make some effort to improve conditions.

"When I visited the city commission, we were ignored and often refused a hearing. Finally one of the commissioners was frank enough to tell me: 'You people do not put us in office. You people do not take us out of office, therefore, we must satisfy those who do.' That was the key to start to work," stated the speaker.

"We started our campaign to register and vote in 1936 in preparation for the general election. Last fall it was indicated that we had registered 3,000 Negro voters and they participated in the elections. Despite the numbers they lacked enthusiasm. In the fifth precinct we had 1,000 registered voters when in previous years there had been only twenty.

"The night before the election we had a general mass meeting. There we selected the candidates we were going to support, and they won. Just as this meeting was breaking up, the Ku Klux Klan staged its parade through our district. Seventy-five car-loads of them, with a truck in front carrying a load of crosses which they lighted and burned on every on every corner in the district, passed through," related the speaker.

"That night about 11 o'clock the editor of the morning paper called me up to inquire as to what we were going to do, and I told we were doing to vote tomorrow. We were determined to challenge the Klan this time and their effort at further intimidation proved an inspiration to the Negroes to go to the polls and vote. The same paper brought out an extra the next morning showing that 300 Negroes had voted during the first two hours after the polls had been opened. In the fifth precinct 616 out of 900 voted during the day. Every man we had selected was successful in the election.

"Since the election in May ten blocks of Negro slums have been condemned and we are going to have a housing project with ten blocks for new homes. The streets are being paved and others are being kept clean. Playgrounds are being developed, with tennis courts, baseball diamonds and other health facilities which we have never had. Trees are being planted. Miami is now rapidly becoming a city any one would be proud to live in."

Two salient points dominated the message brought to the conference by Mr. Solomon, the first was: "If you expect to put over any program for racial cooperation or betterment, you must find some way of getting the cooperation of the powers that be.' The second was a challenge to the leadership of the Negro ministry. Speaking of conditions in Miami, he said: "For years we have been trying to get the ministers to lead us. They assured us that they were 100 per cent. behind us, but when we checked up on the membership of 100 in the Ministers' Alliance, we found only two were registered and qualified to vote. Concentrating on this group we finally got all of them on the poll books and now they are enthusiastic supporters of the league. I believe that in order to be able ot tell someone what to do, you must be able to do that thing yourself."

The speaker dramatically concluded his address with the challenge: "If it rains, let it rain; if it storms, let it storm; if the Ku Klux Klans parade, let the Ku Klux Klans parade, but you vote."

KU KLUX THREATS INSPIRED US, SAY FLORIDA VOTERS

Courier 5-13-39

Pittsburgh

MIAMI, Fla., May 11.—Miami Negro voters, whose votes helped to make Miami a city back in 1896, marched to the polls again last Monday, nearly 1000 strong, and answered with ballots the threat of the Ku Klux Klan the day before to punish them with bullets and rope.

Sunday night, white-robed klan figures, one of them carrying a rope, turned into a noose, had paraded through the Negro residential sections, burning crosses, scattering cards labeled by the K.K.K., and had hanged an effigy of a Negro as a sign of what would happen to Negroes who attempted to vote.

"INSPIRED US," SAYS LEADER

Samuel Solomon, president of the Negro Citizens' Service League, asserts Negroes were "inspired to vote" by the klan threats.

The election saw the heaviest Negro vote recorded in the city's history, a total of between 1,000 and 1,500 ballots being cast by qualified Negro electors.

The largest number to vote in any previous election, according to Frank J. Kelly, city clerk, had been fifty.

NEGROES HELPED TO MAKE CITY

As an aftermath to the klan demonstration and the turnout of Negro voters, Acting Mayor Sewell recalled that in 1896 his brother, John, voted Negroes in Miami in order to obtain the necessary "more than 250 voters" to incorporate Miami as a city.

No one has yet been able to explain what happened to the city's police force during the klan parade. The kluxers wore masks and rode in automobiles, the licenses of which were covered.

CITY MANAGER "IN THE DARK"

R. E. Fuller, City Manager and public safety director, asked what the police had been doing, replied: "I have no information other than that the policemen were stationed at their regular posts of duty.

"You understand that those who are in the police cars are not at any time at any single point, and the foot patrolmen move about their beats.

"As to whether any policemen were definitely stationed at the points where those crosses were placed, I cannot say. I gather from the newspapers that the crosses were placed along the railroad tracks and, of course, there are no policemen stationed there."

The crosses actually were placed at all the busy intersections in the Negro section.

PLENTY PROTECTION AT THE POLLS

Although the police, probably lacking a sufficient cue, failed to break up the parade, they gave Negro voters all the protection they needed at the special polling places set up for them.

Tampa, Fla. Tribune
July 21, 1939

Lauderdale Negroes Ask Protection in Voting

FORT LAUDERDALE, July 20.—(A.P.)—Officers of a negro civic league asked City Manager Huey today for protection when the vote next Thursday in a referendum on Fort Lauderdale's proposed new charter.

Huey said they reported threats of violence if the 200 registered negro voters go to the polls. They asked that a special polling section in their residential district be established.

And May There Be No Whitewashing?

LET us hope that the investigation now pending into the wanton method of an un-American hooded regime, which came out in the open in Miami to threaten voting taxpaying citizens for exercising their conferred rights at the polls, may blow the whole lid from the terrible situation that has in one way or another interferred with the right of colored citizens to vote, sought unsavory legislation to the end of defeating an honest and free ballot and otherwise coerced to the extent of criminal intimidation which aims directly at alienating the principles of a democratic form of government.

Kenley Herald

As Booker Washington once said about people starting out lynching Negroes would wind up lynching white men, it can well be said that those who begin by threatening and attempting to frighten colored citizens from the polls will wind up in such an attempt at white people if and when it is decided that there is an element not in harmony with the expressed wishes of the racketeers. If such conditions are allowed to go unchallenged it means in the end the utter collapse of free government, so expressed by the will of a free people. We will come to a worse condition than now endured by the peasants of Europe. Free speech, a free press and the freedom of religion cannot long survive a condition which smacks of anarchy and shields those who go out in the open for the purpose of frightening free citizens not to their liking.

6-17-39

There are other incidents demanding treatment just as the Miami affair. They lie smoldering in every ember heap of dead ashes of the civil war. Colored voters have come to a listless inertia because of this condition and many open-minded and well-informed persons are not allowed to express their wishes at the poll. From such a condition have we come to a government by the minority. The pep in elections and that interest which should command the preference of every citizen is slowly but surely dying and on election days in our state and many of her sisters, fewer people vote than in many of the counties above the Ohio river. This condition pays off in poor farms, starved industries, heavy migrations of citizens, loss in congressional representation and worn out deserted farm lands.

Atlanta Ga.

For people to be progressive and thinking citizens, they must be reading and voting citizens. A people owes its first duty to its government and where concern in government is allowed to lag there is that grave danger of people resorting to their ambitions out of the boundaries of government. There is that embryo of suspicion of the government and its functins and in time free government, openly expressed by the will of all the people will be supplanted by the arch despots of force, night riding, coercion and every form of activity foreign to our American principles and meant in the end to totally route that type of government styled as of the people, by the people and for the people.

Miami, Fla. Herald
May 2, 1939

VOTERS' LIST SETS RECORD

Registration of 50,369 Officially Reported On Election Eve

A record registration for Miami, 50,369, was reported officially for today's primary election by Frank J. Kelly, city clerk, following elimination of duplications Monday.

Probably more than half of this number will vote in the primary when six of the 15 candidates will be placed in next Tuesday's run-off for the three city commission places made vacant by the expiring terms of Mayor-commissioner E. G. Sewell and Commissioners R. C. Gardner and Anna M. Perry.

Polling Places

The polling place and the registration in each precinct are:

Precinct No. 1, Little River fire station, 7561 N. E. First avenue, 3,190.

Precinct No. 2, fire station at N. W. Seventh avenue and Thirty-sixth street, 6,638.

Precinct No. 3, Wynwood Park Community House, N. W. Thirty-fourth street and First avenue, 5,490.

Precinct No. 4, Allapattah Community Hall, 2170 N. W. Seventeenth avenue, 5,247.

Precinct No. 5, Fire station at North Miami avenue and Fourteenth street, 4,996.

Precinct No. 6, Central Fire station, 74 W. Flagler street, 8,365.

Precinct No. 7, Miami Senior High school west wing, S. W. Twenty-fifth avenue and First street, 6,271.

Precinct No. 8, Store room in Vanta Court apartment building, 1176 S. W. Twentieth avenue, 6,027.

Precinct No. 9, Fire station, 2901 S. W. Twenty-second avenue, 2,627.

Precinct No. 10, Coconut Grove fire station, 2917 Oak avenue, 1,518.

Precincts 7 and 8 represent last-minute address changes.

Open at 8 a. m.

The polls will be open between 8 a. m. and 6:53 p. m. and all liquor stores must be closed during the voting period.

The votes will be tabulated automatically for the first time in a Miami city election, in 70 machines in the voting places.

After the vote is in, city inspectors will read the meters and report totals to the city clerk's office.

The city commission will meet at 10 a. m. Wednesday to make the official canvass of the votes and authorize preparation of the ballot for next week's election.

The measuring and marking of the 300-foot boundary lines beyond which there must be no loitering of election workers or others caused excitement in the breast of Candidate John L. "Fighting Jack" Manny.

Facetiously known as "Ferdinand the Bull," Manny charged into the clerk's office to put Kelly on notice that Candidate Randolph B. Railey's headquarters, 45 W. Flagler street, are within 90 feet of the 300-foot deadline. Manny is the candidate who brought to official attention the charge Candidate John T. Christiansen was not a registered Miami voter when he qualified himself as a candidate.

After receiving an opinion from the city attorney, Railey had his posters outside his headquarters covered with brown paper but kept his window display inside the sidewalk line unobstructed. Police Inspector William J. McCarthy said that workers may not stand outside the doorway. The 300-foot mark is in front of the adjoining Railey-Milam Hardware Company store, operated by Railey's brother, Pat. Workers are permitted to stand just outside the mark, although an effort was being made to have all candidates reach an agreement not to assign any workers to polling place areas.

The Negro Citizens Service League, credited with obtaining the registration of some 1,500 negroes in three precincts, Nos. 3, 5 and 6, appealed Monday for protection of negro voters and was told that H. Leslie Quigg, police chief, would preserve order with police details assigned to all precincts.

The letter was delivered to Kelly by Rev. John E. Culmer and Sam Solomon. Kelly told them he already had been assured that order would be preserved.

Candidate Christiansen also wrote a letter to Kelly anent the negro vote:

"If any are cast for me I wish you would cancel them and not credit me with any of them," he wrote.

Of course, once in the machine, no clerk could distinguish a white vote from a black one. But such a letter has its alleged publicity value.

After an all-day hearing of testimony on suspension charges against H. R. Shaw, former acting fire chief, Monday, it came time for the city commission to continue the session. Mayor Sewell, who with Commissioner Gardner is a candidate for re-nomination at today's primary, commented:

"Mr. Gardner and I would like to hold it over until Wednesday."

"We boys got a hen on tomorrow," Gardner explained.

Mrs. A. B. Woodson announced invitations to the "six high men" to "meet the people of Allapattah" at a bingo party on her lawn at 1417 N. W. Seventeenth avenue at 8 p. m. Wednesday. The six high candidates will be guests of the Democratic League of Women Voters Thursday night and of Mrs. Elva Westcott, "Little Georgia" precinct committeewoman, on Saturday night.

Gainesville, Fla. Sun
May 3, 1939

Negro Vote Rallies With Whites In Miami Election

MIAMI (AP) — Negro citizens who ignored a spectacular warning by hooded and white-robed figures not to vote in the city primary were shown in unofficial returns today to have made nearly identical selections of city commission candidates as white voters.

A special polling booth where negroes alone voted permitted the analysis. A total of 616 votes were cast there, and except for one candidate the election results among negroes and whites were the same.

Election officials said about 1,000 negroes voted. Here are the returns, with those from the negro booth shown separately:

Mayor E. G. Sewell—total, 15,821; negro, 422.

Fred W. Hosea—total, 10,084; negro, 253.

R. C. Gardner (incumbent) — total, 7,732; negro, 196.

Randolph B. Railey—total, 7,328; negro, 192.

George E. McGaskill—total, 7,228; negro, 117.

John T. Christiansen—total, 4,214; negro, 23.

These six high condidates face a runoff election for three city commission offices next Tuesday. Nine other candidates were in the primary.

Clearwater, Fla. Sun
April 17, 1939

Negro Elks Back Poll Tax Drive

The negro Elks Lodge is sponsoring a poll tax drive among Clearwater negroes, Hardie Griffith, exalted ruler, announced today.

The exalted ruler announced that Horace Carson has been deputized by the county tax collector's office and is making a house-to-house canvass of the negro section.

Griffith on behalf of the negro Elks Lodge appealed to all negro churches for cooperation.

Miami, Fla. Herald
May 11, 1939

White Primary Law May Rule Miami Voting

Bill Introduced In House Day After Klan Demonstration Here Passes In Night Session of Senate and Goes To Governor Cone For Signature

By JAMES HODGES
Herald Staff Writer

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., May 10.—Miami, where men in Ku Klux Klan regalia recently sought to prevent negro voters from going to the polls, may have a municipal primary for white persons only two years hence.

A bill to amend the city charter to include provisions for such a primary passed the senate Wednesday night. It already bore house approval.

It had been introduced in the house on May 2, primary election day, a few hours after the apparently futile klan intimidation parade in the course of which a hangman's noose was displayed from the side of an automobile, fiery crosses were lighted at street intersections in the negro section, red printed cards warning negroes not to vote were distributed and a negro was hanged in effigy.

Despite the purported Ku Klux Klan demonstration a record number of negroes, nearly 1,000 of approximately 1,500 registered, cast votes in the primary under promise of protection from law enforcement officers.

$100 To Qualify

The same bill would require candidates for the city commission to qualify for the race by depositing a $100 fee with the city clerk instead of petitions bearing the signatures of voters.

The measure was advertised in Dade county 60 days before its introduction in the house by Representatives George E. Holt and H. E. Overstreet. It was passed in both houses unanimously without discussion and without explanation of its contents under the usual local bill procedure.

The governor may sign or veto the bill or permit it to become law without his signature after five days.

Dade county's representatives could not be reached tonight for comment. Senator Graham said that he was not familiar with details of bill.

Although it provides for a "nonpartisan white primary," negroes would be allowed to participate in the general election which follows.

Bill Quietly Introduced

The bill was not hidden, but when it was introduced in the house several weeks ago, Holt said it only changed the candidate qualifying provisions. It was perfunctorily passed unanimously in the house at local bill night Tuesday and the same happened in the senate with Graham and all members of the delegation voting for it.

The senate also passed another house-approved bill providing a charter for the town of Surfside.

Other Dade county bills passed by the senate would:

Authorize employment of a librarian and assistants for the county law library at salaries of $135 a month.

Appropriate $1 from all court suit filing fees to be used for the county law library.

Require the mailing of legislative journals and other state publications to the University of Miami law library.

Tax For Hospital

Authorizing Dade county commissioners to levy a 4-mill tax to maintain the county hospital and home at Kendall.

Appropriating $300 for Robert J. Boone of Miami to return to him the qualifying fee he posted with the state to become a candidate for the United States Senate in 1936. Boone's name was not printed on the ballot and he did not make the race after paying his qualifying fee.

IMMEDIATE ATTACK ON BILL FORECAST

B. Solomon, Miami negro leader, said an immediate attack would be launched against the constitutionality of the white primary bill passed by the senate Wednesday night, if it is signed by the governor.

This fight, he said, would be pressed by the National Association For Colored People, with headquarters in Washington, D. C. In Miami the bill will be fought by the Citizens Service League and Ministerial Alliance, both negro organizations.

He said negro lawyers were of the opinion the bill would be thrown out by the United States Supreme court on the ground it is contrary to the fourteenth amendment of the constitution.

HOUSE INDORSES BILL WIDENING CITY ZONING

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., May 10. (AP) The Florida house Wednesday passed a bill giving cities broader power to "regulate and restrict the height, number of stories and size of buildings and other structures, the percentage of lots that may be occupied, the size of yards, courts and other spaces, the density of population, and the location and use of buildings, structures and land and water for trade, industry, residence or other purposes."

The bill was passed 67 to 3 and sent to the senate after Representative Sinclair of Polk county said it would aid city dwellers to obtain federal housing administration loans. The measure does not repeal existing zoning laws and does not apply to any city in Hillsborough county.

Asks Exemption For His County

Representative Sheldon said he asked elimination of his county from the bill's application "because we don't want to create any additional power down there."

The house also passed 68 to 5 and sent to the senate a proposed constitutional amendment to establish a state game commission of five members to be appointed by the governor for terms of five years each. The commission would administer all laws on game and fresh water fish and would use all receipts for wild life conservation and restoration.

A bill fixing the hunting season from November 20 to February 1—a reduction of 15 days—with no hunting permitted on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays after December 1 received house approval.

House approval went to a bill allowing the commissioner of agriculture to provide inspection for seed potatoes and vegetables seeds and a measure boosting the department of agriculture's advertising fund from $75,000 to $100,000 a year. The house killed a bill to appropriate $7,500 from the inspection fund for Florida's participation in the world poultry congress at Cleveland.

The senate passed a bill authorizing any county to levy a tax up to 4 mills for operation of a hospital or home for the poor.

The "fair trade act" of 1937, declared invalid because of a flaw in its title, was repassed by the senate to correct this defect. It provides for voluntary agreements between manufacturers and retailers to sell certain products, chiefly drug store articles, for not less than the advertised prices.

Barbers' Sanitation Board Created

The senate passed, 22 to 14, a bill revising the law licensing barbers and creating a barbers' sanitary commission. A change was voted in the present law making the maximum salary of commission members $175 a month. Senator Savage of Ocala said the board would be self-supporting.

A bill backed by Governor Cone to step up revenue from intangible taxes was protested by a delegation of bankers and attorneys, who told a senate committee the proposed measure would discourage prospective wealthy residents.

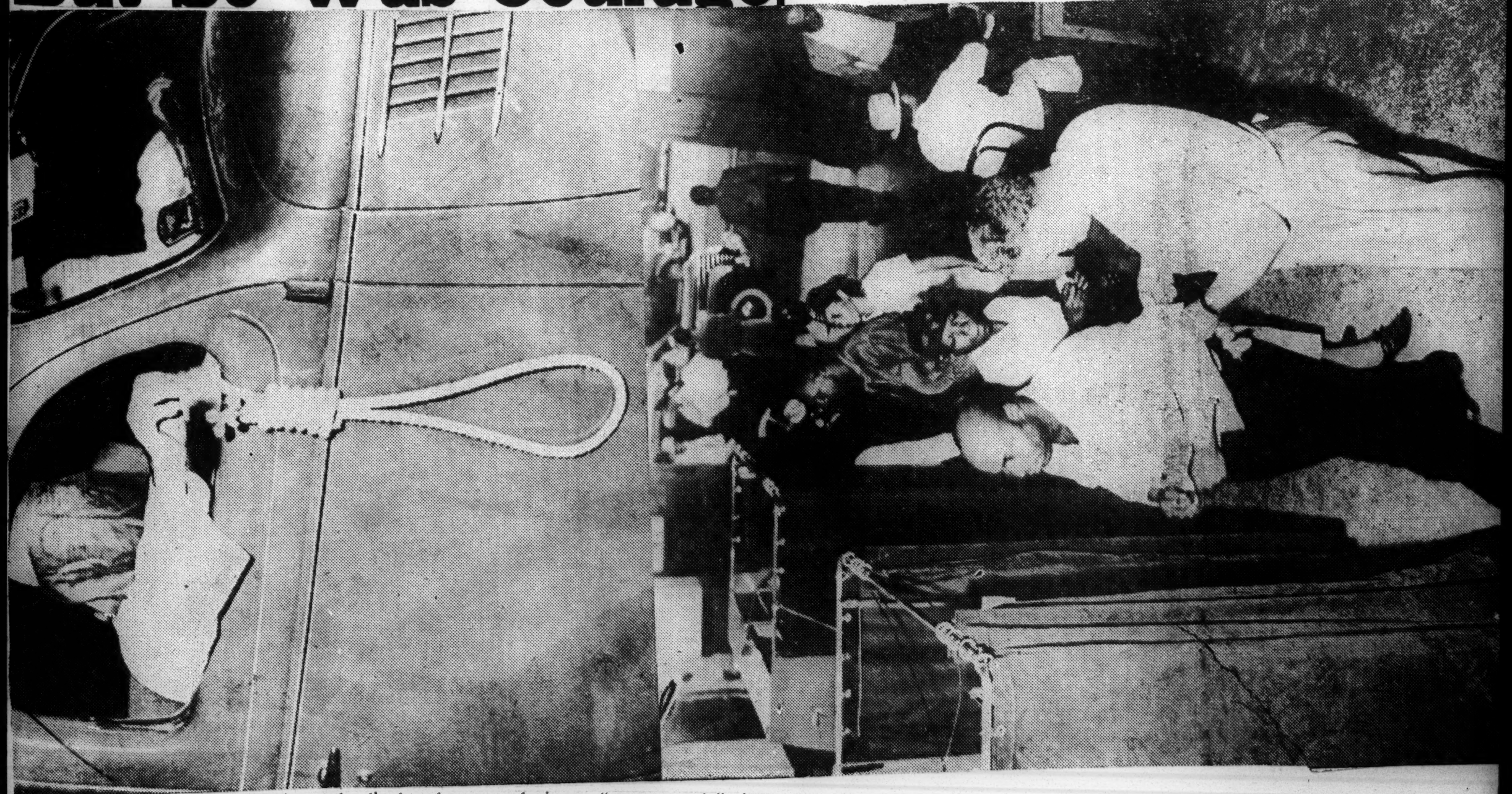
LIQUOR TAX REDUCTION BILL VOTE ENDS IN TIE

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., May 10. (AP) A tie vote, 6 to 6, resulted in the house temperance committee Wednesday on a bill reducing the liquor tax from $1.20 to 80 cents a gallon. Chairman Papy declared the tie amounted to an unfavorable report. Bills reported unfavorably are tabled unless a majority of house members vote to put them on the calendar. Revenue from liquor, wine and beer taxes is used to pay old age pensions and assistance to blind persons and needy children. It totals about $4,000,000 a year.

POLITICAL - 1939 FLORIDA
SUFFRAGE

The Noose Was There, But So Was Courage!

Tribune 5-11-39 Philadelphia Pa.



MIAMI, FLA.—Klansmen brazenly displayed nooses during a "scare parade" thru out the streets of this city, last week, in an effort to frighten Negro citizens, thereby keeping them away from polling places during a heated municipal election—but the Negroes exhibited plenty of courage, swarmed to the polls and cast 500 votes for Mayor E. C. Sewell, who led a city-wide ticket with 15,821 votes. Only one candidate on the ticket was cut by the Negro voters. He was John T. Christiansen. Reason: He had written to City Clerk Kelly, asking him to "throw out any Negro votes that might be cast for him." Bottom photo shows a scene in a polling booth, where Negroes flocked to cast their votes, despite Klan warnings.

POLITICAL - 1939 FLORIDA
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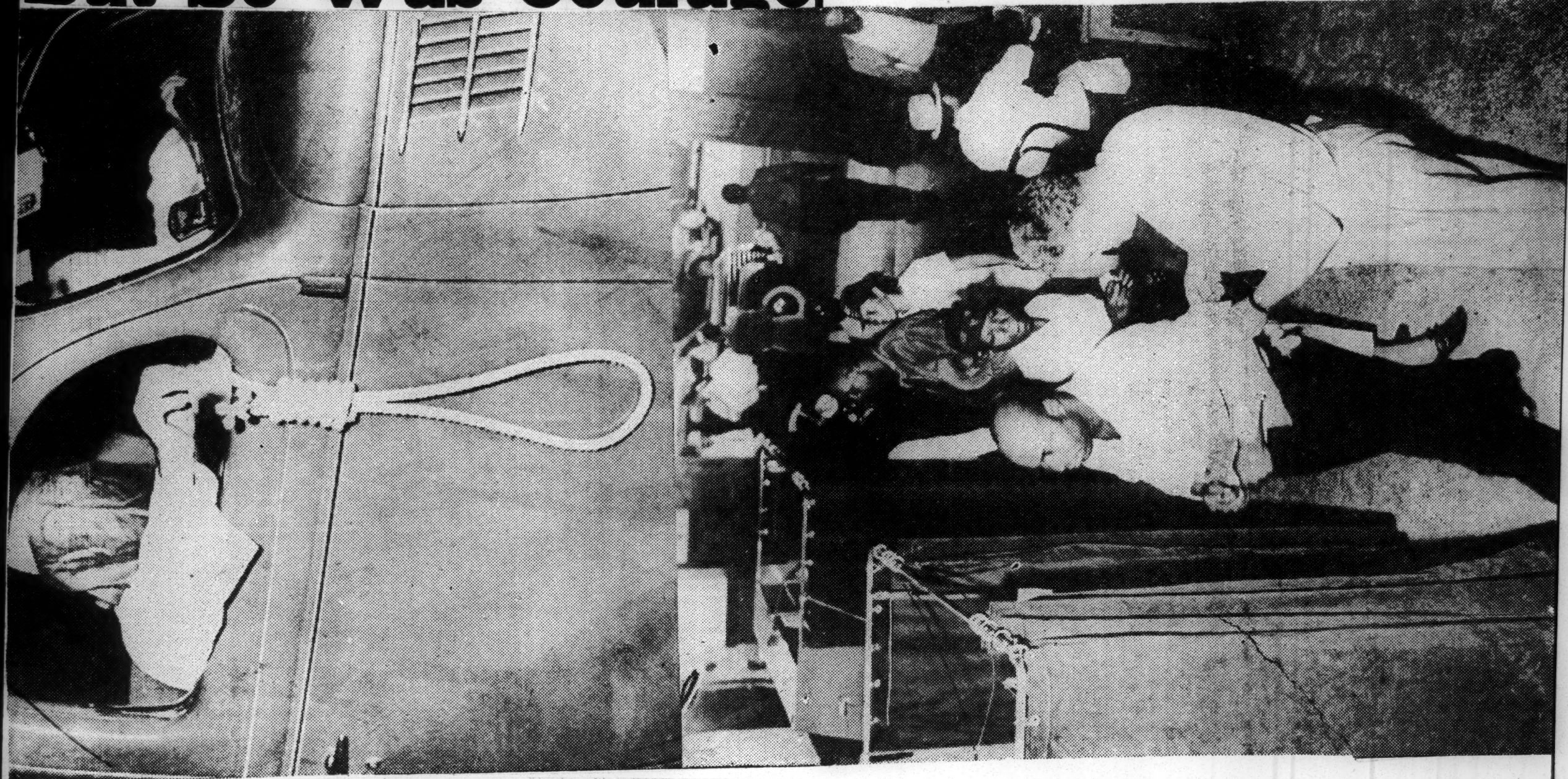

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Miami, Fla. Herald
May 16, 1939

Negro Vote Didn't Affect Result

Editor The Herald: A curious thing about the city election is the returns from precinct 5, where for the first time negroes voted in substantial numbers. Election officers very wisely provided separate voting machines for whites and blacks. In the primary of May 2 the negro vote at precinct 5 was distributed among the candidates about the same as was the white vote, but in the run-off May 9 the negro vote showed a surprising concentration for the Herald candidates, Sewell, Hosea and Railey; Gardner and McCaskill getting about the same as in the primary. Strange? Yes. But listen to this! The well scattered negro vote in precinct 5 in the primary was published and commented on by both papers, News and Herald, the next day. The strange concentration of this negro vote a week later for Sewell, Hosea and Railey was not mentioned the next day by either paper, but The News made the following misstatement of fact: "The negro vote—again was fairly evenly divided between the leading candidates, their majority being cast for Sewell, Hosea, Gardner and Railey."

The Herald, on the second day, buried in the middle of a long item, did give the negro vote as follows: Sewell, 589; Hosea, 526; Railey, 485; Gardner, 92; McCaskill, 88.

Why this strange concentration of the negro vote in precinct 5? Who did it? Why did The News withhold the curious fact, and The Herald all but do so? These questions are being asked by the man on the street, and the people are going to find the answers. There's a negro in the woodpile.

BYSTANDER.

Miami, Fla. Herald
May 12, 1939

WHITE PRIMARY BILL ATTACKED

Several Groups Protest Its Passage; Cone's Approval Awaited

Protests of several groups against the white primary measure passed by the senate on Wednesday after similar house action and now awaiting signature of Gov. Fred P. Cone, were forwarded to the governor Thursday.

By the bill, which will become law if signed by Governor Cone, negroes in Miami will be barred from voting at city primaries though permitted to vote at general elections. The measure amends the city charter.

The Negro Citizens Service League, of which Sam B. Solomon is president, told Governor Cone that the measure would be the most unjust and unfair of his administration and urged the governor to veto the bill because it was directed at a minority which "pays one-third of the total taxes of the city."

300 Sign Petition

A petition signed by 300 individual negro voters also was sent to Cone by the league, declaring such a law would bring unfavorable publicity to the city.

A protest by the American League for Peace and Democracy also was sent to the governor, in which the measure was termed "a threat to democratic rights" and in which it was asserted the measure was "railroaded" through the legislature.

The Dade county legislative delegation Thursday indorsed the measure, which was introduced in the house by Representatives H. E. Overstreet and George E. Holt.

In Tallahassee Thursday Overstreet said: "I was born and raised in Florida and I thoroughly approve of a white primary."

Colleagues Approve

"I was born and reared in Mississippi ,the first state that disenfranchised negroes in 1884, and I believe in white supremacy," said Representative John J. Lindsey.

"The provisions of the bill are exactly the same as those under which I was nominated to public office," said Representative George E. Holt.

"I was nominated at a white Democratic primary and I believe the same thing should apply in municipal primaries. This does not prevent negroes from voting in the general city election. I was born in the state of Tennessee."

"I'm opposed to negroes voting at primaries," said Senator Ernest Graham.

FLORIDA GOVERNOR SIGNS BILL FOR WHITE PRIMARY

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., June 8.—Disregarding protests, Governor Cone recently signed into law a legislative bill barring Negroes from voting in Miami's city primaries.

In signing the bill, the governor disregarded pleas of the Negro Citizens' Service League and the American League for Peace and Democracy urging veto of the measure.

The league sent a petition signed by 300 Negro voters, which said the measure was aimed at a minority group which "pays one-third of the total taxes of the city."

The other group called the bill "a threat to democratic rights," and asserted it was "railroaded through the legislature."

Tampa, Fla Tribune
September 17, 1939

Why City Primaries?

Complaint about the expense of a second citywide primary for just one office —one member of the Election Board— brings up the question: Why a city primary?

The municipal primary idea was spawned years ago with the purpose of eliminating the negro vote. The White Municipal Party was created. Ever since, we have been holding these primaries for all elective city offices. The number of negro voters in Tampa has never been sufficient to constitute a recognizable factor in elections. It wasn't at the time the municipal primary was started, and it isn't now. The people are put to the wholly unnecessary expense of two additional elections to name city officers, when it could all be done in the general municipal election, with the white voters deciding the issue, as they always have done.

This municipal primary plan is responsible for the present situation, when because of the selfish attitude of one candidate, it becomes necessary to hold an election, costing $5000, with only one citywide office involved. The officers nominated in these two preliminary elections could be just as easily and just as fairly elected in the regular election and the city would be saved heavy expense and a lot of unnecesary agitation and anoyance. No party lines or issues are involved.

We think the White Municipal Party and its unnecessary, expensive and disturbing primaries ought to be abolished. What do citizens of Tampa think?

POLITICAL - 1939
SUFFRAGE

FLORIDA

Kluxers Inspire Negroes To Vote In Florida

MIAMI, Fla. — The white sheet boys failed to throw a scare into the Negroes of the city as was shown by their ignoring the various warning notices of the KU KLUX KLAN. They paraded in a spectacular fashion and cast a record vote in the city primary.

Frank J. Kelly, city clerk, said Negroes voted at a 5-to-1 greater ratio than ever before at one large precinct where separate poll books and balloting machines were installed to avert possible disorders. Kelly said more than 500 Negro votes were cast at that precinct alone and estimated the previous record for a 150."

H. Leslie Quigg, police chief, who assured the Negro Citizens Service league through Kelly that there would be no disorder, dispersed a rapidly-growing group of white men opposite the Negro polling place. The men left after a few words from Quigg. 5-12-39

THREATS BY CANDIDATES

A demonstration, in which white-robed men in more than fifty motor cars paraded through the Negro section, followed an appeal by the service league for protection against racial violence. The petition, presented to Kelly, referred to "threats made by certain candidates apparently to intimidate qualified Negro citizens."

The paraders, riding in cars with licenses shielded, burned twenty-five fiery crosses.

Later Sam Solomon, service league president, said the demonstration "has really inspired the Negro to vote."

A special polling booth where Negroes alone voted permitted the analysis. A total of 616 votes were cast there, and except for one candidate the election results among Negroes and whites were the same.

The exception was John T. Christiansen, who prior to yesterday's primary made public a letter to City Clerk Frank J. Kelly asking him to throw out any Negro votes that might be cast for him. Christiansen was in sixth place when returns were tabulated, but at the Negro booth he received only 23 votes.

Election officials said about 1,000 Negroes voted.

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
May 3, 1939

1,000 Negroes Vote In Miami Election

MIAMI, Fla. (AP)—Negro citizens who ignored a spectacular warning by hooded and white-robed figures not to vote in the city primary were shown in unofficial returns today to have made nearly identical selections of city commission candidates as white voters.

Miami, Fla. Herald
May 3, 1939

Record Negro Vote Is Cast Under Heavy Police Guard

Nearly a thousand Miami negroes voted in the city commission primary election Tuesday under protection of armed police led personally by Chief H. Leslie Quigg.

It was the first time in the history of Miami that negroes made an organized effort to register and vote. In previous elections not more than 50 negro votes have been cast, Frank J. Kelly, city clerk, said.

The negro registration, estimated at 1,500, was scattered among six precincts but main interest centered at precinct 5, North Miami avenue and Fourteenth street, where 1,007 negroes were registered in a separate book.

They started voting as soon as the polls were opened at 8 a. m. and shortly after noon had piled up 600 votes in two voting machines set aside for them at the Fourteenth street entrance to the fire station. White voters used the North Miami avenue entrance.

The arrangements for segregation were made at the fifth precinct because of the heavy registration there, Kelly explained.

616 Use Machines

These two machines counted 616 negro votes distributed among all 15 candidates as follows:

E. G. Sewell, 422; Fred W. Hosea, 253; R. C. Gardner, 196; Randolph B. Railey, 192; George E. McCaskill, 117; A. D. H. Fossey, 90; Harry S. Pickering, 56; Sid H. Palmer, 52; George L. Parker, 43; D. A. Brooks, 40; Joe Stehlin, 32; W. H. Pennell, 31; John L. Manny, 27; John T. Christiansen, 23, and Mark E. Tindall. 15.

Their selections coincided with that of the white voters in five of the six leaders.

Sewell recalled that in 1896 his brother, John Sewell, voted negroes in Miami in order to obtain the necessary "more than 250 registered voters" to incorporate Miami as a city. A registration of less than 250 would have required incorporation as a town.

There When Polls Open

The other negroes were registered in Precincts 1, Little River 2. N. W. Seventh avenue and Thirty-sixth street; 3, N. W. Thirty fourth street and First avenue; 6 downtown Central fire station, and 10, Coconut Grove.

Klan Makes Threats

The Ku Klux Klan's threats of violence, delivered Monday night by hooded men riding, without a parade permit, in automobiles with license plates covered, failed to materialize in daylight. More than 25 fiery crosses were lighted at street intersections in the colored section during the demonstration. Spectators commented on the absence of police while the parade was in progress. At 10 a. m. groups of men gathered in the vicinity of the fifth precinct voting place.

Chief Quigg asked the groups to disperse, and the men went quietly away.

Inspector William J. McCarthy, Captains Virgil Mathis and S. W. Lemmon, Lieut. M. A. Tibbits, Sergts. L. G. Crews and Fred Bratt, together with a force of plain clothes and uniformed policemen, detectives, motorcycle men and a police squad car, maintained close watch on the negro precinct polling place throughout the day. Men were stationed across the street and at vantage points in the block.

United States deputy marshals were on duty, presumably watching for immigration subjects especially among Nassau negroes.

Questioned about the absence of policemen from the negro section Monday night during the Ku Klux Klan parade there, A. E. Fuller, city manager and public safety director, said:

"I have no information other than that the policemen were stationed at their regular posts of duty. You understand that those who are in the patrol cars are not at any single point and the foot patrolmen move about on their beats. As to whether there were any definitely stationed at the points where those crosses were placed, I cannot say. I gathered from the newspapers that they (the crosses) were placed along the railroad tracks, and, of course, there are no policemen stationed there."

As to the legality of operating automobiles with license numbers covered, as the Klansmen did, Fuller said:

"I understand the law is that all vehicles must bear proper license plates, and I should think the same law would apply to covering them as to going without license plates."

He said he had received no report from the police department on the Ku Klux parade. Asked whether he would make an investigation, Fuller countered:

"After reading the newspapers, I got in touch with Chief Quigg and was advised he was giving the matter his personal attention. I understand everyone who appeared at the polls to vote was allowed to vote."

Chief Quigg refused to comment on the absence of policemen from the scene during the Klan's night parade through the heart of the negro section.

Rev. Myles D. Blanchard, chairman of the Miami branch of the American League For Peace and Democracy, in a written statement Tuesday, commented:

"In a day when America is condemning European nations for their attitude toward minority races it is refreshing to note that the chief of police in Miami is using his office to protect American minorites as they exercse what they feel to be their constitutional rights. The threat of force is not the way to solve problems. Only by a mutual understanding of what is in back of these problems and a calm attempt to solve them in the light of reasoning can America avert some of the calamities that have brought dictatorships into power in other lands.

"Hatred has no place in America. Resort to force is only indicative of inherent weakness. Better judgment demands that in all such issues we deliberate and reach such agreements as will forever stamp the United States as a democracy, a land without oppression, a haven for those who seek freedom."

TABULATION OF NEGRO VOTES centered the interest of all campaign workers around the fifth precinct, North Miami avenue at Fourteenth street, Tuesday. This picture was made just after the polls closed.

EFFORTS TO SCARE NEGROES CHECKED

Courier

Klan Conspicuous by Its Absence as Miami Voters Go to Polls to Cast Record Vote. 5-12-6-39

MIAMI, Fla., May 18—(Special)—Though all public speaking places resounded with last minute appeals for support by candidates, Monday night, on the eve of the municipal election the following day, there was no repetition of attempts on the night before the primary only a week previously, to intimidate colored voters by threats of dire consequences from white-robed paraders passing out cards bearing the letters "K. K. K.," warning Negroes not to vote, hanging in effigy a figure representing a Negro voter, flourishing hangmen's nooses, and burnin "fiery crosses."

Instead of acting as a deterrent, the demonstration served to stimulate the Negro voters, who on the following day cast the heaviest total of ballots ever recorded here for members of their race. Practically all who participated in the primary, voted again in the election last Tuesday, in which Mayor E. G. Sewell and Commissioner R. C. Cardner were reelected for additional terms of four years each, and F. W. Hosea was chosen as the third member of the City Commission.

WHITE PRIMARY LAW PASSED BY SENATE; HOT FIGHT LOOMS

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., May 18—(ANP)—A measure which has aroused state-wide indignation among Negroes was passed last Wednesday by the State Senate in a "rapid-fire" move to eliminate Negroes from voting in Miami's primary elections.

The measure, which has already been approved by the House and is before Governor Cone for signature, would set up a municipal primary election for white Miami residents only.

Courier

Passage of the bill by both houses came just one week after the hectic Miami primary a fortnight ago, when Ku Klux Klan members paraded the streets of the Negro section in full regalia, warning Negroes to stay away from the polls.

At both the primary and general election, a week later, Negroes turned out in record breaking numbers to cast their vote.

PETITION ASKS THAT GOVERNOR VETO BILL

MIAMI, Fla., May 18—The Negro Citizens' League of this city, headed by Sam R. Solomon, leading the fight on the proposed white primary law, has presented Governor Cone with a petition, signed by 300 voters, asking that he veto the measure, which has already been passed by both houses.

They contend the measure is directed against a minority group which "pays one-third of the total taxes of the city."

The American League for Peace and Democracy also protested, calling the bill "a threat to democratic rights," and claiming it was railroaded through the Legislature.

FLORIDA LEGISLATORS EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS

Representative H. E. Overstreet, of Tallahassee, in a public statement, said: "I was born and raised in Florida and thoroughly approve a white primary."

Said Representative John J. Lindsey proudly: "I was born and reared in Mississippi, the first State to disfranchise Negroes in 1884, and believe in white supremacy."

Said Co-Sponsor George E. Holt: "Provisions of the bill are exactly the same as those under which I was nominated to office. I was nominated at a white Democratic primary and believe the same thing should apply in municipal primaries."

Other Florida legislators expressed similar views.

Miami, Fla. Herald
June 21, 1939

EMPLOYES PICK TWO MEMBERS

Tracy and Bratt To Serve On City Civil Service Board

Miami city employes Tuesday elected William Tracy, chief city accountant, and Sergeant Fred E. Bratt, motorcycle officer, as employe members of the city civil service board.

Tracy led the field in the brisk voting, polling 356 votes to 285 for Bratt. White employes cast 1,150 votes out of a possible 1,400. None of the 300 negro employes voted.

Tracy and Bratt will sit with George W. Langford, O. G. (Tex) Lindsey and H. E. Cunio, three non-employe members of the five-man board. The board will be ready to act on city business following certification of the election results by the city commission today.

The election, first of its kind to be held in the city, was accompanied by a good deal of horseplay.

Denied Right To Vote

Commissioner Alexander Orr, jr., appeared at the poll and demanded to be allowed to vote.

Frank Kelly, city clerk, told him he couldn't vote, as he was not considered a city employe.

"I'm on the pay roll," Orr countered. "If you don't let me vote I will protest the election, all the rest of the elections in the area are being protested anyway."

"If you are going to protest, you will have to let us know who you would vote for," Frank told Orr.

"I will vote for Charlie McCarthy and Jack Benny," Orr said, but he didn't insist upon his claimed rights.

Others in the race and the votes they polled are: H. L. Schaller, 248; Ray Williams, 244; Grover C. Spell, 178; E. K. Sharlow, 108; Lieut. E. W. Melchen, 105; B. B. White, 97; Robert C. Yancey, 96; A. P. Schneider, 86; J. Willis Sims, 62; J. Jarrett, 39, and R. E. Hudson, 30.

One vote was written in for A. B. Steele, fireman who was nominated but refused to run for the office.

THE NEGRO AND CITIZENSHIP

By WALTER R. CHIVERS
Professor of Sociology, Morehouse College

CITIZENSHIP IS AN invaluable possession. Its ideal goal is a society of truly civilized people. It should represent the ultimate transition from animal nature to human nature. Being human, places such a heavy burden of social responsibility upon mankind that he is still shy of assuming it. A citizen is a human being who assumes the responsibility for the welfare of his family, race and country. Such responsibilities are too great to be entrusted to emotional reactions, prejudices, and ignorances.

America has the highest standard of living of any country in the world. Its ideals of democracy are the most dynamic of any world power. Its sense of national and international relationships is predicated on the welfare of human beings. Its Constitution is a model by which its citizens are guided in their growth into citizenship. Its ethics are above the irresponsible level of emotional reactions. To be an American citizen means to be trained in the processes of becoming humanized and, as a result, civilized.

LOST FRANCHISE

Negroes have had the franchise at one time and lost it. Why? Because at the time they were in large part ignorant and guided by their emotions. Before they get the ballot again, I, for one, want to see them educated into its value and proper use. A slow process, I know, but the ultimate possible values are worth traveling the slow road and thus being sure of avoiding the deceptive and often fatal pitfalls on the highway.

The right to the use of the ballot should be the reward of a good citizen rather than his first grade primer. How is this kind of citizenship to be attained? By education—not necessarily formal education of the school kind, but through the leadership in lodges, churches, clubs, civic leagues as well.

The Georgia State Department of Education has set down as the primary aim of the school in a booklet on Negro Education, a citizenship goal for boys and girls which I think is just as appropriate for Negro adults. The statement reads in part thus:

1. Citizenship training for Negro boys and girls should emphasize the duties and responsibilities of group membership in family or home, in school, in church, in neighborhood, as well as in the larger social groups.

2. Building up the spirit of cooperative endeavor in all things affecting the welfare of the group regardless of denominational or fraternal connections.

3. Fuller understanding of local, county, state, and national governments.

4. Value and use of the franchise.

5. Knowledge of courts and court procedure.

6. Interracial cooperation in dealing with problems of health, education, economics, etc.

Let us turn our attention, now, to brief consideration of each of these aims:

The primary preparation for participation in the life of the group as a whole, of necessity, begins in training for bearing the responsibilities in those primary groups of society—the family, school, church, and neighborhood.

NEEDS ORGANIZATION

The Negro family needs organization on the basis of the varied personalities composing it looking forward to democracy in the family. Parents need to progressively give children homes in which they are free personalities; permit them to participate in the duties of the home; choose their vocations, church memberships, etc. The role of the parent should be more and more that of example and adviser. Parents can not live their children's lives, neither can they rear them as they were reared. Times have changed on all fronts since parents were children. The living patterns of the 19th century will hinder children in 1939's adjustment.

The Negro schools in Georgia have a guide on citizenship provided by the Negro Division of the State Department of Education. Their responsibility is to follow its suggestions both in theory and in practice. Every Negro child graduating from high school should have a full appreciation of and be grounded in the basic principles of citizenship in a democracy.

CHURCH NOT MEASURING UP.

The Negro church in which the greater part of the leadership of Negroes reposes has not begun to measure up to its responsibility in preparing Negro youth for citizenship because of at least four major delinquencies: (1) the crime of an ignorant ministry in too numerous cases; (2) its emphasis upon preparation for dying rather than for living; (3) the non-resident circuit-riding pastor; and (4) dictatorial license over the children's province—the Sunday School.

Participation in the life of the neighborhood is excellent training for youth in the fundamentals of citizenship—Boy Scouts, social clubs, Sunday school and church organizations; neighborhood betterment clubs and civic leagues.

Achievement among Negroes is too often impeded or thwarted entirely by fraternal and donominational jealousies. Such jealousies are illogical, un-Christian, and retarding. The function of the Church and fraternity should be the promotion of universal brotherhood—note the early mission of Christ.

Basic in any program of citizenship must be a fuller understanding of local, county, state and national governments. Citizenship involves participation in and appreciation of the mechanics designed to maintain the life of the community in a spirit of harmony and peace. A fundamental prerequisite for a democratic society is participation by all of the groups within its scope. Problems of interest should be taxation, public welfare educational system, etc.

AN ESSENTIAL PART

The franchise is an essential part of full citizenship. It is both a sacred and sensitive privilege and must be handled intelligently and with emotional balance lest it be destructive of the very forces it is supposed to build up. Just because a person is so fortunate as to be born in a democracy does not mean that he warrants the franchise. It is something to be attained through a process of his own social and political evolution.

As a racial group, we have been too prone to stay away from the courts except when forced to trial—falsely proud of our ignorance of court procedures. Much of our birth-right has been lost because of this attitude.

Interracial cooperation is the core of our existence. There is nothing that we can do as a group or very little as individuals, without it. We must be the aggressors in developing it because we are a minority on the large end of the receiving line.

Now finally. Does the farmer have a fundamental interest in citizenship? Most assuredly he does. For his educational facilities are the poorest, his housing condition is most unhealthy, unemployment and relief problems loom large on his horizon, his standard of living is the lowest. His own intelligence of government and the rights of citizenship are going to be his most dependable protection.

A recent government bulletin on Adult Education offers a paragraph significantly suited to summarizing these remarks:

". . .our program of education for the maintenance and safeguarding of our democratic form of government is predicated upon the assumption that this aim is to be realized through the educational training of the total group of individuals for the efficient discharge of citizenship duties, and not as in some countries, through the training of leaders."

The Maverick Indictment And The Poll Tax

Whether the indictment of Mayor Maury Maverick, of San Antonio, on charges of paying poll taxes for supporters was a political move, as he charges, or an honest effort in behalf of clean politics, is something for the courts to decide. The charges have been used as a starting point, however, for renewed attacks on the imposition of any poll tax.

Texas is one of the remaining eight states that impose a tax as a voting privilege. All the eight states are in the South. Here it is retained as a means of continuing political control by the white race.

As long as Southern states keep the poll tax for that purpose, however, they will have to pay a number of penalties, one of which is illustrated by this indictment of an official because he is alleged to have given financial help to some friends who could not otherwise have voted.

Other penalties the South will have to pay; of course, such as having only one-fourth of its adult population taking part in elections, whereas in states without a poll tax the percentage runs as high as 85 per cent. A state with a poll tax cannot very consistently urge its citizens to vote.

The South with its poll tax must also face the criticism that by imposing the tax it stamps itself as the least democratic of all the sections of the country. Despite our protestations of democracy, we are farthest away from the idea that all men and women are capable of citizenship regardless of financial ability.

The South has no defense of its poll tax today except that of a doubtful expediency, and it is likely to have many more incidents of the Maverick sort before it falls in line with all the rest of the nation.

VOTE!

The unusually heavy registration in the city should mean an increased interest in government. But registration is only the first step in performance of the important duty imposed on all citizens by the right to vote. Getting people to register sometimes takes effort, and later getting them to come out to the polls is another and sometimes more difficult problem. A lot of excuses and alibis, some valid and others patently born of indifference, are forthcoming from too large a proportion of registered voters when election day calls them to cast their ballots. An easy task, requiring little time, but there have been many shirkers in past elections.

On November 7 ballots are to be cast for city councillors and members of the School Committee. These are highly important offices. We should make sure that the right type of men are chosen to fill them. The only way that we can make our choice effective is by the use of the ballot. Be sure to go to the polls on November 7 and vote your choice. Then after the votes are counted and candidates are elected, you will be better satisfied with the results than if you had neglected your obligation to vote.

ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES

And now, alas! Eleven southern states are beginning to feel the sting which is a reaction to the disfranchisement of the Negroes as voters in many states below the Mason-Dixon line.

Argus 10-20-39

The old poll tax device which was used in these states a half century ago to deprive Negroes of the ballot is beginning to trouble the white man. The scheme to keep the Negro down through disfranchisement is now affecting the whites and the economic condition of the South generally. In fact, it is this same sort of manipulation on the part of a few that makes the South the A-No. 1 economic problem of the nation. It is this same sort of thing that goes to make up the "backward South."

St. Louis Mo.

We have often said in these columns that any legislation or discrimination that affects the economic and social status of one-tenth of the population of a nation will eventually affect the whole. In the South, however, Negroes comprise a much larger part of the population than one-tenth of it. Many of the white people of the South are beginning to realize as never before that the anti-social legislation which is in force in many of these states is reacting against the entire population, and we suggest that the point where reform should begin is with the abolition of the poll tax which has disfranchised thousands, both white and colored, thereby restoring the ballot to all citizens alike, regardless of race or color.

POLL TAX ACTION THREATENED OVER SOUTHERN STAND

Times-Herald

(The Associated Press)

Washington, Nov. 20.—Representative Keller, Democrat, Illinois, expressed belief today that if Southern conservative members of the party continued to oppose the New Deal social legislation they would stir up determined congressional and court fights to outlaw poll taxes.

Keller said he was convinced that poll taxes were unconstitutional.

11-27-39

"If these deep-Southers keep on trying to nullify such laws as the Wagner labor relations act and the wage-hour law," Keller declared, "they are going to bring an anti-poll tax drive upon themselves. And they'll get the worst trimming of their lives."

Keller said the current investigation of the national labor relations board by a special House committee headed by Representative Smith, Democrat, Virginia, was one example of the Southern opposition to which he referred.

"I would be far from pleased to see these attitudes result in reaction against the states having poll-tax laws," he continued, "because I always have hoped having the South would work that situation out itself. It seems, however, that the South just will not learn that its road to greater prosperity is through paying higher wages to its workers."

The Illinoisan accused the Smith committee of "butting in" on the jurisdiction of the regular House labor committee, of which he is a member, but said he hoped the former would give the country "both sides of the picture."

He said, however, indications did not point in that direction, adding it seemed "apparent" that the investigating committee had invited foes of the labor board to air their complaints but had done nothing about giving the other side a chance.

Wooing The Colored Vote

By KELLY MILLER

On approach of the 1940 Presidential election, both of the outstanding political parties are becoming concerned about the alignment of the Negro vote. This vote is strategically distributed along the free voting states of the North and West that it may throw the wavering balance of the election to one side or the other.

As result of his enfranchisement the Negro was initially one hundred percent Republican. The Grand Old Party gave him his Freedom, made him a citizen, and made him eligible to the ballot on equal terms with his white fellow citizens. For fully two generations, he followed the fortunes of the Grand Old Party by the law of inertia and the impulse of gratitude. The Republican Party could rely upon the solid Negro vote as confidentially as the Democratic rival could count upon the solid South. But in course of time, the ruling Pharaohs of the Republican Party either knew not or neglected Joseph, its former ward. Gratitude never outlasts the continuance of the benefaction which evoked it. The Hebrew race shows no everlasting gratitude to the Egyptian because they had in a bygone day greatly favored their ancestors.

The breakaway of the Negro from the Republican Party was gradual and reached its climax when the boll weevil and the World War shifted two million Negroes from the South to the North, where the newcomer was received with opened arms by Democratic politicians. The indifferent administrations of Taft, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, made the transfer easy. In the last two Presidential elections, perhaps three fourths of the effective Negro vote was cast for Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. This vote still remains for the most part unshakable from its new allegiance.

The Republican Party has already appointed Dr. Emmet J. Scott, a man of sterling character, long political experience and unquestioned political sagacity, as publicity agent to stem the revolt of the Negro voter and head it back to the Republican fold. But he is confronted with the uphill task of sweeping back the waters which have already flown over the dam.

It should be clearly borne in mind that this wooing of the Negro vote for the 1940 election will be only secondary, and not a primary contest between the parties. Neither party has the slightest intention of laying the ax to the root of the tree by enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment. Both parties are bidding only for that contingent of the Negro vote whose franchise is recognized and observed in the states in which they reside. The observance of the Fifteenth Amendment is left to the will and disposition of the several states, without let or hindrance of Federal authority, whether exercised by Democratic or Republican Administration.

Congress has the unquestioned power to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, but shows as little disposition to do so under Republican as under Democraic control. The Democrats of the North are as sincere, genuine and as enthusiastic about the political and Civil Rights of the Negro as are the Republicans of that section. On the other hand the Republicans of the South Lily Whites all are as indifferent or as hostile to these rights as are the local bourbon Democrats. The climax of the fight which the Negroes have waged against invasion of their Constitutional Rights was seen in their United opposition against the nomination of Judge J. J. Parker to a seat on the Supreme Bench. Judge Parker was a North Carolina Republican who had taken a pronounced stand against recognizing the Negro's claim to political equality.

I have often heard Perry Howard, the Negro National Republican Committeeman from Mississippi say that he preferred the attitude of the Mississippi Democrats to that of the Lily White Republicans of that state. The attitude towards the Negro's political and Civil Rights is not derived from political principles but from geography. The Negro's place in the body politics, like Hancock's Tariff, is a local issue. Agitation for the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment is adjourned by agreement of both parties. Republican and Democratic politicians will vie with each other for the Negro's vote in New York, and Illinois where his vote is counted but neither would turn over his hand for his support in Mississippi or South Carolina where it is not.

Being thus relieved from the yoke which once bound him to the party of Lincoln, Grant, and Sumner the Negro's vote in states where his franchise is untram is free to cast his vote for the men measures and movements, best calculated to promote his own interest and that of the nation.

It is well for the Negro that the two parties are rival bidders for his support, although neither party is willing to involve itself and assume the responsibility of enforcing the Constitutional Amendments in his own behalf.

POLITICAL-1939 GENERAL

SUFFRAGE

But What of the Negro Vote?

There is another factor, however that disturbs the compromisers. It concerns the Northern Negro vote which Mr. Roosevelt captured overwhelmingly from the Republicans in 1932 and held in 1936. The nomination for President of a Southern Democrat, it is presumed, will increase the probability that the Republicans will make greater inroads on this vote than they did in 1938. But the accompanying choice of Mr. Farley would, according to these party peacemakers, offset some of this effect. Mr. Farley is very popular with the Negro community. And it is privately conceded that a serious defection of Negro voters must be expected in 1940 anyhow.

So there is a strong subterranean movement to encourage the formal appearance of Mr. Hull as the candidate of Tennessee's Democracy before Mr. Garner has gathered too much strength. Friends of both the President and the Postmaster General are participating in it, although Mr. Farley has held aloof from all camps and has no sort of alliance or understanding with any.

Finally, the proponents believe Mr. Hull could match Mr. Garner in one particular which would appeal commonly to the President, the party and the voters at large: Because of his age he could promise not to be a candidate for re-election, assuring the fact that a certain kind of politics would not enter the White House. Renomination politics, usually beginning the day a President is elected, has in the past been exceedingly costly to the country.

Of course, this does not dispose of the fact that a Vice President elected under such circumstances would begin running for the next Presidential term immediately.

Declares Negroes Now Hold Voting Balance In 15 Pivotal States

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Chicago election which returned New Dealer Mayor Kelly to office was viewed here by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, only Negro member of Congress, as "eliminating from the running many reactionary Democratic Senators who have been mentioned for the Presidential nomination."

Pointing out that the predominantly Negro Second Ward went Democratic for the first time in the history of Chicago, and that several prominent Negro Republicans went down to defeat, Congressman Mitchell said this was conclusive evidence that Negro voters want a Roosevelt New Dealer for President.

In order to elect anyone in 1940 the Democrats must carry three-fourths of 15 pivotal states and they can't carry any one of them without the Negro vote in that particular state," Mitchell declared.

"I refer to the states of California, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and West Virginia," he added, pointing out that there are 2,440,892 Negro voters in those 15 states.

"These Negro voters hold the balance of power in those states, and the reelection of Mayor Kelly proves conclusively that the Negro voters will not stand for an anti-Roosevelt Democrat," he declared.

"In my mind, this eliminates many men in the United States Senate whose names are now being mentioned and who are known to be anti-Roosevelt Democrats. If the Democratic Party disregard the wishes of the Negro voters in those states and nominates an anti-Roosevelt man it means the loss of those states and defeat of the Democratic party."

Negro Vote Main Factor In 1940 Election

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KANSAS CITY, MO., TIMES MAR 30, 1939 M31

DRIVE FOR NEGRO VOTES

BOTH PARTIES SWING INTO ACTION WITH EYES ON 1940.

Every Time the G. O. P. Thinks It Is Making Progress, an Organizer Says, a Roosevelt Steps In.

WASHINGTON BUREAU
THE KANSAS CITY STAR
610 ALBEE BUILDING

(By The Star's Correspondent.)

WASHINGTON, March 29.—Campaigns have been opened by both the Democratic and the Republican parties to control the Negro vote as a preliminary to the 1940 presidential election.

Because of the interest being taken in Negro voters, who hold the balance of power in close elections in more than ten states, more than usual significance is attached to the President's visit tomorrow to Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, where he will make an informal speech. The President had been asked to make the founder's day speech, but deferred to Representative Arthur Mitchell, Negro Democrat of Chicago, who will represent the administration.

PLANS ALWAYS UPSET.

Shortly after Marian Anderson, Negro singer, was barred by the D. A. R., from Constitution hall, resulting in the resignation of Mrs. Roosevelt from the patriotic organization, a woman organizer of the Republican national committee was quoted as saying:

"Every time we think we have the Negro voters headed back into the Republican party, one of the Roosevelts does something that destroys all our work."

The Republican national committee now is working on a plan of organization that is expected to be helpful in regaining a bulk of the Negro vote that deserted the party in 1932, and in 1936 moved almost *en masse* to support President Roosevelt. Dr. Glenn Frank, chairman of the Republican policy committee, has employed Dr. Ralph Bunche, political science professor at Howard university, to make a study of Negro problems. A survey also is being made to determine what effect the Negro desertion from the G. O. P. has had on national and state election results.

Since 1936, Republicans assert, the Negro voters have been drifting back into the party of Lincoln. In Ohio, the Taft-Bricker victory last fall has been attributed to the fact that more than 50 per cent of these voters returned to the G. O. P. In Pennsylvania, where Robert Vann, Pittsburgh Negro editor, renounced his previous Democratic affiliation, the election of Arthur James as governor and the re-election of Senator James Davis, Republican, were attributed largely to the shift of Negro voters from the Democratic to the Republican party.

Party leaders generally agree that Negroes hold the balance of power, except in landslide elections, in the following states with large blocs of Negro voters:

Missouri	150,000
Illinois	226,000
Indiana	73,000
Michigan	114,000
Ohio	199,000
West Virginia	67,000
Pennsylvania	277,000
Maryland	163,000
New Jersey	131,000
New York	287,000

REVERSED AFTER 1932.

Before 1932, Republicans estimate, they had about 80 per cent of the Negro vote. No estimate has been made of the shift in the high tide of the new deal, but it is believed the situation was reversed.

In the depression years, it is estimated, about 2 million Negroes went from the South to the North, largely to such cities as New York, Detroit and Chicago. Hence the size of their votes in some states probably is considerably larger than given for the ten states, as the figures were taken from the census of 1930.

T. C. A.

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
April 2, 1939

Both Parties Woo the Negro

The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON—A struggle for the Negro vote, which exerts an almost pivotal influence in several important Northern States, has begun again between the two major parties.

The Negro vote in 1936 went to a Democratic presidential candidate for the first time since emancipation. In Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois and many individual industrial cities in the North, the Negro vote was invaluable to President Roosevelt in his re-election.

Whereas Negroes in most of the Southern States are debarred from voting by a variety of methods, they exercise the franchise in the North. Traditionally connected with the Republican Party—to which they were substantially loyal even in 1932—the New Deal made swift inroads. Many new appointive jobs went to Negroes, the WPA in the North went to them in generous measure, and the entire appeal to the underprivileged of the New Deal had an exceptional effect on the Negroes. Moreover, the 1936 campaign among Negroes was skillfully handled by the Democratic National Committee.

THE Republican National Committee grimly determined to recapture the Negro vote, and has been making all sorts of efforts in recent months.

Senator H. Styles Bridges, Republican, of New Hampshire offered an amendment directing the secretary of war to establish facilities for training airplane pilots and mechanics at Negro colleges. When the measure was approved by the Senate, an amendment offered by Senator H. H. Schwartz, Democrat, of Wyoming was substituted

for Senator Bridges' effort. This little episode typifies the rivalry between the parties.

But all the Republican efforts, which for a year or more have been making somewhat encouraging headway, recently ran into unexpected difficulties. There came a political "break" for the New Dealers, and consciously or not it was capitalized 100 per cent by Mrs. Roosevelt.

IN MID-FEBRUARY, national attention was centered on the problem of discrimination against Negroes by the refusal of the Daughters of the American Revolution to rent Constitution Hall, in Washington, to the sponsors of a concert by Marian Anderson, Negro contralto.

Mrs. Roosevelt promptly resigned from the D. A. R. Her widely publicized act made more impression on Negroes, Republicans here declare, than all their own painstaking efforts for months.

If a Southerner is nominated by the Democratic convention, the party could not expect to retain much of the Negro vote it acquired in 1936, and the Republican task to win back these sometimes pivotal fractions would be simple. Otherwise, it is an open scramble for votes.

"A Slap in the Face"

Negro voters throughout the country, regardless of party affiliation, are shocked at the disclosure made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that President Roosevelt and his congressional leaders have jammed through the confirmation of Elmer D. Davies, admitted ex-member of the Ku Klux Klan, as Federal judge in the middle Tennessee district.

The N.A.A.C.P., in a letter to President Roosevelt reviewing the whole case from the time Davies was mentioned for the post up to the time the President made him a judge for life, declares that it hopes that the error of the Republican party up to 1932 when it assumed that it could not drive the Negro vote out of its ranks is not being repeated by the Democratic party. It brands the entire handling of the Davies nomination and confirmation as guided by trickery and speed.

In its review of the case, the N.A.A.C.P. cited the fact that both President Roosevelt and Attorney General Murphy had been warned as early as April 11 and 13 respectively, that Mr. Davies was reputed to have been a member of the K.K.K. Affidavits attesting to this membership were forwarded to the White House and to the Department of Justice three months before Davies' name came up in the Senate.

Asserting that after the White House and the attorney general and the Senate sub-committee on the judiciary apparently had ignored all protests on Davies, as well as the latter's own admission that he had been a member of the Klan, sixty-two members of the Senate were written to directly. The N.A.A.C.P. letter states:

> **"When the N.A.A.C.P. learned on July 7 that despite protests against the nomination of Mr. Davies, the President had sent Mr. Davies' name to the Senate, the N.A.A.C.P. wired its protest against confirmation to Senator Harry F. Ashurst, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and wrote sixty-two Senators quoting the text of the protest and urging that they oppose confirmation of Mr. Davies.**
>
> **"When Mr. Davies stated that he had attended only one Klan meeting, the N.A.A.C.P. telegraphed sixteen members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, urging that Mr. Davies be recalled before the committee and queried as to how active he had been in the Ku Klux Klan. Despite these protests, the nomination was reported favorably to the Senate."**

Recounting the unusual haste of the Senate and the "trickery" surrounding the nomination of Davies, the N.A.A.C.P. said:

> **"Early in the afternoon of July 12 Senator McKellar interrupted the legislative session of the Senate to bring the nomination up for consideration out of its regular order. Few Senators were present on the floor of the Senate. So far as we have been able to learn, no advance notice was given by Mr. McKellar nor by the Senate leadership that this nomination would be called out of turn. The nomination was confirmed without debate or record vote. Moreover, the usual procedure of allowing a confirmed nomination to lie on the desk of the executive clerk of the Senate for two legislative days before transmittal to the President was waived and the item was sent to the President at once.**
>
> **"Later that same afternoon, on the initiative of Senator Barbour, the Senate voted to recall the nomination from the White House for further consideration. Yet at noon the next day, when the request to return the nomination reached the White House, the commission of Mr. Davies had been prepared, signed by the President and speeded to the appointee. In brief, a process which in its normal course would not be completed within three or four days was rushed to completion within less than twenty-four hours.**
>
> **"The record in this case is all the more inexplicable to thoughtful Americans in view of the commendable campaign of the President and the attorney general to clean up the Federal judiciary and to remove unworthy judges from the courts. The conclusion is inescapable that those who engineered this speedy maneuver acted with full knowledge that Mr. Davies was being opposed vigorously and that the regular and orderly consideration of his nomination might result in its defeat."**

The N.A.A.C.P. concludes its letter to the President with the warning that this whole case "can cause the Negro to use his vote in protest against actions of this administration as effectively as the actions of the Republican administration caused him to cast his vote against that party in 1932 and 1936."

It looks like the President has cut a hog in this case by slapping in the face those who have been most loyal to him — the Negro voter.

—From the N.Y. Age.

BAN ON POLL TAX WILL FACE 1940 CONGRESS SESSION

Daily Worker 8-9-37

Measure Backed by Southern Progressives Would Eliminate Curb on Right to Vote in Federal Elections

(Special to the Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8.—Overlooked in the closing hours of the past Congress, but on the calendar for action when the session reconvenes in January was a bill directly attacking restrictions upon the right to vote of millions of Americans, especially the Negro population of the South now disfranchised by local discrimination.

The bill, introduced an hour before adjournment by Rep. Lee E. Geyer, California New Dealer, would outlaw the poll tax in federal elections. It is sponsored by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare's Civil Rights Committee and was introduced at the request of this broad organization of Southern progressives.

The measure proposes an amendment to the Corrupt Practices Act, pointing out that the Poll Tax is frequently paid for whole blocks of voters by unscrupulous politicians, and thus furthers corrupt elections. If passed, the law would make it "unlawful for any person, whether or not acting under the authority of the laws of a state or subdivision thereof, to require the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting or registering to vote, at any election for a President or Vice-President or presidential elector or Senator or member of the House of Representatives of the United States."

Representative Geyer who introduced the bill attached to it a letter from the Southern Conference's Civil Rights Committee which explained that it had been discussed with a number of Congressmen from Southern states. It added that these Congressmen expressed a desire to give the bill further consideration

The letter, which was inserted in the Congressional Record, recalled that the Southern Conference last November went on record for the repeal of the poll tax and concluded:

> **"It appears to us necessary, nevertheless, that the text of the bill made available for the study and consideration of all of the members of Congress; the 1,200 delegates to the conference; the hundreds of thousands of citizens, members of various organizations represented through their delegates at the conference; the millions of persons in Southern states who cannot vote because of the requirement which this legislation deals with, and interested persons everywhere in the United States."**

POLITICAL- 1939
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The Poll Tax

BOTH the Georgia and Alabama legislatures adjourned without making provisions for the repeal of the much talked of poll tax, that provision which makes one pay a consideration for voting. Bills were introduced in both houses but nothing became of them. Maybe the states decided to travel along a few more miles with the old poll tax regulation strangling at their necks. Many arguments were advanced for and against the repeal of the poll tax. Some contended that its repeal would enfranchise thousands of blacks. Newly Worked

All in all the tax is only a bagatelle. Too small to keep any high minded citizen from voting. The poll tax principle is nothing new. It was paid for a consideration for voting even before Christ. No citizen should object to paying so small a sum as one dollar for the privilege of expressing his opinion on government. The minority has seen fit to pay these taxes, do the voting and hold the offices. Through this medium we have come to minority government. Those refusing to pay the taxes have been content to let the few who pay control their government.

Unlike a tax on property in which the property may be taken for the tax a poll tax is on the head. Nothing can be taken save the right to vote. 4-16-39 Atlanta

It is our unbiased contention the poll tax is too small to enter into the choice of voting. Those who have stood out and rebelled against the tax have made it possible for the minority to control the government through paying the tax. In this manner the minority seizes legally the political machinery and runs it to its whims and wishes. The public is turning down an opportunity to enhance free government by the majority by its open refusal to pay the tax. Hence they have made it possible for minority rule in many of the states. We say pay the tax and register in large numbers and then you will be in a position to bring pressure to bear that would result finally in removing the poll tax payment.

FINDS WHY SOUTH GETS THE "GRAVY."

Chicago, June 10.—While only 161,761 people voted in the 1936 presidential election in Mississippi, the population is 2,008,000. In the same election Nebraska, with 1,364,000 population, polled 595,105 votes.

Tribune

While this situation is due to the manipulation of Negro votes in the south, it goes to prove how relatively small number of people in the south are able, through representation in Washington, to get more "gravy" for their part of the country than is practicable in other sections of the land. C. P.

UGE SEEKS APPOINTMENT OF NEGRO ON U. S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, June 15—(ANP)—The United Government Employes, Inc., is seeking the appointment of a Negro as member of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, it was learned here this week. Edgar G. Brown, UGE president, sent a letter last Friday to President Roosevelt, urging the appointment selection of Wendell E. Green of Chicago, now a member of that city's civil service commission.

Brown's letter to President Roosevelt said in part: "We earnestly hope it will be possible for you to establish another precedent in your administration by the appointment of a Negro to the Republican vacancy on the U.S. Civil Service commission, just as you made history by the appointment of the first Negro federal judge."

Courier 6-24-39

10,000 Colored Youth Of South Begin Crusade For Franchise

Tribune 7-30-39

"Full Citizenship Rights For All" Slogan Of Southern Youth Congress, Sponsor Of Campaign

The Southern Negro Youth Congress has launched a campaign to enlist 10,000 Negro young people in fifteen southern states in a crusade for voting. Under the slogan of "Full citizenship rights for all" these young people are to conduct an intensive 12 months drive on the significance of Negroes' voting. The laws pertaining to voting in every Southern state have been carefully studied by officials of the Congress for several months. The youth volunteers will thoroughly acquaint themselves with the laws governing registration in their respective communities, poll tax laws, and other questions dealing with voting. This knowledge they will attempt to spread among the non-voting section of the Negro population to increase their interest in civic affairs.

To Reach First Voters

The methods to be used have been chosen out of the past experience of the Youth Congress in citizenship drives. Special efforts are again being made to reach first voters who are just twenty-one years old, before high poll taxes have accumulated. Another device to be used is holding Citizenship Institutes, where people will be instructed in the procedure of registering and qualifying as voters.

"The 'Full citizenship rights of all' campaign", said Edward Strong, executive secretary of the Congress, "is an important development among Southern Negro youth. It indicates that Negro young people are working to achieve the most fundamental and essential right in a democracy—the right to vote. We have come to recognize the ballot as the major instrument for attaining adequate housing, improved health conditions for the rural youth in the South, and for the general raising of the cultural level of our youth. We fully believe that 10,000 young people will dedicate themselves to this cause. We are confident that 10,000 Southern youth will accept this responsibility as the most stirring challenge of our day and time."

Program Already Started

The Birmingham Council of the Southern Negro Youth Congress has already begun its voting drive, assisting the Birmingham Branch of the NAACP. Registration books in the city open August ninth for a brief period. A series of meetings each week between now and that date is scheduled in an effort to bring out a large number of Negroes to register on that date. A voting manual, presenting in simple form all the questions that voters need to know is being distributed. Cooperation of the large numbers of Negroes enrolled in local labor unions is being secured through the Youth Congress Labor Committee.

Clergymen Aiding

All organizations in the South are being invited to cooperate in the "Full citizenship rights for all" campaign. The support of many leading ministers has already been secured. Dr. D. F. Thompson, pastor of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, and one of the South's leading ministers, announced today his support of the campaign for universal suffrage in the South. Dr. Thompson stated that he was going to begin putting the matter before his membership and that he would make every endeavor to reach other ministers in the city also.

The interest of Negro young people in voting was accelerated during the recent meeting of the Third All-Southern Negro Youth Conference in Birmingham, where 650 young people from all parts of the South assembled and pledged to give their lives to the achievement of universal democracy for the Negro people and for the attainment of full citizenship rights.

Dems O.K. Negro For Council Seat; G.O.P. Undecided

Kelly Names John Boykin Of 44th Ward

Report James H. Irvin, Incumbent, May Get G. O. P. Nod

MILLEN OUT RACE

Grinnage Magisterial Favorite; North Philly In Balance

By EDGAR ROSTER

Political news of importance has broken fast and furiously this week.

According to what appears to be authentic sources, John Boykin, 44th Ward member of the Executive Democratic Committee, has been slated for City Council by John B. Kelly.

Boykin, who is active in the political, civic and religious life of West Philadelphia, got the final nod after several other prospective candidates were eliminated. Marshall Shepard, John Francis Williams, Robert N. C. Nix, and Alton Berry were all at one time anxious to land the berth after the Democratic chairman had let it be known that he desired a colored man to run for City Council in the 4th District.

Shepard and Williams were forced out because they did not live in the 44th Ward. After a hot fight, Nix withdrew, and the battle lines were drawn between Boykin and Berry. After the votes were cast, Boykin had 28 and Berry 14.

Despite the fact that Kelly had requested all white men to get out of the fight three remained but they only got 12 votes.

While it has not been definitely decided it appears certain that James H. Irvin, present member of Council from the 4th District, will carry the banner for the Republican Party in November.

Grinnage Favorite

Willard Grinnage, dentist and member of the 30th Ward Democratic Committee, has, according to reliable reports, been selected to run for Magistrate. However, Samuel Holmes, former member of the State Legislature, also filed for Magistrate. He is supposed to have the backing of Tax Commissioner J. Austin Norris.

It is believed that Grinnage will get the final O. K. of the Democratic bosses because he has the stamp of approval from Michael Kerwick, leader of the 30th Ward.

Jackson Steps Down

Walker K. Jackson, former member of the State Legislature, did not file for Magistrate as he was expected to do. He had the support of the City Charter Committee and the City-Wide Colored Committeemen organization, but apparently the selection was left to the 30th Ward. And unless a fly jumps in the ointment, Grinnage will be the candidate for Magistrate in November.

"Ed" Henry Files

Upon definite authority, Magistrate Edward Henry will have the support of the Republican organization for nomination for Magistrate. There appears little doubt that Henry will be nominated and that the fight in November will be between Henry and Grinnage.

John B. Kelly let it be known that he wanted a colored candidate for Council from the 7th District. Immediately several persons began working for the endorsement of the Democratic chairman. Hobson Reynolds, member of the State Legislature, John K. Rice, dentist, president of the North Philadelphia Civic League, and G. Thomas Jackson, attorney, were among the most powerful contestants. Reynolds and Rice were eliminated and the only survivor is Jackson, who is the chairman of the 47th Ward Democratic Committee.

Attorney For Council

On Tuesday noon Kelly decided to have a caucus of the committeemen of the 4t7h Ward to decide whether or not there will be a colored candidate after Fletcher M. Amos, tipstaff in Common Pleas Court, presented him with a petition requesting that a colored candidate be endorsed. It is believed that if the caucus decides upon a colored candidate it will be G. Thomas Jackson.

Glen Newsome, of the 32nd Ward, filed for Council as a Republican. While it is doubted that the Republican Party will endorse him he may be in the ring if Kelly puts the O. K. on Jackson.

Robert Nelson, former Athletic Commissioner, filed as a candidate for Council on the GOP ticket from the 4th District, but it is almost certain he will withdraw unless he gets the O. K. of Jay Cooke.

Millen Out of Race

Herbert E. Millen, attorney, did not file as candidate for the judge of the Municipal Court after the Republican organization agreed to support all sitting judges.

There are those who think the Republican high command made a mistake in not endorsing Millen regardless of the sitting judge theory.

The suggestion is being made that since Judge Lamberton has decided to resign from the bench in order to make the fight for Mayor, the Republicans should advise Governor Arthur James to appoint Millen to the vacancy. Failing in that, the Governor could appoint one of the Municipal Court judges to the Court of Common Pleas and appoint Millen to the vacancy in that court.

Russell Allen To Go

The growing rumors that Republican Labarr Potts will replace Democrat Russell Allen as secretary of the Athletic Commission is now a certainty. In a short time now, Allen will go and Potts will take over.

Allen made the following statement: "I am a registered Republican. I made no deal for my job when I changed my registration. I followed the dictation of my conscience. If I am removed from office tomorrow, I will still be as loyal a Republican as I was before I became a Democrat."

Mrs. Coleman Returns

Mrs. Maude B. Coleman, strong political figure in Harrisburg, has been definitely reported as having been appointed as Interracial Consultant in the Department of Welfare. During two former Republican administrations, Mrs. Coleman held this position.

There were reports that the berth would go to a Philadelphia woman, but apparently the matter has been settled.

William Johnston Curtis of Sewickley has been appointed Workmen's Compensation Referee at a salary of $5,000.

The Republican Active Workers report that jobs are beginning to filter through. Shirley Morgan, committeeman of the 47th Ward, received a job as messenger; Herman O'Neil, committeeman in the 14th Ward, clerk; and William McIver, 30th Ward committeeman, custodian, all in the office of the Registration Commission.

According to Deputy Recorder of Deeds Ernest Wright, many other appointments are expected momentarily.

Homer Brown For Council

Meanwhile from Pittsburgh comes word that State Representative Homer S. Brown, recently adjudged the "most able" man in the lower house of the State legislature, may be appointed to the City Council of Pittsburgh, to fill a vacancy caused by death.

Brown's friends say that if he is not appointed he will be a candidate in the primaries on September 12.

The Right to Vote Movement Spreads in the South

More and more the Negro people in the South are indicating their determination to exercise their right to vote. This is one of the most encouraging signs for the extension of democracy, not only in the South, but for the entire country.

The movement is moving, of course, against great odds and side by side with it is arising a real fight to break down the reactionary poll tax which disfranchises millions of poor whites in the South as well.

Just recently, the Negro people in Greenville, South Carolina, defied Ku Klux Klan terror to register for the municipal election. This follows the historic vote of the Negro people in Miami, Florida, early this year and the splendid fight being now put up for the right of the Negro people to vote down in Birmingham, Alabama. In each case, the anti-New Deal forces are using the Ku Klux Klan as storm-troopers to smash this progressive movement. This is in furtherance of the bargain struck by the Garnercrats and the Northern Tory Republicans, the latter crowning their repeated betrayals of the Negro people.

It is also true in every case that the backbone of this right-to-vote movement is the alliance of the Negro people with the labor and progressive forces developing in the South.

The struggle to enforce the 15th Amendment as with the whole battle for Negro rights, is the responsibility of all who wish to safeguard constitutional liberties. The right-to-vote movement in the South bears the sympathetic attention and support of Americans throughout the country.

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Handful of Votes Elects Tories Like Dies--Thanks to Poll Tax

(Special to the Sunday Worker)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 28.—The fact that Martin Dies, head of the un-American Dies Committee, represents a district where 90 per cent of the people are disfranchised shows why the battle of Southern progressives against the poll tax is growing by leaps and bounds.

Dies holds his seat by virtue of 11.842 votes out of a population of 304,000 in his district, or about 4 per cent of the people in his district. The Negro people are totally barred from the ballot in violation of the 15th Amendment, and most of the white sharecroppers and farmers.

The fight against the poll tax entered another stage with the announcement here that the appeal had been perfected in the case of Pirtle vs. Brown, et al, following the unfavorable decision of Judge Elmer Davis in the Federal District court of Nashville. The case now goes before the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati where it will be argued in December.

The litigation is sponsored by the civil rights committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This committee, of which Maury Maverick is chairman and Joseph S. Gelders is secretary, was entrusted by the Birmingham conference with the task of putting into practice the conference resolution calling for broad suffrage reform. Crampton Harris, of Birmingham, widely known constitutional authority, has been employed as counsel by the committee.

CIVIL RIGHTS STRATEGY

The strategy of the committee in the campaign against the poll tax, has been to make a distinction between federal and state elections, and to concentrate at this stage on the fight against poll taxes as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections.

Reason for this strategy are given by Mr. Gelders in the report of his committee to Chairman Frank Graham of the Southern Conference, which has just been made public.

"The obstacles in many of these (poll tax) states are insuperable. The total vote in such states as Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina is so small as to constitute rule by an oligarchy; an oligarchy unwilling to vote itself out of power. Repeal of poll tax in most of the eight states can be accomplished only by amending the constitutions. In Virginia and Tennessee amendment requires passage of a bill by two consecutive sessions of the legislature, and then ratification by a majority vote. 'Rotten borough' domination by black belt counties in Georgia, Alabama and South Carolina precludes the possibility of favorable action in the legislatures of those states (at the present)."

On this basis, according to the committee report, the campaign proceeds along two lines, first through the institution of test cases in the federal courts to show that the poll tax is unconstitutional as it applies to federal elections, and secondly, for the enactment of H. R. 7534, introduced during the closing hours of the last regular session of Congress, which abolishes the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections.

GEYER BILL

This bill was introduced by Congressman Geyer at the request of the committee. The bill is in the form of an amendment to the recently adopted Hatch Act "to prevent pernicious political activities."

Immediately following the introduction of the bill, certain sections of the Southern press challenged its constitutionality. The committee report points out that the measure is constitutional under Article I, Section 4 of the U. S. Constitution.

Favoring the work of the committee is the widespread resentment against the poll tax which is apparent in all parts of the "poll tax South." Educational activity on this issue has been carried on, to a greater or less degree, by many trade unions, especially the CIO, farm organizations and civic and women's groups.

POLL TAX FIGHT

In the opinion of the Communists, the fight for poll tax abolition takes on especial significance in the light of the wrecking activities in the 76th Congress. The main spokesmen of the reactionary Democratic wing of the Republican-Tory Democratic coalition are Southerners, elected from poll tax states, who play a disproportionate role in the Congress.

Many of them, thanks to machine support and lack of democracy in their districts, return to Washington year after year, and under the established seniority procedure of Congress hold the chairmanship of key committees. In the 76th Congress, these eight poll tax states, 17 per cent of the states, furnish 33 per cent of the committee chairmen in the Senate and 28 per cent of the committee chairmen in the House. The presiding officer in both houses come from poll tax states. If one takes the 11 major committees in both the House and the Senate, Five in each are headed by men from the poll tax states.

These men cannot be said to represent more than a small percentage of the people in their districts, as compared with Congress men and Senators from non-poll tax states.

Name	Votes	Population	Pct
Poll tax states			
Woodrum, Va.	11,509	281,000	6
Hobbs, Ala.	11,115	265,000	5
Starnes, Ala.	16,587	274,000	6
Rankin, Miss.	4,384	242,000	2
Vinson, Ga.	4,363	281,000	1.
Cox, Ga.	5,137	264,000	3
George, Ga. Sen.).	66,897	2,000,000	2
Smith, S.C. (Sen)..	45,351	1,700,000	2
Non-Poll Tax States			
Murdock, Utah....	52,000	241,000	21
Keller, Ill	59,000	258,000	23
Healy, Mass.	62,000	292,000	23
Coffee, Cal.	64,871	236,000	27
Downey, Cal.(Sen.)	1,372,314	5,700,000	24

The elimination of the poll tax will see many of these gentlemen returned to private life and will usher in a new more democratic era not only in the South but throughout the country.

The Poll Tax

To the Editor of The Post—Sir: One of your correspondents, in opposing the retention of the poll tax in Virginia, among other things, argues that that tax is responsible for so few of the people voting; that conditions in other States where there is no poll tax are much better; that conditions in Virginia are deplorable, and that an investigation shows a serious degree of malnutrition among lower income groups.

Last week I talked with a visitor from Pennsylvania, in which State one of the first acts of the Earle administration was to abolish the poll tax. This gentleman lives in a suburb of Philadelphia.

My visitor told me that at the last election only 35 per cent of the registered voters (not 35 per cent of the population, but 35 per cent of the people who were registered and had a right to vote) took the trouble to vote. Thus it is clear that it is not the existence of the poll tax which keeps people from voting. It is that general indifference to civic duty which is all too widespread in American life and which has made it possible for crooked politicians to get a strangle-hold on the local governments of many of our larger cities.

The following extract from Westbrook Pegler in The Post of November 6 is interesting. The writer was discussing the "ham-and-eggs" campaign in California. He said:

"Yet the campaign may now be out of their control—too large, boisterous and heedless to be stopped—for in southern California and all the counties in which the immigrant dust-bowl pickers have established the right to vote, the 'what-have-I-got-to-lose?' sentiment is strong, and the grotesque cry, "ham-and-eggs," rises out of the clamor of groups arguing endlessly.

"Reason and the love of liberty are so far gone that the opposition doesn't dare use speakers who, in normal times and places, would be heard in thoughtful debate."

As to whether Virginia's plan of procedure is good or not, I call attention to the fact that the New York Times, a year or two ago, pub-

lished an editorial entitled "Virginia—There She Stands." That editorial was inspired by the fact that Virginia was proceeding upon a "pay-as-you-go" plan and was finishing the current fiscal year with all her current bills paid. It is that sort of government which begets public confidence and which has been responsible for bringing industries worth hundreds of millions of dollars into Virginia in the past 10 years.

Virginia has not been unmindful of social obligations to lower income groups, and her old age and public health assistance programs are progressive and sensible. She will not be stampeded into the debauchery of wasteful expenditure that has characterized the procedure of some of her sister States.

As to malnutrition, I have just returned from a trip among some exceedingly poor families. I saw no evidence of malnutrition. In the poorest family that I visited the roof leaked and some of the windows were boarded up for lack of sash, but the children's eyes were bright and their cheeks had plenty of color.

Possibly the necessity of digging a little bit for themselves may breed a self-reliance that will stand them in good stead in the future. Certain it is that the record of juvenile delinquency in those communities where youth is handed everything on a silver platter indicates that too much coddling is not good for anyone. FRANK G. CAMPBELL.

Washington, Nov. 6.

BAN REPORT

DR. RALPH BUNCHE, of Howard university, whose much discussed report on "Ways and Means" of winning colored voters back to GOP ranks may not be published. This was disclosed this week by Glenn Frank, chairman of the Republican Program Committee, for whom Dr. Bunche's study was made.

South Has Pioneered In Fascism, Rainey Declares

Atlanta, Ga.

Daily World 11-14-39

Introduced by Dean B. R. Brazeal of Morehouse College as one who has broken through the mores in the South and gained insight into the real consciousness of the Negro and his place, as a member of the minority group, Glenn Rainey of Georgia Tech led an interesting forum discussion Wednesday evening at the Atlanta University Library. His subject was "Fascism in the South." Mr. Rainey first effort was to establish rapport with his audience. He faced a critical group, composed of a mixture of college and graduate students, college professors and social workers. The speaker stressed intellectual honesty and sincerity. He sought the type of open-mindedness which insures an impersonal or objective approach to human problems.

The speaker contended that the South has pioneered in the field of Fascism which is world-wide in scope. But it is rather dangerous to make too much of a parallel between Fascism in Germany and Fascism in the South. The great parallel lies in the matter of race and the use of violence; the abandonment of democracy in the South for the principle of restoring and maintaining an unequal status.

Says Ballot Not Panacea for Ills Of the Negro

In suggesting possible remedies for the undesirable situation which conditions the life of Negroes in the South, the speaker declared that we should seek and use the ballot, but do not regard this method as a panacea. It will create other problems. Other methods of changing the status quo must be sought. The conditions which enslave both whites and blacks alike must be changed.

A lively discussion followed the address by Mr. Rainey. The spirit of frankness prevailed. The forums are held under the auspices of the department of sociology, Morehouse College, and the education division, Division of Negro Affairs, NYA of Georgia

The Dixie Pole Tax

There is a growing movement to abolish that relic of feudalism known as the poll tax, and the white people in the South are very much disturbed. The poll tax robs thousands of southern Negro Americans of the ballot, and disfranchises millions of poor whites in the South who are not able to pay the voting fee. By keeping the Negroes and poor whites from voting, the rich ruling class has a political machine that breeds class hatred and race prejudice between Negroes and poor whites. The Constitution of the United States gives all citizens the right to vote, but the South has not yet respected the Constitution where Negroes are concerned.

Planndealer 11-17-39

When Negroes are given their rights as citizens in the South to go to the polls and vote unhampered and unmolested by the Ku Klux Klan and other un-American organizations, a great step toward liberation from social and economic slavery will be made. Americans who preach democracy should first wipe out the poll tax system and see that the fight for the vote movement in the South be given strong support.

Kansas City Kansan

The poll tax is corrupt in many ways, it gives direct rise to political machines of the lowest and inhumane manner. In states like Mississippi, where the Negro population is larger than whites, plantation owners and landlords can very easy pay the poll taxes of their Negro tenants and white as well, and walk to the polls and cast so many votes for his outfit. This can be done without the knowledge of tenants. At present in San Antonio, Texas, Mayor Maury Maverick has been indicted on an alleged charge of violating the poll tax law. The charges are that he paid the tax of some voters, in violation of the Texas law forbidding one to pay another's poll tax.

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The Poll Tax and the Negro

Factors in Shaping Southern Policy

In Industry and Politics

(The following excerpts are from an article entitled, "Government in the South," by Dr. James Hart, professor of political science at the University of Virginia, and published in the University News Letter, issued semi-monthly. It is one of a series dealing with life in the South.)

NEW INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

The temptation to short-sighted inaction brings the discussion directly to the new industrial workers of the South. Unless the South is betrayed by its own political and industrial leadership, we should avoid a repetition of the policy so evident in the industrial revolution in England and in the North by which human resources were sacrificed to economic development.

The national government now seeks to protect the right of collective bargaining to provide minimum wages and maximum hours, and to eliminate child labor in interstate concerns thruout the country.

State and municipal governments have no right to encourage sabotage of these national laws. Rather do they have the duty of supporting them by local regulations. Failure to do so will lead to an era of injustice, and hence of industrial unrest, that will go far to negative the economic and social benefits of a sound growth of Southern industry.

It will mean that capital, often Northern capital, profits at the expense of the purchasing power of the South. It will mean that our cherished ideals of civil liberties are prostituted to the pocketbooks of a few.

THE POLL TAX

But why can the Southern worker, whether mill hand or share cropper, not protect his civil liberties, and secure governmental services, through the processes of democratic government? An answer that is more and more frequently heard in the South itself, has recently been thus expressed by the columnist, Jay Franklin: revision of the poll-tax is the A of the ABC of Southern reform.

The poll-tax is defended not only by those who point to the race problem, but also by those who deny that the masses are capable of sharing in government. On the other side are those who say that democracy means that the people have a right to misgovern themselves.

They make a good case from experience for the proposition that, while the game of government by gentlemen may be played nicely in accordance with the rules that gentlemen fix, the common man is invariably neglected.

Hence, they insist that the ultimate solution is not disfranchisement of the common man, but the improvement of political intelligence. That alone can preserve us from the respectable mossback as well as the irresponsible demagogue or dictator.

THE NEGRO

The South is inescapably faced by a minority problem. This problem will require increased attention in a spirit compounded of tolerance and common sense. Racial relations have been encouragingly improved, but solutions are not advanced by hotheads of either race.

The state and local governments shall not deny the Negro due process and equal protection is required by the Constitution of the United States. This is an ideal toward which the Southern states must honestly strive. If Congress seeks to enforce one part of this obligation by an anti-lynching law, the obligation will, even so, remain primarily the South's; and Southern government cannot carry it out, or even in the long run be made to carry it out, without the enlightened support of public opinion.

The recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Missouri law school case will compel the South to give serious attention to the professional education of qualified Negroes. Many Southerners have, in the North, sat in class rooms with an occasional colored person; but it would seem that Southern opinion is hardly ready for that here as yet.

Responsible Southerners recognize that private economic discrimination against the Negro is bad for both races. At the same time, the overwhelming opinion of the South favors each race's leading its own separate social life. This opinion is backed up by the law at various crucial points. It implies, necessarily, separate facilities for elementary and high school education.

In this and other respects, a whole area of policy is fixed by law and opinion. It is, on the other hand, a wholesome sign that certain childish by-products of this fixed policy, which are meant to symbolize "white supremacy," are gradually being discarded, and without organized effort.

The race question is related to the poll-tax issue. Abolition of the poll-tax is resisted most intensely by those whites who are outnumbered by Negroes in their voting districts. That the political aspect of the racial problem is not to be solved by an enfranchisement whereby Negroes would anywhere simply outvote whites, or even become pawns that would furnish the balance of power in factional politics, is generally admitted.

That this would suddenly result from the abolition of the poll-tax may be questioned. This does not mean, however, that the future will bring no problem of Negro participation in representative government. Far-seeing persons realize that this question is bound ultimately to emerge.

What it does mean is that the answer must be sought in terms other than the mere counting of adult heads in electoral districts.

Whether the first step should be provision for separate election by Negroes of a few representatives of their race, without regard for their proportion of the total population, is a matter about which those who look ahead need to be thinking.

It suffices at this time to point out that simple representation by population is violated for a proper purpose in the composition of the United States Senate.

Poll Tax Fight Is Underway

Challenges Legality Of Vote Tax

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—Following the recent acquittal by a Texas court of Mayor Maury Maverick on the charge of paying voter's poll taxes to enable them to vote, interest this week centers about the efforts of Clark Foreman, head of the power development section of PWA, to remove the tax restriction in Southern states.

Foreman, who was formerly head of the division of Negro affairs, Department of the Interior, is working on a Tennessee voting case which comes up next month before the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati. Indications are that this case in event of adverse decisions, may be taken to the U. S. Supreme Court.

12-22-39

The Tennessee case—involving Henry Purdie, white, of Grundy Mounty — arose during the recent election of Congressman Kefauver to take the seat of the late Sam McReynolds. At the election Grundy insisted on his right to vote without paying the poll tax claimed no property or tax restriction could impair his right of suffrage.

When election officials denied him the privilege, he brought suit against the county Democratic organization, and it is this case that comes up in January in Cincinnati.

President Roosevelt has reportedly taken an active interest in the poll tax question, believing that it operated to disfranchise a large segment of the electorate. The tax—ranging from $2 to $3 in various countries—affects mainly [illegible] and poor whites, and thousands of eligible voters shun the polls on election days because they either oppose the restriction or are unable to pay the tax.

It is believed here in Washington that administration leaders, headed by the President will make a test of the poll-tax question before Congress

Supreme Court Breathes New Life Into Fifteenth Article Of Constitution

Globe 6-9-39

Justice Frankfurter Holds There Shall Be No More "Sophisticated Or Simple Modes" Of Nullification In Epoch-Making Decision

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 8—The attempt of the state of Oklahoma to dodge a United States supreme court decision in 1915 which outlawed the grandfather clause in its constitution was in turn outlawed by the United States supreme court here May 22.

In rendering its opinion in Lane v. Wilson, the court held that Oklahoma had an unconstitutional law in the 1916 statute requiring persons who had not voted in 1914 to register within a period of ten days or forever thereafter lose their right to register and vote.

In 1916 registration law was passed immediatley after the grandfather clause was declare unconstitutional, and was designed to catch Negroes off guard and restrict their suffrage.

The opinion, written and delivered by Mr. Justice Frankfurter, held that the 15th amendment to the Constitution "nullifies sophisticated as well as simple minded modes of discrimination." The opinion represented a 6-2 decision, with Justices McReynolds and Butler dissenting and Justice Douglas not participating.

The case, which was carried to the high court by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, represents the twelfth victory out of thirteen cases carried to the supreme court by that organization.

In the opinion delivered by Justice Frankrurter, the court said:

"The crux of the present controversy is the validity of this registration scheme, with its dividing line between white citizens who had voted under the "grandfather clause" prior to GUINN v. UNITED STATES SUPRA, and citizens who were outside it, and the not more than 12 days as the normal period or registration for the therefore prescribed class."

15TH AMENDMENT VIOLATED

Pointing out that this was a clear violation of "the fifteenth amendment which secures freedom from discrimination on account of race in matters affecting the franchise," the opinion made it clear that this amendment "nullifies sophisticate as well as simple minded modes of discrimination. It hits onerous procedural requirements which effectively handicap exercise of the franchise by the colored race although the abstract right to vote may remain unrestricted as to race."

The case which is now thrown back to the supreme court of Oklahoma, involves a $10,000 law suit filed against the registrar of Wagoner County, Okla., in 1934 by I. W. Lane, who charged that he was refused permission to register to vote in that year.

N. A. A. C. P. attorneys who argued the case before the highest tribunal in the country were: Charles A. Chandler, of Muskogee, Okla.; and James C. Nabrit, a professor in the Howard university law school. Associate counsel who prepared the brief in the case were: Thurgood Marshall, assistant legal counsel of the N. A. A. C. P.; Charles H. Houston, and Leon A. Ransom, of the Howard university law school.

CASE GOES BACK TO 1914

This case had its birth in the old grandaither clause cases of 1914 whereby the constitution of Oklahoma and several other states provided strict educational qualifications for voters unless they could prove that their grandfathers had voted prior to 1866. Since no Negroes were qualified to vote prior to 1866 the discrimination in the constitution was apparent and the U. S. supreme court in 1915 held this provision unconstitutional in a case tought by the N. A. A. C. P.

Immediately after this decision Oklahoma attempted to get around the 15th amendment again by passing an act February 26, 1916 that all persons eligible for registration had to register within 12 days or be forever barred from registration. But the act provided however, that all persons who voted in the 1914 elections (when Negroes were excluded by the grandfather clause) were not affected. This act was challenged on constitutional grounds in 1934 by the N. A. A. C. P. when registration was refused I. W. Lane.

Officials of the N. A. A. C. P. pointed out that the court's decision can be hailed not only as a great gai nfor Negroes because it establishes their right to vote under the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, but it also gives a broader interpretation to the so-called Civil War amendments. Not only is the right to vote established by the old grandfather clause cases, and the right to vote in primaries established by the Texas primary cases, all handled by the N. A. A. C. P., but now the right to register has been established.

N. A. A. C. P. VICTORIES

Twelve out of thirteen cases carried to the U. S. Supreme Court by the N. A. A. C. P. have been won. This record extends over a period of almost twenty-five years, from 1915 to date.

The first case in 1915 struck down as unconstitutional the grandfather clauses which were used to disfranchise Negroes in many states.

The second case declared the Louisville segregation ordinance unconstitutional in 1917. This ordinance similar to those in other cities prohibited whites and Negroes from living in the same districts.

The principle that a trial dominated by mob violence is but a "mask" and a denial of due process was established in 1923 in several cases growing out of the Elaine, Arkansas, riots. Twelve Negro sharecroppers were sentenced to death and 67 for long prison terms at trials dominated by mobs. These men were freed by this decision and the precedent of due process established. This precedent has been used in many later cases including the famous Scottsboro appeals.

In 1926 the New Orleans segregation ordinance similar to the Louisville one was declared unconstitutional in a memorandum opinion.

ABOLISHING POLL TAXES

8-26-39 New York Times

A DEFINITE STEP toward ending the dominance of the Democratic Party in the South was taken in the closing hours of the 76th Congress when a bill was introduced by Representative Lee E. Geyer of California for the abolition of the poll tax in national elections.

The measure proposes an amendment to the Corrupt Practices Act, pointing out that the poll tax is frequently paid for whole blocks of voters by unscrupulous politicians and thus further corrupts elections. If passed the law would make it "unlawful for any person, whether or not acting under the authority of the laws of a state or subdivision thereof, to require the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting or registering to vote, at any election for a President or Vice President or presidential elector or Senator or member of the House of Representatives of the United States."

Needless to say, such a law would prove a boon to the re-enfranchisement of Negroes in the South, and at the same time it would also aid many whites who have been disfranchised through the poll tax. It will come up before the short session of Congress when it convenes in January, and will be watched with considerable interest since it is said to have the support of the New Deal from the President down, and for that reason should not fail to pass.

We believe that the passage of such a law is urgently needed if the South is to develop along with other sections of the country. At the present time most Southern politicians are like the crabs in Booker Washington's famous story, they're so busy keeping the Negro down they cannot get anywhere themselves.

POLITICAL - 1939 GENERAL
SUFFERAGE.

In Search Of The Ballot

THIS crisis with all its impending disasters has thrown voteless people farther than normal times could have effected in five generations. The people as a whole have been made political mineded. They have listened in on labor upheavals and for the first time in the history of our citizenship, our group has been fused into labor organizations. In spite of the many efforts tried out at getting our people politicalminded and on the voting list, nothing has proved so effective as the struggles of the labor interests. From this quarter came the organization spirit. Those who were struggling to bring about better labor conditions had to enlist all groups for an effective fight. This enlistment carried with it the alertness for citizenship and the participation in the franchise which either seated or unseated men of state. Just as these people were needed to effect the great strikes and contention for wages and hours, they are needed to elect or recall the men regulating legislations having to do with labor questions.

In the same measure the struggle erased party lines and no longer can one tell what party a man belongs to by the color of his skin.

We can now look forward to a great political awakening among all the people regardless of colors or political parties. There is everywhere signs of anxiety among even the lowly and we are now headed for better days in this country.

Through many years of political bias and partisanship there has come at last the realization that a government constructed like ours demands the attention of all the people. A form of free government is always at peril when the majority does not participate in its affairs.

The all-absorbing question of bread getting has become the effective weapon in getting all the people to qualify for the ballot. The handwriting is plain on the wall that he who votes shall eat.

Congress To Consider Eliminating Poll Tax

Journal and Guide

WASHINGTON (ANP)—When congress convenes again in January—unless a special session is deemed necessary due to the European situation—one of the first items on the agenda is the house bill introduced by Rep. Lee Geyer of California. 9-2-39

This bill calls for the elimination of the poll tax in all states of the union. It is aimed chiefly at the southern states, where the poll tax system predominates and where this same tax has prevented millions of Negroes from voting.

Norfolk, Va.

There are many who predict the bill will cause more debate in the senate than the anti-lynching bill, which is one of the issues congress must decide when it reconvenes.

VOTING AND SPENDING

We never weary in calling to the attention of Negro Americans the power of the ballot and the power of the Almighty Dollar when properly put to use. Time and again we have said that of the possessions which Negro Americans have, their votes and their spending dollars are rightly considered by the dominant race as the things worth making an extra effort to secure and use. Votes and dollars, therefore, can be made to do much in achieving progress for American Negroes when they are used for the purpose of getting maximum economic advantages.

It is constantly said that neither our churches nor our schools put the proper stress upon a constant and intelligent use of the voting franchise and our spending dollars. Those men of the race who are endeavoring to contribute a part to the advancement of their people, are impressed with the duty of all who speak and teach to keep before the indifferent and the unlearned the need for a higher appreciation of what can be accomplished if they make a righteous and an intelligent use of their ballots and their spending dollars. 9-15-39

One of the latest as well as one of the best appeals along this line that has come to us is the Associated Negro Press report of an address delivered by Jesse O. Thomas, former Southern director of the Urban League with headquarters in Atlanta. Mr. Thomas, now in New York, serving as Secretary of the League during the illness of Eugene Kinckle Jones spoke at the annual meeting of the board and staff of his organization on September 2 at Jackson, Michigan. His address, in part, was as follows:

"Notwithstanding there has been a marked decrease in the morbidity and mortality rates of Negroes during the history of the League movement, the rates are still both absolutely and comparatively too high. The same thing is true of the crime rate. There are economic causes, we admit, which are contributory factors to this abnormality. However, these rates must come down. It is for us to decide what we can do about it.

"The present low-cost housing program has not been able to reach or benefit directly Negroes below the middle class or economic level. Negroes in the lowest income brackets can only be benefited by a larger subsidy by either municipal, state or Federal governments. By and large, the wages or salaries of the middle class Negro approximate the level of the wages or salaries of white persons in the lowest income group.

"The Negro, both as an integrated and participating element in the total American picture, and as an enforced separate social and economic community, must get hold of and control more financial and material resources if his organized buying power is to enhance his employment opportunities. As long as we are without money, which means power and organization which stimulates political action, in the language of a Chinese statesman, 'we will be of no consequence.'

"In our consideration of the problems of youth, in addition to calling their attention to the spectacular manifestations of social measurements which their seniors are passing on to them, we should not overlook the opportunities their forbears have vouchsafed unto them and the responsibility which is also a part of their social heritage.

"The future demands that Negro leadership will greater emphasize upon developing cooperative societies, which presupposes cooperative culture among Negroes on all cultural levels.

"The time has come when the Negro community must give more consistent support to the type of leadership it demands and to the institutions of which the Negro is the beneficiary."

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
August 29, 1939

A Pattern For The South

FROM time to time this newspaper has pointed out that in this country a definite movement is under way for the enactment of a nation-wide suffrage law, the chief purpose of this law being to give the ballot to the Southern negro in the same manner that the New York negro possesses it. We have contended that certain outside persons have interested themselves in the poll tax laws of the Southern states simply because they have felt the elimination of these laws was the first important step for a uniform system of suffrage. For instance, in New York City—which has a huge

negro population—the movement to do away with the poll tax of Alabama is centered.

Certain Alabama persons, principally living in those sections which derive no protection from the poll tax, have scoffed at those Alabama newspapers which have insisted that the poll tax not be junked; they have ridiculed the idea of a federal control of the ballot box by the federal government—at the point of the bayonet, as in the Reconstruction Days, if necessary. And for that reason, we wish to call the attention of these people to a bill introduced in Congress during the closing days of the session. It was introduced by Rep. Lee E. Geyer of California, a state which has no poll tax, and in his bill Mr. Geyer asks that the federal government step in where the states have failed to act. He asks that all poll tax laws in America be abolished, not by the state Legislatures, but by the federal Congress!

Mr. Geyer's measure was overlooked in the last-minute turmoil, but it has been receiving a lot of attention lately, and there are those who predict that it will stir up a big fight next winter when Congress reconvenes.

Whether such a measure will ever pass, and whether such a drastic invasion of the rights of the states can be allowed without a constitutional amendment, we do not know, but we do know that its introduction and the widespread support which it is receiving are ominous signs. They are signs that New York and California and a few others are bent upon cutting Alabama to their pattern. They are signs that the New York politicians and others of the big city politicians are determined to invade the rights of a distant state if the invasion of those rights is necessary to appease their negro voters.

The elimination of the poll tax, as we have pointed out before, will not in itself necessarily mean the enfranchisement of all Southern negroes—but it will definitely mean that one of the bars is coming down, and when the opponents of white supremacy bring down one of the bars, it will mean that they have an easier task in bringing down the other bars. If the federal Congress can be persuaded to pass an anti-poll tax law against the South, it is not reasonable to believe that the Congress can also be persuaded to pass a law setting up a nation-wide system of registration, and will not a nation-wide system of registration mean a universal suffrage law, and hence the death blow to white supremacy?

There are those in Alabama who insist that no such thing can possibly happen, and they complain that to discuss such matters as white supremacy in the open is not the politic thing to do. To these people, we reply that it is a lot better to discuss these things in the open than to bury the head, ostrich-like, in the sand until it is too late to discuss them, or that is until white supremacy ceases to be a fact and, by the cooperation of Southern "liberals" and federal meddlers, becomes a memory.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
September 10, 1939

Why Introduce Politics?

When Mr. John L. Lewis, the chief of the C. I. O., brings into an article in the Virginia Quarterly Review about Labor and the South that all men should be protected in voting, is or is he not thinking of bringing the Southern negroes into active politics? What other object could Mr. Lewis have had in introducing the subject of voting? Meanwhile, Mr. Lewis can help the cause of Southern labor if he and his powerful organization will work to induce negroes to leave the South for parts of the country where white men encourage them to vote. The negroes as a rule do not vote and have never voted except under the coaxing and goading of white men. "Labor's Non-Partisan League", the political organ of the C. I. O., has lately been active in the South.

The Right-to-Vote Movement

The lynch reactionaries in the South have become very much disturbed by the growing movement to abolish that relic of feudalism known as the poll tax.

So the Tory Garner-Quin machine in San Antonio, Tex., has secured the indictment of Mayor Maury Maverick on charges of violating the poll tax laws. He is alleged to have paid the tax of some voters, in violation of the Texas law forbidding one to pay another's poll tax.

The cohorts of that "evil" man Garner have tried other ways of "getting" Maverick. First they tried an unscruplous red-baiting campaign, until that developed pretty much into a dud. They revile him because as Congressman he voted for the anti-lynching bill, thus expressing the developing sentiment among Southern labor and progressives for the constitutional rights of the Negro.

Now, at Maverick's expense, these haters of democracy are trying to prove that the poll tax is a good thing, in order to check the progressive movement against it. Actually the poll tax is one of the most besetting sins of capitalist government. It robs Negro Americans of the ballot, and disfranchises millions of white workers and sharecroppers who are too poor to pay to vote. By keeping the people from voting, the corrupt lynch governments in the South perpetuate themselves in power.

The case against Mayor Maverick shows how vital it is for democracy that the poll tax be wiped out and the right-to-vote movement in the South be given every support.

Washington, D. C. Post
November 4, 1939

Repeal Of The Poll Tax

To the Editor of The Post—Sir: I disagree with Mr. Frank G. Campbell's letter in opposition to repeal of the poll tax in Virginia.

West Virginia, a border State, has no poll tax; more citizens vote, the politicians are of a better quality and the State itself is far ahead of Virginia in many respects.

Few persons, aside from college students, public servants or labor leaders engaged in social research realize the deplorable conditions existing in Virginia. Since urban conditions are similar to like conditions in other States, we would like to point out certain rural problems that have not yet been solved. One hundred thousand families about half of the white rural population, and 65,000 Negro families or approximately three-fourths of the rural Negro population, must be classed as marginal from the standpoints of income, property holdings, living standards and educational levels. The income of the marginal families averages less than $600 a year, including home-produced supplies, exclusive of rent. One hundred thousand farm residences were worth less than $500 in 1930, and 100,000 white marginal families have a third more children than a parallel number of families of higher standards.

Almost half of Virginia's farms were under 50 acres in size in 1935, and over one-fourth under 20 acres, with even less acres under cultivation. Many farms are becoming too small to maintain a decent standard of living without supplementary nonfarm work, but supplementary work is not always available when needed, especially in nonindustrial areas.

Doctors, public welfare workers and home agents have testified that a high percentage of marginal families within the State have inadequate nutrition, especially in childhood. This may be partly explained by the fact Virginia per capita retail sales were only $176 in 1935 as compared to $257 for the Nation as a whole, the State ranking thirty-seventh in this respect. Virginia, a place of great natural beauty and strange contradictions of poverty and wealth side by side, also ranks from thirtieth to fortieth in over 30 other important counts.

In spite of a serious situation the people of Virginia seem unconcerned about the discontent and sordid poverty that is part and parcel of an obsolete social system throttling the Old Dominion.

GAMBOLS R. CUMMIN.
Alexandria, Va., Nov. 2.

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PARTY AFFILIATION

GENERAL

Presidential Possibilities Of Taft For G. O. P. Talked

Ohio Senator Would Stand for Negroes in Army and Navy with Full Recognition

To Stand By Anti-Lynching Law

By A. E. WHITE

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—Most of the candidates, or potential candidates, named at this early date by the Republican party, are either sound business men who have succeeded in public life or well seasoned men with fine background of family and tradition.

A happy combination of the two is found in the senator from Ohio, so frequently mentioned as a candidate for president by the Republican party. We are referring to Senator Robert A. Taft.

From the state which has given many presidents, Senator Taft comes as the latest offering of this great commonwealth.

Quoting from the Congressional Record biographical sketch: "Robert Alphonso Taft, born in Cincinnati, September 8, 1889; attended the public schools of Cincinnati and the Taft school, Watertown, Conn.; was graduated from Yale University with B. A. degree in 1910 and from Harvard University with LL. B. degree in 1913; attorney at law; served as assistant counsel for the United States Food Administration, 1917-18; counsel for the American Relief Administration in 1919; member of the Ohio House of Representatives, 1921-26, and served as speaker in 1926; served in the Ohio senate 1931-32; elected to the United States senate on November 8, 1938, for the term ending January 3, 1945."

The activities of Senator Taft cannot be told in the brief story, nor can his career be traced through these facts. Early in his life, he was familiar with the awesome program of the White House, where he and his brother were domiciled during the brief term of his father, William Howard Taft, who succeeded the great Theodore Roosevelt.

Here he learned many of the things through contact with the great men of the country which stood him in good stead in his later years. Immediately upon entering a life of political activity, Mr. Taft was thrown into a busy arena where he acquitted himself as the son of a president should. Meeting after meeting was held at which young Taft was the principal speaker. On each of these occasions, he impressed his audiences so much they sent him to the Ohio house of representatives for five years and then to the senate for one year.

Following 1932, he retired to private practice only to come out after his brother had won his political spurs and defeated an old line senator, Robert J. Bulkley, Democrat, in a decisive fashion. Spurred on by this success, Mr. Taft has made himself an important factor in the deliberations of the United State senate, and despite the attempts of various older senators to discredit him, has carved for himself a place in the Republican party.

In his office in the senate office building, where he is surrounded by an efficient corps of assistants headed by the very capable and efficient secretary, Miss Reeves, Mr. Taft sees all comers, working late in the evenings and frequently to catch up on his voluminous correspondence and demands for speeches.

Easy of approach, intelligent and gracious, Mr. Taft has come a long way since his name first was mentioned as a possible presidential candidate. Our first contact with him was when we talked with him in the infamous Bilbo bill to deport Negroes to Africa.

After the importance of the subject had been explained, Senator Taft made his statement, "I am opposed to any mass migrations. If any individual wants to go back to Africa he is free to do so, and I'll give him all the assistance I can."

When reminded of this last week, Senator Taft laughed easily and made the same statement.

"Of course,' he said, "I have addressed too many Negro gatherings to remember all of them. I think the only Ohio towns where I have not spoken to Negro groups are Akron and Youngstown. But I have made many addresses and have also made many friends among the Negro citizens of Ohio.

"I hope they will not be forgotten in the matter of jobs."

Outspoken on topics dealing with Negroes and their welfare, Senator Taft when asked about the establishment of a permanent relief set-up in the United States to take care of the millions of unemployed said:

"I do not believe that the federal government should engage in any permanent system of relief. The federal government should conduct a public works program covering projects in which the federal government has a direct interest, and that program should be varied so that it is larger in hard times than in good times. As far as relief is concerned, I believe it should be returned to the state as soon as possible, so that direct relief and work relief may be combined under one administration. I believe the federal government should grant to each state two-thirds of the total cost of relief, on condition that the states put up one-third, but that same leeway should be given so that in special cases of hardship the federal government might put up more than 66 2-3 per cent. The federal grant should be based on administration of relief agencies under civil service, and a condition of the granting of federal money should, of course, be that that there be no discrimination whatever, either in rate of wages or in character of jobs, because of race, color, or any other arbitrary classification. I beileve the federal government would be in a position to insist upon fair treatment to all, and would do so."

Senator Taft favors slum clearance to the fullest extent. He

"I am in favor of federal assistance to a slum clearance program. I voted recently for the additional housing money, although it seemed to me that the work should proceed somewhat more slowly than is contemplated because of the fact that the buildings are still of an experimental character. In slum clearance projects special attention should be given to the elimination of slums where colored people live because in many cities they have been forced into the most undesirable neighborhoods."

The problem of the "white primary" in the South was not quite clear to Senator Taft, but he feels that if there is a curtailment of constitutional rights for Negroes, something should be done in the matter.

"I am in favor of insuring Negroes their constitutional rights in the South. For this reason, I am in favor of federal anti-lynching legislation along the lines of the bill which failed last session, and would vote for cloture to bring about the passage of such a bill. I am in favor of every practical means of insuring the colored people the right to vote in the South," continued Senator Taft. "With respect to primary elections, I hesitate to have the federal government interfere in the methods in which primaries or conventions may be held in the different states. If the colored people can be insured their right to vote at the election, any party which adopts a white primary is going to stand a good chance of losing the election."

The military service of the United States also should be opened to Negroes in all phases, the senator beieves.

"I am in favor of fair treatment of Negroes in appointments to all branches of the army and navy air service, and I believe that the aeronautical program should insure training for Negro pilots, whether they attend Negro colleges or other colleges. I voted for the amendments, to the airplane bill,' Mr Taft continued, "intended to insure this result, although the one finally adopted was not as complete as I think it should have been.

"In the civil service, I am in favor of eliminating the requirement of a photograph in the making of civil service applications. I think there should be a greater proportion of colored appointeees in the various government departments in Washington."

Referring to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Taft said:

"I have always had a pleasant relation with the various gentlemen connected with this institution. I think they have found me cooperative. I have addressed many colored gatherings in the state of Ohio, particularly in Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Toledo, Lima and other cities. In Cincinnati, I have always insisted that the Republican organization nominate colored men for office, and we have succeeded in electing them to city council and to the legislature.

"As a member of the executive committee, I insisted on the election of Dr. R. P. McClain as president pro tem of the Cincinnati city council. I think you will find that the colored people in Ohio have found my attitude always sympathetic."

Referring back to the days when his father, William Howard Taft, was president, the senator recalled that his appointment to office included many Negroes, some of whom held exceptionally high posts in the government. Later, President Taft was a trustees of Hampton Institute and took a most active interest in the affairs of that institution.

Tall and well proportioned, the senator from Ohio, is verging toward stoutness although his well set up frame is able to carry any excess avoirdupois with becoming dignity and ease.

Although he is well seasoned political leader, Senator Taft is easy of approach and through the early seiges of the campaign has acquired mannerisms and poise which should make him genuine favorite. However, he is thoroughly at home in the important committee of which he is a member, the committee on Appropriations and in this comittee he has to match wits with such astute personages as Carter Glass, senator from Virginia, whose reputation is known to the far flung corners of the earth.

When presidential candidates are considered, the name of Senator Taft looms large on the horizon, and well it may, for here is a man who in the eyes of the people of his

own state has the abiilty and the will to do, backed by experience and training for leadership.

Concerning the affairs in his own state of Ohio, Senator Taft referred to many Negroes who have been active in political circles and spoke highly of their services to the party. He was genuinely interested in the welfare of the Negro in Ohio and expressed the hope that the present administration would continue the same attitude toward Negro voters as former administrations had observed.

An able man, of distinguished lineage, well trained and sympathetic to minority groups throughout the country, Senator Robert A. Taft will be a factor to reckon with when the Republican National convention is held.

Shall We Defeat Ourselves Politically?

As we become more conversant daily regarding our political status and the dire need for its improvement, we are forced to wonder if there isn't a hidden wedge among us or a Jonah on board our vessel.

We can hear in the churches, lodges, clubs, barbershops, beer gardens, pool rooms and on the streets: "We need a representative, we don't have this or that, we should be considered here or there, we are left out or off the job, we get raw deals, we fail to get justice in the court, we find ourselves minus of privileges in parks and we seem to be going backward instead of forward."

Why should we complain about things and conditions that men are supposed to remedy? Are we men or not? In this modern civilization and progressive age, having access to grade schools, high schools, colleges and universities, are we yet incapable of thinking and acting for the best interest of ourselves and the future of our children? The writer says "no", and emphatically "no". We pay too much attention to the high sounding words of those who seek to elevate themselves by keeping us in the dark that we may not be able to see our opportunities, and this renders us helpless to take the advantage of our possibilities. If we hope to succeed, it is essential for us to look at life and its many problems in a common sense and practical way. Don't let anybody spit in your face and then try to tell you that it was raining.

This year ye will have another election. What are we going to do about it? We have participated in elections before that were successful and others that were unsuccessful. We were successful when we concentrated on one candidate where there was only one office for which we were aspiring. We were unsuccessful when we appeared to be concentrating on more than one candidate where there was only one office for which we were aspiring. This damaging statement, "If two or more run for the same office, I will not support either or any one of them", has been used too frequently and unthoughtfully in the past, in our opinion. Think. Suppose some one or agency didn't want us to have a representative, wouldn't they succeed in their purpose of defeating us by paying some additional one to enter the race as a candidate among us, because we would not concentrate on supporting any one of our own candidates? Does this sound reasonable? Wouldn't it be better for us to make a choice and support him unitedly and have representation, or "SHALL WE DEFEAT OURSELVES POLITICALLY?"

—From The Michigan State Echo

JOB FOR MR. TAFT

Following President Roosevelt's invitation to Old Guard members of his party to "dry up" or get out, Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio has offered a home to the refugees in the Republican party and at the same time says there is nothing irreconcilable between the ideals of those Mr. Roosevelt has chased off his New Deal reservation and the ideals of rejuvenated Republicanism.

Presumably one of the invitations sent out by Mr. Taft went to Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina. If Senator Smith accepts and becomes a G.O.P. "jiner," the most embarrassed Republican in the country is going to be Senator Taft himself. The Ohio statesman will find that, owing to previous commitments, it is going to be a most difficult thing he ever tackled when he tries to tuck the colored brother and Senator Smith into the same bed, under the Republican roof.

As a distinguished Republican, Mr. Taft has stated how a member of his party feels toward colored Americans and their constitutional rights. Speaking to the students of Howard University recently, Mr. Taft went on record as follows:

"The foundation for the progress of the colored people is found in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and particularly in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. They ask nothing, more than every other citizen is entitled to, the right to life, liberty, and property, the right to vote, the right to a fair trial, and all the other rights which are guaranteed to every citizen. It is to guarantee these rights that the colored people are asking for and are entitled to an anti-lynching bill to protect those Federal constitutional rights which they now have in theory but which in some places they do not have in fact."

Senator Smith let the world know how he stood on the Constitution back in 1936 when he was in the National Democratic convention, and was asked to listen to a Democratic preacher of color ask Divine forgiveness for his brethren in white. Senator Smith, it will be remembered, ran out on the colored Democrat's prayer, and later summed up his disgust with Mr. Farley's devotional program as follows:

"There is not a man in America that has more regard for the Negro in his place than I have. But realizing as I do the unspeakable dangers inherent in this thing, I can not and will not be a party to the recognition of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments."

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
July 1, 1939

BOTH SEEK NEGRO VOTE

From the Columbia (S.C.) State.

Mark Sullivan, ancient and honorable Republican, speculates in his column about the South and 1940. If Southern states broke away in 1928 and voted the Republican ticket, why not do the same in 1940? The explanation of the 1928 break in the Southern political tradition was that Al Smith was a Catholic. Not many persons admitted that at the time; they said they disliked his voice, his manner, his wife or the fact that he was against prohibition. However, the prejudice against his religion was the main thing.

The urge to break free from the Democratic label in 1940 will be different, Sullivan admits, but he thinks it will be strong. "For the South," he says, "in addition to economic objections to the New Deal, has become fully aware that the New Deal favors Negro suffrage—not only favors it, but insists on it."

That's true. But what is the Republican attitude toward the Negro vote? Precisely the same as that of the New Deal. Why, then, should any Southern Democrat vote the Republican ticket because of his own party's attitude toward the Negro?

Macon Ga. Telegraph
September 11, 1939

Testing Our Poll Tax Laws

Suits were filed simultaneously in the federal courts at Nashville and Chattanooga "seeking to establish that a poll tax by states in a federal election is a violation of the constitution of the United States."

Both cases were initiated as tests by the Southern Conference on Human Welfare.

It is difficult to imagine that the supreme court of the United States, even as constituted today, would do such violence to the organic law as to hold that the federal government can regulate elections in the several states, even though the voting be to fill federal offices. It is purely a state affair as to what senators and representatives shall be sent to Washington by the voters back home and we do not vote for a president and vice-president of the United States. We still vote for state electors who, in theory, may cast their ballots for anyone they may choose.

But there are special reasons why the people of this country should protest against this recent drive to abolish the poll tax.

And anything sponsored by the Southern Conference on Human Welfare is under suspicion.

We only have to look around us to see how far we were plunging toward bankruptcy under the guidance of the lending and spending school. Billions of dollars have been poured out on the theory that the more money we borrowed and spent the richer we would be.

The war in Europe will probably bring an artificial and temporary prosperity and the demands for spending may taper off by the time congress meets again. But utter collapse was ahead of us if something had not intervened.

And in the last analysis, why has congress voted these billions of so-called pump-priming money? It is because the pressure groups have demanded it.

The pressure groups, in turn, have demanded these expenditures, involving heavier taxes, because they had the notion that they did not pay taxes.

Of course it isn't true. The indirect and invisible taxes men pay are many times greater than the direct levy, such as the income tax, which every man knows he pays, if he does pay it.

So long as only one man in twenty ever makes an income tax return and only one in ten pays an income tax, these pressure groups feeling that it was no skin off their backs have been like the daughters of the horse-leech, crying, "Give, give."

It may be impossible to arouse the average person in the low income brackets to the fact he pays taxes on everything he buys, but at all events the poll tax is a direct tax and therefore one that every citizen, if he wishes to vote, realizes he pays.

This poll tax has perhaps served some little purpose in restraining the pressure groups. They can't bring much pressure unless they can vote and they can't vote, in most states, unless they pay a poll tax.

This movement which has suddenly developed in recent years is the fruit of that "liberal" school of thought which, in many of its activities, has been only too closely identified with the radicalism which was slowly undermining the foundations of the government.

For example, what is the Southern Conference on Human Welfare?

When Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist party in America, was testifying before the Dies committee last week he said his party undertook to spread its "enlightenment" through "transmission belts."

He defined these as routes through which the Communists could contact the masses. He mentioned trades unions and peace societies.

The Associated Press account of the testimony then continues:

> Later questioning by Representative J. Parnell Thomas, Republican, of New Jersey, a committeeman, brought testimony from Browder that these additional organizations could be described as transmission belts:
>
> The National Lawyers' Guild, the American Student Union, the National Negro Congress, the American League for Peace and Democracy, the World Youth Congress, the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, the Negro Youth Congress, the Consumers' National Federation, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers' Alliance.

You will note that sixth on the list is the Southern Conference on Human Welfare.

Now, this is not the testimony of some "red-baiter." It is not the evidence of some moss-backed reactionary.

It is a plain statement by the general secretary of the Communist party—whose party by other testimony was linked direct with Moscow—that the Southern Conference on Human Welfare is one of the "transmission belts" and that transmission belts are used by the Communists to bring their "enlightenment" to the masses of the people.

There is nothing the average citizen can do perhaps to prevent the Human Welfare outfit from making this attack upon the rights of the states to regulate the franchise, but decent "liberals" who, after all, have nothing in common with Communism, can at least divorce themselves from this movement to abolish the poll tax when they see the group that is fostering it.

Any man or woman who will not pay a dollar or so for the right to exercise the franchise and shape the destinies of this country is not exactly a citizen to be proud of, and we had better nip this movement while we can.

POLITICAL-1939
SUFFRAGE

400 Negroes Registered

The young Negroes of Savannah are to be congratulated for the efficient work which they are doing through the Young Men's Civic Club. The club organized in October 1938 to make our folks conscious of their political weakness, shortcomings, has already caused 400 people to pay their poll tax and register.

Now this was no easy task, and according to officers of the club, at the outset registration was accetped down town as a matter of course, but as soon as the registration officials discovered what it was all about a monkey wrench was thrown in the wheel. New qualification requirements were set; prospective registrants are now required to carry a birth certificate, insurance policy, and be able ti give the five points of citizesship as well as understand certain clauses of the Constitution.

But despite this the club is measuring up, and soon its goal will have been reached, and our people will have a hand in charting the political future of our city and state.

1-29-39

Macon Ga Tele
January 11, 19

SOUTHERN NEGRO IS SEEKING VOTE

Harris Says Un - American Groups Allowed Ballot While Colored Race Is Denied

Un-American groups have the right to vote in the South but the Negro remains disfranchised, Prof. H. R. Harris, manager of the Georgia Baptist College here, pointed out last night in a talk to members of the Ymer club in the student activity building at Mercer University.

Professor Harris discussed the Negro vote in the South generally, explaining the Negro is not unhappy with his lot here and accepts his condition with no malice toward whites but is preparing to accept the opportunity to vote when it comes.

He said persons of foreign birth after meeting certain requirements attain the right to vote in this country, while the Negro in the South never has the opportunity.

Danger Cited

Such a condition, he said, might tend to turn the Negro into some alien political faith. However, he added, the Negro in the South is satisfied with his lot and is really better off than those in the North, where they are fooled into thinking they enjoy equality that does not actually exist.

The southern attitude toward franchising the Negro dates back to the Reconstruction period, the educator said, when the burden was on the whites. Following Reconstruction, he said, the burden shifted to the Negro, but the attitude has not changed.

Although the color line still is drawn both in the North and South, Prof. Harris said, the southern Negro is not worried about his social equality and does not seek it as such. He simply asks the opportunity to share in the political faith of his section.

As a reason why the Negro has not been prepared to accept the franchise, the educator pointed to the lack of educational opportunities in the South, using the situation in Georgia as an example. He said more is spent on transporting white students than is spent in educating the Negroes. Bibb county, he reported, has no accredited public high school for Negroes.

Under existing conditions, the speaker summarized, the Negro has little incentive to vote in the South.

HITS "WHITE PRIMARIES"

AUGUSTA, Ga. — The use of the ballot to abolish the "abominable white primaries of the South," was urged by President E. C. Peters, white, before a large group of students and visitors at chapel, last week.

"Wherever I have a chance to speak to white people I am saying the same thing to them," President Peters added.

Claim Officials Hinder Registering Of Negroes

Young's Men's Civic Club Is Experiencing Much Difficulty In Increasing Qualified Voters

The Young Men's Civic Club which for the past several months has come very prominently before the public attention because of its intensive campaign to increase the number of Negro voters in Chatham county, claims that its work has been greatly retarded during the past few weeks by an apparent attitude of opposition on the part of those who have charge of registration at the tax collector's office in the court house.

The organization avers that at first their efforts to boost registration seemed to have met with the hearty approval on the part of the registrars, but after the organization had succeeded in adding several hundred names to the registration book, there suddenly arose an avowed attitude of opposition to all applicants which the organization presented

Effort To Abolish Poll Tax Fails

Atlanta World
Atlanta Ga.

Georgia retains the right to tax and keep improverished people from voting by the use of the poll tax, it was decided at the legislature Tuesday.

1-25-39

In a unanimous vote, the senate committee on amendments to the constitution killed the proposal to abolish the $1 poll tax in the state.

Senator James H. McCranie was author of the bill which would have eliminated the tax as a requisite to voting in any election in the state. The senate committee found arguments favoring the proposal were inconclusive, it was reported. The tax has been attacked on various fronts as discriminatory to poor people, whether white or colored. Only the poorest states per capita of the deep south retain the poll tax feature.

Are We Asleep On Registration?

Important elections are always coming up---elections that concern fundamental rights, property and other rights.

But that duty cannot be assumed unless one has gone thru the formalities of paying one's taxes and registering as required by law. It is simply useless for us to discuss the undemocratic barriers put in our way to the free exercise of the ballot unless we are willing to take advantage of the opportunities open to us for the free exercise of our citizenship functions.

Forbidding primaries and other subterfuges which prevent any citizen from exercising his ballot will disappear as soon as we decide to use the power already in our hands as citizens of this republic.

Nothing of lasting value is ever handed to an individual or a group on a silver platter. Indeed, there are certain values in life that cannot be acquired by the individual without his own cooperation in the matter. The exercise of the franchise is one of them. In a country like ours, no normalcy can exist unless every man does his duty toward his citizenship rights and duties.

Negroes Vote En Masse

MACON, Ga.—(SNS)—

Evidence of the interest of local Negroes in the franchise was shown at the polls here last Wednesday when balloting was held to determine the winner of a seat on the Board of Water Commissioners.

Contesting for the election to the post were Clyde T. Williams, incumbent, and Eden Taylor.

250 COLORED VOTERS

When the polls closed late Wednesday the MACON BROADCAST tabulator had accounted for approximately 250 colored voters who had cast a ballot. Tabulation was not started until late in the afternoon and it is not known how many voters had passed the polls before that time.

Rumor circulated like wild fire in colored voting camps that Macon's colored Civic and Political League, the Quizz Club was split as to choice of candidate. It was learned from authentic sources late the afternoon of the voting that in the club's first caucus one candidate was voted to receive the support of the membership of the club. Information to this effect was circulated among members of the club not in attendance at the meeting.

INTERNAL STRIFE

On the morning of the election, another set of instructions was received by members of the club, endorsing the opposing candidate. At first political trickery was suspected, but it was later learned that the club was suffering from internal strife, with two strong factions seeking to have the membership vote their respective ways.

Observers pointed out that the colored vote, in many ways insignificant in the actual election of a candidate was rendered entirely nondeterminant by the effects of this political bickering that in all probabilities split the colored vote.

BIGWIGS ARE SILENT

Political bigwigs of the Quizz Club were for the most part silent as to what future activities of the organization will be. Several distinguished members have voiced their determination that the recent unfortunate incident shall not be repeated and that the club will go on seeking to awaken the Negro to his potential political strength.

Educators, businessmen, housewives, clergymen, and laymen were noted among the colored citizens who exercised the franchise Wednesday. Voters from every ward in which Negroes are residents were in evidence.

Many of the interesting highlights that accompany polling in any area were noted. Touters who lurked around the doors of the polling places lent color to the occasion as they casually or emphatically dropped a word of influence for their candidate.

REGISTRATION TO INFLUENCE

Despite the fact that the ugly head of political differences raised itself in the colored camps, it was interesting to note the profound interest that was evidenced by the darker one-third of Macon's population. With emphasis still being placed on registration and qualifying for the right of the franchise, it is expected that the colored vote will become an important factor in many coming city elections.

Results of the election will be certified by the city council at its next regular meeting, when the winning candidate will take the oath of office. The city council will meet Tuesday, September 26.

GRANDPA CLAUSE' CALLED MISNOMER

Constitution

Arnall Says Phrase Is Incorrect as Relating to Finance.

11-30-39

The term "grandfather clause" as used in state fiscal discussions is a misnomer, Attorney General Ellis Arnall declared yesterday.

The description is generally applied to a clause which, far from being a grandfather in age, was created January 1, 1932. It is the automatic reductions clause of the budget act passed by the Russell administration.

Atlanta, Ga.

In effect the clause wipes out as state obligations any appropriations balances unpaid because of revenue deficiencies. Nobody seemed to know exactly when or where this clause was dubbed the "grandfather clause."

Arnall believes possibly it got mixed up with the real grandfather clause in the Georgia constitution, found in Paragraph 4, Section 1, Article 2 of the constitution which set up as one ground for qualifying an elector the fact that he had to be the descendant of someone who fought in the War Between the States, Revolutionary War, war with the Indians, war with Mexico, or War of 1812.

"In other words if anyone wanted to challenge eligibility of a voter under that old section he might ask 'What war did your grandfather fight in'," Arnall said laughingly.

Fiscal officials agreed that reduction clause, automatic reduction clause, or budget balancing clause would be a better name for the 7-year-old statutory provision

POLITICAL - 1939
SUFFRAGE

ILLINOIS

McCoy Comments On Vote Fraud Case

Commenting on the recent election fraud cases in which many of our Race are involved, Assistant State's Attorney Walter L. McCoy declared that we, as a race, should avoid all political entanglements that would defeat the purpose of election laws.

"Our kinsmen of the South were largely disfranchised during the Reconstruction era for just such practices as these. Whether they were true or not, we are not in position to state, but we do know the results of the accusations; voteless citizens by the thousands.

"The sanctity of the ballot must be protected if Democracy is to survive. Those who contrive to nullify the will of a citizen as expressed in his vote by stealing it from the person for whom it was intended and counting it for another are the lowest and most dangerous thieves on earth. Such acts, unchecked, will destroy the very foundations of liberty."

Mr. McCoy stated we cannot afford to introduce "tricky politics" at the ballot box because other races have inaugurated such practices in their wards. They were born with the ballot; we acquired it he said, through acts of legislation that were biterly fought to deny us this right, which should be incentive enough for us to guard and protect it almost religiously.

Chicago Newsman-Cartoonist Convicted Of Vote Fraud

CHICAGO, Nov. (ANP)—Henry Brown, widely known newsman, a former publisher and for several years head cartoonist for a local weekly paper, last Monday was found guilty of a vote fraud charge before County Judge Jarecki.

Brown was given a three year jail sentence for ballot box "stuffing" but on Wednesday was released in $2500 bail pending an appeal of the case. Atty. Richard E. Westbrooks, prominent local barrister who handled the court proceedings in Cong. Arthur W. Mitchell's "Jim Crow" suit against the Rock Island Railroad, was counsel for Brown and arranged his release. The attorney has filed notice of an appeal.

Reports indicate that Brown—Democratic judge of election in the 58th precinct, 4th ward—was mainly convicted on the testimony of two other poll workers; Mrs. Madette Bryant, Republican judge and Mrs. Nadie Kirksey, Democratic judge. The women officials were fined $500, each given a day in jail. Mrs. Bryant was reportedly released after payment of her fine.

Local election officials, headed by Judge Jarecki, have started a City-wide investigation of the ballots cast in the last April election. Stem of the probe in the Negro precinct, it was said, lay in the fact that 386 ballots had allegedly been cast in the precinct, but that only 334 voters were registered.

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KANSAS

You Should Vote!

In a few days the people in Kansas will go to the polls and vote for city officials in various cities and towns throughout Kansas. Every person of voting age should go to the polls on that day and vote. Voting is one privilege that all Americans can share alike in parts of the country where members of our race are not denied franchise. The ballot is secret and no one will know how you cast your vote.

Candidates who have come before you seeking your suffrage have records. Those who have served you have records and you should know who is worthy and who is unworthy. Now is the time to do your big talk and acting on issues and matters that have been to your dissatisfaction. Instead of talking so much, go to the polls and vote. Vote for those candidates who are worthy of holding public office and who will give our race the proper recognition in patronage and the chance to advance economically, socially and educationally. 3-24-39

Election day should mean more to us than a mere handout on election day and a few promises that never materialize. When we go to the polls, we should be concerned about the men we put in office to the extent that we should know what they propose to do in regards to giving members of our race the proper amount of patronage. The general condition of the communities in which we live should be given rank attention. We should be concerned as to whether our communities are properly policed for the protection of our property and families, as to whether we have the proper protection in the matter of fires, whether we will get the proper consideration in the matter of schooling, the best teachers available, as to whether we will be protected in the matter of taxes on our person and property and all of those things that vitally concern our economic security.

These are just some of the things that every Negro should think about when he walks to the polls.

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LOUISIANA

Action of White Groups In Louisiana to Benefit Registration of Negroes

Call 8-8-39

By LEON LEWIS

NEW ORLEANS.— (ANP) —The Citizens Voluntary committee and the Peoples league, two white organizations that have made much gains in "cleaning out" jury venires and vote registration practices, are instituting a permanent program that will ultimately aid the Negro citizenry of this city and state in their fight for unhampered vote registration and jury service. Kansas City, Mo.

The Peoples league in protesting 34 of 75 veniremen selected for grand jury service were raked over the coals by Judge Platt when he said, "I guarantee you that if I let everybody off this grand jury you say, I'll end up with about three Negroes on it."

The league protested the names selected on the grounds that they were either relatives of state officials or had some connections with state offices.

Out of the 1,062 eligibles for grand jury service only 94 were Negroes. The league thinks that this small percentage is not enough to satisfy the recent supreme court ruling. They principally want to guard against a hand picked jury in the "tax racket case."

It was found that Negro prospects for jury service were unquestionably qualified and in the opinion of the league, were not mixed up with rotten state politics.

The citizens group sent a letter to the registrar of voters asking that deputies be restrained from the practice of requiring poll book registration certificates from those attemping to register for voting. This and other "deputy" measures have been one of the main reasons why Negroes have been subjected to the famed "vote bar." The group explained that this was in violation of the constitution.

Negroes of this city have been aroused to a general vote consciousness, and white groups, of the above nature, have agreed to cooperate with them in securing absolute ballot rights and unhampered jury services.

Negroes Can't Vote; Fired By Huey Long's Brother

32 EMPLOYES OUSTED FROM STATE HOUSE

Louisiana Governor Wants Jobs for Whites Who Cast Ballots

BATON ROUGE, La. — Earl Long, brother of the famed Huey Long, who ascended to the gubernatorial chair when the G-Men turned the heat on ex-Gov. Dick Leche and scores of other Louisiana politicians for corrupt practices, extended his ousting panic to include 32 Negroes employed in various capacities at the state capitol here.

Kansas City, Mo. 8-12-39

In the last few days the governor, popularly branded as the "earl of thievery," used state troops to oust Atty. General Ellison, who was instrumental in the investigation of grand jury charges against New Orleans District Atty. Charles Byrne.

Statements have come that the 32 Negroes fired will be replaced by white employes, as a patronage move to secure votes for his reelection, since Negroes cannot vote in state elections.

Colored leaders and organizations are up in protest to the precedent that they may be extended to affect hundreds of others in state employ. Several resolutions and letters of protest have been sent the governor.

Discussion throughout Negro circles in Baton Rouge and New Orleans is growing in momentum and the governor has been accused of "furthering the shame that this state had blazoned to the nation."

They say his acts are a disgrace to the name "Long," knowing that his brother, Huey, who was branded as a "dictator," had never taken such un-American action against any minority group but had rather opened avenues at the expense of the rich to foster their economic recourse.

Reports are that Negro employes of Charity hospital are being given the ax as fast as they can be replaced with whites.

The governor, opening his campaign in New Orleans Wednesday, could not be reached by a group determined to ask him in person relative to the ouster.

Youth Launches Ballot Campaign

Chicago Defender 8-19-39

NEW ORLEANS, (By Samuel Hoskins for ANP)—The New Orleans Youth council made the initial step of its program to secure the ballot for the voteless Negro population of Louisiana. Monday trucks and cars literally dumped hundreds into the office of the civil sheriff to secure poll-tax certificates for 1939. Displaying cards upon which was written the slogan "A voteless people is a hopeless people" the gigantic crowd declared en masse "we are tired of being a hopeless people."

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SUFFRAGE

La. Graft Probe Break For Race

Negro Voters Register Without Any Fanfare

8-16-39

By ROBERT McKINNEY

NEW ORLEANS—(ANP)—That weird episode, the L. S. U. scandal featuring Dr. James Monroe Smith ex-president of the school, who has 41 counts against him, and his cohort of political advisers, has been lured to New Orleans from Baton Rouge by unique manipulations that netted millions of dollars for some of the highest political office holders in the state. Most of them have been indicted but federal investigators say it's only the beginning, singling out Louisiana as one of the most politically corrputed states in the country.

The investigators have drawn a Negro porter of Newman Harris Investment company into their net and questioned him thoroughly. His name could not be ascertained for some strange reason. And it is no secret that a very prominent Negro doctor, Taylor Segue graduate of Howard university, is likely to be questioned as a member of the Abe Shusan jury which is said to have been tampered with two years ago. Shusan, millionaire boss politician, was charged with evading income taxes, but was found not guilty by the jury. Dr. Segue is out of town on his vacation, but the odds are five to one he will be brought back inside of a week.

RACE BENEFITS

Although the whole situation is full of corruption and disgrace, it has its good points, the most astonishing of which is the registration of Negro voters without any fanfare. The Orleans Levee board temporarily granted Negroes beautiful Seabrook for swimming a few weeks ago to save its face. And many school principals say that the public school system is sending material to their Negro schools that have never been seen or heard of before.

"I can't understand it,' said one principal; "all of our orders are being filled promptly this year for the first time in fifteen years, and we are getting things we didn't even ask for."

After the dark, dirty clouds are moved, maybe a new moon will shine for Negroes in Louisiana.

AFTER ELLENDER

Of special interest to Negroes is the fight of Sen. Allen J. Ellender, filibusterer extraordinaire and enemy of the anti-lynch bill, and the local press. Ellender is with the state machine. The press is after his scalp and is very likely to get it in the next election, because of his assertion that "the press of the nation is losing the confidence of the public by its underhand tactics. I would not be a bit surprised in a few years if congress took measures to curb it."

The New Orleans States, a power in Louisiana political affairs and first to expose its graft and corruption, editorially lambasted Ellender last week as the "bold, bad man from Louisiana,' stating, "this boy doesn't know his own strength. He's going to threttle all the newspapers, and then kill off the constitution."

HARRISON PROMISES HE'LL FIGHT TO KEEP STATE POLL TAX LAW

Mississippi's Senior Senator Announces Stand In Face Of Repealists' Plans

Commercial Appeal

FAVORS LESS SPENDING

He Will Join Others In Seeking National Retrenchment

12-23-39

SUPPORTS TRADE PACTS

Memphis

Senate Leader Will Work To Retain Reciprocal Agreements At Next Session—Sees It As Big Issue

From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Mississippi, Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 22—Senator Harrison said here today that he was opposed to any attempt to repeal the Mississippi poll tax laws at the approaching or any other session of the Legislature, and said he would fight for the continuation of the present requirements necessary for participating in state elections.

A fight to repeal the $2 poll tax fee law has been forecast at the coming session in January.

Retrenchment Favored

Turning to national affairs, he said that the questions of an increase necessary for an expansion of the national defense program and a new tax measure must be evolved at further conferences between President Roosevelt, Treasury officials and congressional leaders.

At the same time, Senator Harrison declared he would co-operate at the next session of the Congress with executive heads of the Government in seeking adoption of a national retrenchment program designed to provide "an approach toward a balanced budget."

Leader of the fight in behalf of legislation paving the way for reciprocal trade agreements with some 30 countries, Senator Harrison said that this issue would be one of the most controversial at the next session.

Pledges Aid in Fight

In forecasting that the reciprocal trade agreement would be a highly disputed issue, he said:

"It was my duty to lead the fight when we passed the original legislation, and, for its continuance, I shall lead the fight at the next session of Congress.

"The reciprocal trade agreements have been a great help in maintaining peaceful and cordial relations with those governments, and has reflected itself in large trade between these countries. It has been a great advantage to the agriculture and manufacturing interests of this country.

"The failure of Congress to continue the law would not only affect these agreements already made, but would prevent the making of any further new trade agreements after June 12.

Must Maintain Credit

"I have no doubt," he added, "that the country is finally awakened to the serious afterthoughts of the large appropriations for certain purposes, and I shall co-operate with the executive heads of the Government and the congressional membership in seeing adopted a retrenchment program — a rational retrenchment program that will give assurance to an approach toward a balanced budget within a reasonable time. The credit of the Government must be maintained."

Senator Harrison expressed "best wishes," and a desire to co-operate to the "limit," with incoming Gov. Paul B. Johnson and his administration.

He predicted Governor White who vacates his office on Jan. 16 will rank high in history as one of great chief executives in Mississippi history.

Commercial Appeal

Senator Harrison had no comment to make on "third term talk," other than to say "I am not a candidate."

12-23-39

No War Fears

He expressed "complete confidence" that the United States will not become embroiled in the European War.

The senator left for Crystal Springs late this afternoon to spend the holidays, and said he planned to spend part of the holiday season at Leakesville, and one day next week plans to accompany Rand Batson of Pearl River County on a deer hunt.

Senator Harrison said he would leave the Gulf Coast Dec. 30 for Washington.

"One of the most important things at the next session will be to get through with the appropriations," he said. "The President will make some recommendations for cuts. He will probably recommend an increase for national defense.

Has Program In Mind

"I would like very much to see legislation passed to enable the poorer states to pay a reasonable amount for old age assistance. A program I have in mind would be an increase of Federal assistance. There are a number of Southern states unable to match the Federal aid.

"I am heartily in favor of giving assistance to every needy person, 65 years or older. I would like to see each receive at least $15 a month. In order for this to be accomplished the Federal Government would appropriate $10 of this amount while the state would put up $5. The whole Mississippi delegation at the last regular session made a fight to adopt this policy."

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MISSOURI

Analysis of Negro Votes Was Given At Dinner Meeting

The Citizens' Committee, Witherspoon for Board of Education, presented an analysis of the votes cast and recommendations for future action on matters pertaining to the schools at a dinner meeting at the Pine Street "Y" last Tuesday, April 18.

An analysis of the nine city wards with heavy Negro registration was made by George U. Cloud who was given considerable study of the votes cast in the School Board election. It was shown that 14,000 Negro votes were cast for Witherspoon in these nine city wards, with 2,424 votes coming from the 23rd ward, the only ward to give the candidate a substantial majority. James J. Fitzgerald led the School Board ticket in Negro wards with more than 24,000 votes.

The Citizens' Committee has planned an organization and a two-year program to arouse public interest in school problems. Mrs. Ruth Page, who managed the Witherspoon campaign, presided at the meeting and was elected to contact all organized groups of colored people and to appoint speakers to conduct an educational program to inform the public on problems pertaining to the schools.

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NEW YORK

NAACP To Challenge Florida's New White Primary Voting Law

The law which has just been passed by the Florida legislature providing for "non-partisan white primaries" in the city of Miami will be challenged at the first opportunity, it was announced here by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The N. A. A. C. P. refused to commit itself to any line of action until it had secured the text of the bill which has passed the legislature and now awaits the signature of Governor Cone.

At the same time spokesmen for the association pointed out that a similar statute passed by the Texas legislature was carried up to the United States Supreme Court by association attorneys in 1935 where it was declared unconstitutional.

The high court held that primaries were a part of the election and that no distinction could be made between citizens on account of race, creed or color in primaries by state statute.

In the excitement over Negroes voting in Miami May 2, in such large numbers, despite the threats of the Ku-Klux Klan, the Florida legislature evidently has overlooked the outcome in the Texas case and has passed a bill deliberately excluding Negroes from the primary election.

"If Governor Cone of Florida signs this bill," said the N. A. A. C. P. statement, "the association will offer its legal staff and moral and financial support to any colored person in Miami who wishes to challenge the law."

REGISTRATION GAINS MADE

Over 69,000 Negro Voters Went To The Polls Last Week To Set A Record

Politicians are busy this week trying to analyze the record registration of voters in Harlem; some 69,000 Negro voters went to the polls last week and registered in order to qualify to vote this November in what is called an off-year election.

The registration which is not approaching the heavy enrollment recorded in the gubernatorial campaign last year or the mayoralty campaign in 1937, still exceeds the number of voters who went to the polls in the last off-year election held four years ago.

By assembly districts, the estimated Negro enrollment in Harlem for this year follows:

A.D.	Enrollment
[illegible]	6,000
[illegible]	6,000
[illegible]	10,000
[illegible]	20,000
[illegible]	21,000
22	6,000
Total	69,000

There are several contributing factors to this large turn-out of voters, political observers said, among them being the fact that W. P. A. workers and relief clients were advised by their supervisors and investigators that they had to register and vote. Another important factor was the activity of various insurgent groups which have just been ousted in various political fights in the primary elections last month; the insurgents helped get out the vote so that in the next primaries they can continue their fight to elect their own state committeemen.

Still another important factor, it is said, is the fact that there are two Negro candidates running in Harlem for the office of City Councilman and friends and organizations working in their behalf urged voters to go to the polls and register in order to vote under proportional registration in the hope that this year a Negro may be elected to the City Council from Harlem.

On the basis of the borough-wide figures which determine the number of councilmen to be elected, Manhattan stands to lose two councilmen while over in Brooklyn, the loss will be two also.

Negro Candidates

Wide interest is being manifested in the effort of Negroes to elect a Negro to the City Council and it is said that the prospects look brighter this year than ever before. In Manhattan there are two Negro candidates, Frank Crosswaith, one of two American Labor party candidates, and Percy Foster, one of three Democratic party candidates. The Republicans did not nominate a Negro but announced that they would concentrate on two candidates.

In view of the loss of two Councilman in Manhattan, the campaigning is expected to be intensive, but despite this, observers feel that Crosswaith will be elected through what they said was an increased enrollment of persons in the American Labor party. Added to the regular endorsement of the party they pointed out that Crosswaith has another advantage—the trade unionists who stand committed to work for his election.

In Brooklyn, Benjamin F. Butler, Jr., florist who two years ago was barely nosed out in the Councilmanic race, is again a City Fusion party candidate and may be able to poll enough votes this year to win even though the borough's representation in the Council is cut two members like Manhattan.

The large off-year registration in the 19th Assembly District was interpreted by observers as being indicative of a bitter primary fight planned for next year when state committeemen will be elected as well as presidential convention delegates.

ABOLISH P. R.!

NEW YORK CITY has just seen its second election under the Proportional Representation plan again fail of its idealistic purpose and once again The New York Age hopes that in the not too distant future someone in Albany will propose another referendum this time aimed to abolish the P. R. system and return to the local district type of representation for the city government.

More than three years ago P. R. was under consideration and was being urged by civic groups as being the only system under which true representative government could be obtained, The New York Age editorially advised against the change and predicted that P. R. would be a dismal failure. Harlemites, however, failed to heed our warning at that time and they, too, fell easy prey to the silvery tongued oratory of proponents of the system. When the electorate went to the polls, P. R. was voted for overwhelmingly. We cannot refrain, however, now that the general public is complaining about the failure of P. R., to say "We told you so."

Aside from the fact that P. R. was supposed to give the city truly representative government by Councilmen who would be representatives of all minority groups (that is in blocks of one Councilman for every 75,000 valid first choice votes), there was another consideration which was one of the prime and motivating reasons for the change—P. R. would save the city money. Instead of there being 52 Aldermen at annual salaries of $5,000 per annum there would be at the most from 21 to 30 at the same salaries.

Let us examine the facts as they are after two years of P. R. and with two more years of it facing us:

The City Council is far from being truly representative of minorities and instead has continued to be the stronghold of Tammany Hall.

The City Council has failed to save the city money and on the contrary has cost the city hundreds of thousands of dollars more than the Board of Aldermen did.

Of particular importance to Negroes is the fact that for the last two years they have gone unrepresented in the City Council whereas under the Board of Aldermen there were always certain to be two Negro members; expansion of the race into the upper and lower reaches of Manhattan almost made it certain that by now there would have been four Aldermen of the Negro race.

Is any system which keeps Negroes from electing Negro representatives, democratic? No!

Is any system which costs the city hundreds of thousands of dollars more than another system, a saving one? No!

We've tried to examine all the argument for and against P. R. and after due consideration of all of them and after watching the system work out, The New York Age still urges that P. R. be abolished. In so large a city as New York, we've got to be practical and not idealistic to our own detriment.

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NEW YORK

NAACP To Challenge Florida's New White Primary Voting Law

The law which has just been passed by the Florida legislature providing for "non-partisan white primaries" in the city of Miami will be challenged at the first opportunity, it was announced here by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The N. A. A. C. P. refused to commit itself to any line of action until it had secured the text of the bill which has passed the legislature and now awaits the signature of Governor Cone.

At the same time spokesmen for the association pointed out that a similar statute passed by the Texas legislature was carried up to the United States Supreme Court by association attorneys in 1935 where it was declared unconstitutional.

The high court held that primaries were a part of the election and that no distinction could be made between citizens on account of race, creed or color in primaries by state statute.

In the excitement over Negroes voting in Miami May 2, in such large numbers, despite the threats of the Ku-Klux Klan, the Florida legislature evidently has overlooked the outcome in the Texas case and has passed a bill deliberately excluding Negroes from the primary election.

"If Governor Cone of Florida signs this bill," said the N. A. A. C. P. statement, "the association will offer its legal staff and moral and financial support to any colored person in Miami who wishes to challenge the law."

REGISTRATION GAINS MADE

Over 69,000 Negro Voters Went To The Polls Last Week To Set A Record

Politicians are busy this week trying to analyze the record registration of voters in Harlem; some 69,000 Negro voters went to the polls last week and registered in order to qualify to vote this November in what is called an off-year election.

The registration while not approaching the heavy enrollment recorded in the gubernatorial campaign last year or the mayoralty campaign in 1937, still exceeds the number of voters who went to the polls in the last off-year election held four years ago.

By assembly districts, the estimated Negro enrollment in Harlem for this year follows:

A.D.	Enrollment
[illegible]	6,000
[illegible]	6,000
[illegible]	10,000
[illegible]	20,000
[illegible]	21,000
22	6,000
Total	69,000

There are several contributing factors to this large turn-out of voters, political observers said, among them being the fact that W. P. A. workers and relief clients were advised by their supervisors and investigators that they had to register and vote. Another important factor was the activity of various insurgent groups which have just been ousted in various political fights in the primary elections last month; the insurgents helped get out the vote so that in the next primaries they can continue their fight to elect their own state committeemen.

Still another important factor, it is said, is the fact that there are two Negro candidates running in Harlem for the office of City Councilman and friends and organizations working in their behalf urged voters to go to the polls and register in order to vote under proportional registration in the hope that this year a Negro may be elected to the City Council from Harlem.

On the basis of the borough-wide figures which determine the number of councilmen to be elected, Manhattan stands to lose two councilmen while over in Brooklyn, the loss will be two also.

Negro Candidates

Wide interest is being manifested in the effort of Negroes to elect a Negro to the City Council and it is said that the prospects look brighter this year than ever before. In Manhattan there are two Negro candidates, Frank Crosswaith, one of two American Labor party candidates, and Percy Foster, one of three Democratic party candidates. The Republicans did not nominate a Negro but announced that they would concentrate on two candidates.

In view of the loss of two Councilman in Manhattan, the campaigning is expected to be intensive, but despite this, observers feel that Crosswaith will be elected through what they said was an increased enrollment of persons in the American Labor party. Added to the regular endorsement of the party they pointed out that Crosswaith has another advantage—the trade unionists who stand committed to work for his election.

In Brooklyn, Benjamin F. Butler, Jr., florist who two years ago was barely nosed out in the Councilmanic race, is again a City Fusion party candidate and may be able to poll enough votes this year to win even though the borough's representation in the Council is cut two members like Manhattan.

The large off-year registration in the 19th Assembly District was interpreted by observers as being indicative of a bitter primary fight planned for next year when state committeemen will be elected as well as presidential convention delegates.

ABOLISH P. R.!

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NORTH CAROLINA

Durham, N. C., Morning Herald
May 17, 1939

TOO MUCH OR NOT ENOUGH

In the course of the recent municipal election at Raleigh a Negress, delivered there by a Negro man hired to haul voters to the polls, entered the voting place and voted under a name other than her own. She was "found out," arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced. During the process the identity of the person who engineered her in her crime was revealed and his "employer," or co-conspirator, was strongly hinted at.

All of that took place immediately after the election. Quite a to-do was made over it and certain good words were bestowed upon the parties who "busied themselves in the interest of honesty in election."

For one reason or another, however, those who acted promptly to punish the Negress who voted under another's name forgot about the hireling who caused her to do so. A warrant was issued for the "hauler" but no one hurried to serve it.

Then a superior court judge, Judge Stevens, stepped in and ordered the man arrested. Wake county officers, procuring a new warrant, did so in short order with comparatively little trouble. Presumably he will render an account in keeping with that exacted of the Negress he helped into trouble.

All of that is for the best and good as far as it goes. But, as is the case in so many instances today, the real culprit is not the Negress who voted out of turn nor the Negro who persuaded and helped her to do so. Somebody among the so-called "higher-ups" initiated and paid for the evil deed. Somebody who was active in the campaign and used his money and influence therein. Indeed, it is in the record, supplied by the arrested parties, that the Negress voted in exchange for monetary compensation and the Negro hauled for pay—two dollars per head.

That sort of thing goes on in all elections, it is true, and for a long time has been ignored, glossed over, or just entered as an evil that has to be put up with because it cannot be eliminated. But if that is the correct attitude, then why pick on the little fellows? Why arrest a Negress for voting out of order at the behest of a white man who knows better, if nothing is to be done with the real responsible party—the white man who provides the money. Why arrest the "little fellow" who hauls "bought voters" to the polls if the "big fellow" who does the buying is to be granted immunity?

Really, the Raleigh brethren have arrested too many or they haven't arrested enough. For the person who uses his superior intelligence, position, and his money to induce his inferiors to prostitute the ballot is a more contemptible citizen than the none too intelligent citizen who sells his ballot. And when society condemns the one and condones the other it invites disintegration.

Raleigh, N. C., News & Observer
May 14, 1939

Who Hired Williams?

The ends of justice were served when Judge Henry L. Stevens sentenced Sarah King, a Negro woman who voted in the name of another in the recent municipal election in Raleigh, to serve six months in jail.

But a great injustice will be done to the King woman and to the cause of justice itself if the matter is allowed to end there. The woman was ignorant. Judge Stevens properly decided that ignorance is no excuse for such a crime. But there is even less excuse for permitting the real culprit to go free.

That culprit is Calvin Williams, a Negro man, who induced the King woman to impersonate another, carried her to the polls and himself marked her ballot under the old law, which was not repealed as to elections by the 1939 "markers" law.

Williams is well known and was active at the polls during the day. But he has not been apprehended. The King woman testified that she was told to vote for "Judge Barnes." Judge Barnes was not a candidate, although active in the campaign.

But while Williams is the real culprit in comparison with Sarah King, it may well be that Williams himself was a mere tool. Is it possible that the reason he has "not been found" is that in addition to being guilty he knows too much?

Who hired Williams to work at the polls and what other frauds did he perpetrate during the day?

Those questions must be answered before this case can be considered at an end.

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NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville N. C. Citizen
March 2, 1939

SEEK AID FOR NEGRO CITIZENS AT THE POLLS

Raleigh Bureau of
The Asheville Citizen

RALEIGH, March 1.—The Asheville-Buncombe county negro teachers association has requested the Buncombe county legislative delegation to sponsor legislation enabling negroes to register and vote in Asheville and Buncombe county.

A special committee composed of Isma W. James, chairman, and Ethel P. Marsh, secretary, requested the legislators to sponsor "some measures which will in the future prevent the disfranchisement of qualified negro citizens who have been adjudged illiterate in past elections by registrars at the precinct . . . located in the Buncombe county courthouse".

"As a group interested in the furtherance of democratic principles and in the progress of North Carolina, we most earnestly solicit your interest in this matter", the committee wrote.

"We learn from the local press that a bill is now being sponsored that would change the personnel of the local elections committee. May we ask, in this issue, the appointment of such persons to this committee, who will accord to qualified negroes more democratic treatment at the local polls?"

Asheville N. C. Citizen
April 15, 1939

Negro Voters To Hold Mass Meeting Sunday

A special mass meeting of all registered negro voters and members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be held at 4:30 o'clock tomorrow afternoon at the So Journey Truth home at 54 Bartlett street. The chairman of the legal redress committee will advise those attending regarding voting in the Democratic primary Tuesday.

Advocates Of Reform Gain More Than They Expected

Rules Finally Adopted Represent Numerous Compromises Between Reformists And Their Opponents—Governor Called For Changes

Raleigh, April 4.—(AP)—Charges of "fraud" and "irregularities" in primaries and general elections last year have given North Carolina's electorate a brand new set of elections laws.

Members of the general assembly showed by their comments when they arrived in Raleigh in January that they were deeply concerned about these charges and were determined to do something to prevent their recurrence.

Governor Hoey heightened this determination by recommending election law reforms in his biennial message to the general assembly, and changes in the election laws remained a subject of legislative discussion and debate until enactment of the bill to curb markers last Saturday.

As enacted the new laws represent numerous compromises between reformers and their opponents and lack a great deal of attaining the ideal as laid down by the state board of elections in its biennial report to Governor Hoey.

However, those interested in reform readily admit that they accomplished a great deal more than ever dreamed could be accomplished. They see an end at last of the "professional marker," of the wholesale misuse of absentee ballots, and of registration books which contain names of thousands of persons long since dead or moved away.

Here are the new laws as they compare with suggestions of the state board of elections:

Absentee ballot: The state board recommended either complete abolition of absentee voting or a new law throwing rigid safeguards around its use. The general assembly enacted a law abolishing the absentee ballot in primaries and providing rules for absentee voting in general elections almost as rigid as the elections board suggested.

Markers: The elections board recommended a strict law on markers which would permit a voter to get assistance in marking his ballot only after taking an oath that he was illiterate or incapacitated, that would allow a marker to mark only one voter's ballot and would apply to primaries and general elections. The bill enacted into law applies only to primaries, does not require the voter to swear he is illiterate or incapacitated and allows election officials to mark ballots if no other marker is available. It does prohibit a marker, other than an election official, from aiding more than one voter.

New registration: The elections board asked for a law requiring a new registration before the next primary in every county in the state except those which have had new registrations in the past two years. The general assembly enacted a law providing for a complete "purge" of registration books. In addition the law allows county boards of elections to call new registrations and give the state board enough authority to force new registrations in a number of counties.

Division of precincts: The state board asked for a law to require splitting of all precincts with more than 500 voters. The legislature refused to pass this measure after opponents contended it would be too expensive.

Also enacted into law were bills to permit split-ticket voting, increasing the pay of election officials, and moving the first primary from the first Saturday in June to the last Saturday in May, thus avoiding having the second primary fall on the Fourth of July weekend when large numbers of voters are away from home.

When legislators began arriving the first of January, it was apparent that most house members felt something should be done to the election laws, senators appeared less desirous of change. Although most representatives have their own ideas of how to correct the absentee ballot, it was apparent they were divided into three general groups: Those who would abolish the absentee ballot entirely, those who wanted to keep the absentee ballot in general elections and abolish it in primaries, and those who wanted to throw tighter restrictions around absentee voting.

The most important development in the long elections law struggle was decision of those favoring complete repeal of the absentee ballot and those favoring its abolition in the primary to join forces. One group appeared fearful the absentee ballot would be abolished entirely and the other appeared afraid they might not succeed in getting anything done. At any rate their union was primarily responsible for the absentee ballot law and facilitated enactment of other measures.

Representative Mull of Cleveland, former state Democratic chairman, led forces seeking abolition of absentee voting in primaries and its retention in general elections. Mull began his fight early in an elections law sub-committee, continued it in the full committee and brought it to a climax with a fervent speech on the floor of the house.

He based his attitude on the premise voting in a general election is a constitutionally guaranteed right and voting in a primary is a party-granted privilege. He said dual supervision of polls is present in general elections but is lacking in primaries.

Representative McBryde of Cumberland and Senator Lumpkin of Franklin, leaders of forces seeking complete abolition of absentee voting and markers, pulled their share of the load by persuading representatives of nearly a score of counties to introduce local bills to abolish the absentee ballot.

Finally Mull and McBryde secured support of those who favored the state board's recommendations, Representatives Taylor of Wayne and Phillips of Onslow, and a number of representatives of western counties. When they secured the support of Representative Cherry of Gaston, Democratic state chairman, passage of the absentee bill was assured practically.

The markers bill was not so fortunate. It ran into such stiff opposition from a number of eastern representatives on the floor of the house it was returned to committee and made less drastic. Sent to the senate, it got an unfavorable report from the senate committee on elections laws. Lumpkin and Senator Umstead of Orange brought in a minority report favoring the bill and persuaded the senate to adopt it.

During senate consideration of the measure, Senator Folger of Surry offered and secured adoption of his now-famous amendment to allow elections officials to mark ballots. The house refused to concur in the amendment and a conference committee finally returned with a compromise to allow elections officials to mark ballots when no other qualified persons was present.

The registration bill ran into trouble early. Eastern representatives fearful of wholesale registration of Negroes, persuaded the house elections laws committee to draft a new bill calling only for a "statewide purge of registration books." After that the bill was enacted without trouble.

Kinston, N. C., Free Press
April 18, 1939

Vox Populi

THE NEGRO CRITICIZED.

Mr. Editor:

It is rumored by some white and colored citizens that the Negroes on April 4 cast their votes according to instructions from some Negro posing as a political boss, and by doing so threw a brick into the wheel of progress. Some have gone so far as to say, "Now that he has realized his privilege and duty to vote he is (the Negro) making a mess of things."

The writer of this article vehemently protests such caustic criticism. . . . Negroes, the masses were not instructed as to how they should vote, but were asked by a few Negro leaders to think first then choose according to the dictates of their own consciences the men they thought would support every progressive movement for the betterment of Kinston regardless of race, color or creed.

Give the Negro citizen equal privileges and opportunities, since he is lawfully forced to live under the same legislation. Don't ridicule him when he tries to help better the deplorable conditions in our community by which the Negro is affected most.

Kinston needs more community-effort-conscious programs, an unbiased. impartial and altruistic leadership supported by a group unified in spirit and strength. Then we'll get somewhere.

A. T. LONG.

HIGH COURT WILL GET OKLAHOMA VOTE CASE

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9—Whether or not the registrar in Wagoner County, Oklahoma, has the right to bar Negro citizens from registering to vote, under a State statute now in force, will be determined by the U. S. Supreme Court here this week.

The case of I. W. Lane, a citizen of Wagoner county, who was refused permission to register in Oklahoma in 1934, has been taken by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through the Federal courts and is now ready for disposition by the high court, attorneys for the Association said this week.

The case marks the second time that the Association has carried the question of denial of voting privileges from Oklahoma to the high court. The court declared Oklahoma's grandfather clause, adopted by the State in 1910, unconstitutional in a decision handed down in 1915.

Attorneys representing Lane for the N. A. A. C. P., include: Charles A. Chandler, of Muskogee, Okla., and James C. Nabritt, professor of law at the Howard University law school in Washington, D. C.

Oklahoma and James M. Nabrit, professor of law at Howard university law school acting for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Association has fought the case through the lower courts.

The case has its inception in a U. S. supreme court decision handed down in 1915 which outlawed the grandfather clause (no person could vote unless he could prove that his grandfather had voted) in Oklahoma.

Oklahoma immediately passed a statute which attempted to circumvent this decision by providing that all persons qualified to register had to do so within ten days. The statute also said that all persons who had voted in 1914, when the grandfather clause was in effect were automatically registered and did not need to be re-registered. Lane contends that this second part of the statute carried over the grandfather clause discrimination, as only whites were voting in 1914.

filed against the registrar of Wagoner County, Okla., in 1934 by I. W. Lane, who charged that he was refused permission to register to vote in that year.

Lane was represented by Charles Chandler of Muskogee, Oklahoma and James M. Nabrit, professor of law at Howard university law school, acting for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Association has fought the case through the lower courts.

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OKLAHOMA VOTE CASE TO HIGH COURT

WASHINGTON, D C., March 9 — The United States Supreme Court heard arguments March 3 to determine whether or not the state of Oklahoma may bar Negro citizens from registering to vote under a state statute now in force.

The cast involves a $10,000 law suit filed against the registrar of Wagoner County, Okla., in 1934 by I. W. Lane, who charged that he was refused permission to register to vote of that year.

Lane was represented by Charles Chandler, of Muskogee,

Oklahoma Vote Case Is Heard By Supreme Ct.

Tribunal To Determine If Negroes Can Be Barred At Polls

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The case involved a $10,000 law suit

Supreme Court Rules U. S. Judges To Pay Income Taxes

The Supreme Court yesterday ruled that the salaries of Federal judges are subject to Federal income taxes.

Decided that the "gold clause" resolution passed by Congress in 1933 voided contracts calling for payment of bonds in the foreign currency equivalent of gold dollars.

Declared that an Oklahoma election registration law was unconstitutional because it discriminated against negroes.

WASHINGTON, May 22.—(AP)—The Supreme Court, in a 7 to 1 decision today, decided the Federal income tax applied to the salaries of its own members and those of all other Federal judges.

The decision meant that there is no longer any class of public office-holder who can claim income tax immunity under the constitution because the court decided that Federal and State employes, other than judges, have no such immunity.

Today's decision, like the earlier one, reversed precedent. It had long been the view that a constitutional provision exempted Federal judges from the tax. In fact, such an opinion was expressed in a Supreme Court decision in 1920.

But Justice Frankfurter, delivering the majority opinion today, said that to subject the jurists to a "general tax is merely to recognize that judges are also citizens, and that their particular function in government does not generate immunity from sharing with their fellow citizens the material burden of the government whose constitution and laws they are charged with administering."

The decision held specifically that Judge Joseph W. Woodrich of Omaha, Neb., a member of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, was liable for a $631 Federal tax on the $12,500 salary he received in 1936.

Its general effect was that the constitutional provision that the compensation of Federal judges "shall not be diminished during their continuance in office" does not mean they should not pay taxes.

Butler Dissents

Justice Butler said in a dissenting opinion that he wanted to express his "regret that another landmark has been removed."

"The suggestion that, as citizens judges are not immune from taxation begs the questions here presented," Butler wrote. "The constitution itself puts judges in a separate class...and so their salaries are distinguished from income of others."

Justice McReynolds did not participate in the decision.

Judge Woodrough was taxed under a law passed originally in 1932 and reenacted in 1936. It made the income levy applicable to Federal judges who took office after June 6, 1932. Another law enacted this year extended the liability to salaries of judges who took office before 1932.

In a 5 to 4 decision the court held in four cases that the 1933 "gold clause" resolution of Congress voided contracts calling for payment of gold bonds, issued prior to 1933, in the foreign currency equivalent of gold dollars. The high tribunal held that holders of bonds containing "multiple currency" provisions could be paid in devalued United States currency equalling the face value of the bonds.

(Multiple currency bonds called for payment in gold dollars or in the then equivalent amount of certain foreign currency such as pounds or francs. Some years ago, the Supreme Court decided that the bondholder could not collect in gold or its equivalent in United States currency. Today's decision meant that he could not collect in the foreign currency equivalent of gold, either).

Black With Majority

Justice Black said in the majority opinion that Congress "sought to outlaw all contractural provisions which require debtors, who have bound themselves to pay United States dollars, to pay a greater number of dollars than promised."

The bonds involved were issued prior to the congressional resolution by the St. Louis Southwestern Railway Company and by the Bethlehem Steel Company of New York. They contained "multiple currency" provisions for payment in the United States gold dollar or in the then equivalent amount of several designated foreign currencies such as pounds, francs, guilders or marks. Since the United States dollar has now been devalued collection of the bonds at issue was sought in foreign currency — which would mean a substantially larger amount.

Chief Justice Hughes was among the four dissenters, whose views were expressed by Justice Stone. The others were Justices McReynolds and Butler. It was the first time in two years that the chief justice had joined in a dissent.

Apparently Justice Douglas' vote decided the case since the issue was reargued after he took his seat on the court.

In another case, the tribunal held unconstitutional an Oklahoma law governing voter registration on the ground that it discriminated against negroes.

Justice Frankfurter said in the court's opinion that negroes were "perpetually disfranchised" if they failed to register during 12 days allotted to them in 1916. The law, passed that year and reenacted in 1932, exempted from some registration requirements persons whose ancestors were eligible to vote prior to 1866.

The opinion was delivered on a suit brought by I. W. Lane, a resident of Red Bird, against Marion Parks, precinct registrar; Jess Wilson, Wagoner County registrar; and John Moss, county judge.

Justices McReynolds and Butler dissented. Justice Douglas did not participate.

MR. JUSTICE BLACK WITH THE MAJORITY .

Yesterday in three important decisions Mr. Justice Black was on the side of the majority of the Supreme Court, or rather the majority was on the side of Mr. Justice Black.

In a case involving complicated legislation having to do with the present gold content of the dollar Mr. Justice Black wrote the decision of the court, which was divided five to four. The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Stone were in the minority with Justices McReynolds and Butler.

In his decision, Justice Black took occasion to emphasize once more an axiom of his judicial philosophy. He was discussing an act of Congress. "Whether it was 'wise and expedient'....under the Constitution," was, he said, "a determination to be made by the Congress."

In other words, the Supreme Court has no appeal from the wisdom of Congress, except to the Constitution, and no authority to indulge in judicial legislation, as it has often done. The Supreme Court does not even have the authority to attempt to improve upon an act of Congress. The court is a judicial agency, charged with keeping Congress within its constitutional limits. It has no other function as far as legislation is concerned.

So often since he has been on the court has Justice Black been in the minority, often by himself, and so often has his independence been noted, that it is front-page news when he agrees with the majority in three important decisions, in one of which he expresses the opinion of a court sharply divided.

He might have been expected to take the position he did in the gold case, for more than once he has expressed the conviction that it is the constitutionality of an act of Congress and not its wisdom which should concern the court.

Previous opinions of the Alabamian foreshadowed the statesmanlike decision yesterday by Justice Frankfurter regarding the taxation by Congress of the income of Federal judges. Justice Frankfurter argued logically that Federal taxation of the salary of a Federal judge, when such taxation is generally imposed, does not constitute a reduction in salary as prohibited by the Constitution.

The third opinion, also written by Justice Frankfurter and agreed to by Justice Black and a majority of the court, regarded registration for voting in Oklahoma, an important and significant decision especially for this part of the country.

In an article in The Atlantic Monthly, Charles P. Curtis, Jr., a Boston lawyer, writes about Black's "disrespect and distaste for judicial statesmanship." They spring, he writes, "from the expert's respect for his own art. For Black is an expert in legislation, ten years in the Senate. He thinks a judge should stick to his judging and take his law as it is given to him by those whose job it is to make it. And Black feels this strongly because he himself used to make it. It is the attitude of the artist toward the critic, of the man who is responsible for his work to the man who concerns himself with the work of others. Black has carried the legislator's new pride of craftsmanship on to the bench. That is why so many regard him as a stranger in the clubroom. He is a legislator among judges."

But he is more than that, and it is not the whole story to say merely that Justice Black remembers with fondness his years as a legislator. If he should choose he could continue in the role of legislator even on the court. And it might be argued that pride in his present task would be more compelling than pride in a career now ended.

At any rate, Black's devotion to the principle of a judiciary entirely divorced from all legislative authority, while no doubt influenced by his experience in the Senate, is based on a deep conviction, supported by a philosophy of government that had its birth almost two hundred years ago. In 1748, in France, Montesquieu first published "The Spirit of Laws," in which he said: "When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty.....Again, there is no liberty, if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive."

The idea which is so often associated with the name of Montesquieu actually was expressed first by Aristotle and found its real birth in the American Constitutional Convention of 1787. While Thomas Jefferson was not at the convention he did influence it, and his devotion to the principle of a division of powers had a far-reaching effect on the American government, both at its birth and later during Jefferson's eight years as Chief Executive. Jefferson fought the Supreme Court of John Marshall, but he did not fight it except when he believed Marshall transcended his legal limits.

Mr. Curtis's apparent astonishment to find Hugo Black so deeply devoted to the principle of a division of powers between Congress and Supreme Court would not be so great if he but knew that Black is a life-long student and disciple of both Aristotle and Jefferson.

Court Of Last Resort

LITTLE by little the barriers set up by those who would rob the colored American citizen of his citizenship rights are being torn down by decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

Two weeks ago the United States Supreme Court decreed unconstitutional an Oklahoma law which would have disfranchised thousands of colored citizens forever. The law, passed in 1916, requires all persons who had not voted in 1914 to register within a period of 10 days or forever thereafter lose their rights to register and vote.

Justice Frankfurter, who wrote the majority decision (the court divided 6-2), pointed out that this was just another type of "grandfather clause", which the United States Supreme Court had previously ruled violated the 15th Amendment to the United States Constitution.

Just at this time Philadelphia is engaged in the annual membership campaign of the local branch of the NAACP. It is significant that this case is the thirteenth carried to the United States Supreme Court by the NAACP, and 12 of these cases have been won.

The NAACP deserves the support of all right thinking colored and white people in this community.

As the national officials of the organization point out, not only has the right of colored citizens to vote in elections and primaries been established by prior decisions, but the Oklahoma ruling now establishes the right to register.

Justice Frankfurter pointed out that the 15th Amendment "nullifies sophisticated as well as simple minded modes of discrimination." Continuing he said: "It (the amendment) hits onerous procedural requirements which effectively handicap exercise of the franchise by the colored race although the abstract right to vote may remain unrestricted as to race."

In other words any law which makes it difficult or impossible to exercise the franchise is contrary to the 15th Amendment. The "abstract right to vote" is meaningless, if it is going to be hedged about by burdensome restrictions. This decision of the Court is a welcome one.

And, by the way, Justice Black of Alabama concurred in the Frankfurter opinion.

Good Riddance

Journal and Guide

(From Norfolk Virginian-Pilot)

Litigation in Oklahoma about Negro voting has a longer and more bitterly fought record than in most Southern States. There were two major cases in the 1920's lasting from 1924 until 1927, involving the right of Negroes to register and vote, both of which resulted in the defeat of party and State officials who had sought to bar Negroes from the polls.

6-5-39

Norfolk, Va.

But Oklahoma has had, in addition, a statute covering registration which did not apply to persons whose ancestors were eligible to vote prior to 1866 but did require others to register within a specified 12 days. The law was originally adopted in 1916 and was re-enacted in 1932.

This is the statute which the Supreme Court has now declared unconstitutional by a six to two vote (Justice Douglas not participating and Justices Butler and Reynolds dissenting). As viewed by the other six Justices, including Justice Black, this statute seemed a direct outgrowth of the grandfather-clause school of reasoning and, because of the nature and sharpness of its discrimination, clearly in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment.

The decision will not surprise anyone who has followed the long series of cases in which the Supreme Court has invalidated one racial discrimination after another. Upon whatever bases the authors of these statutes assumed that they could rest, they were all designed, as everyone knew, to keep Negroes away from the ballot boxes. For many years the statutes succeeded.

But with perhaps an exception here and there—though we are not sure that there has been a single one—the Supreme Court has held in every case reaching it that the discrimination was too evident to pass muster. No important body of legal thought has found any objection to the reasoning of these decisions.

In the present decision, Justice Frankfurter noted that under the registration act now invalidated Negroes were "perpetually disfranchised" if they failed to register during the twelve days in 1916 which the act allotted for the completion of this decisive formality. The "perpetual" disfranchisement of any element of the citizenship not constitutionally debarred from the voting privilege in perpetuity, is an intolerable monstrosity and has no place in the code of any American state. Invalidation of the Oklahoma "perpetual" disfranchisement law is good riddance.

Oklahoma Ban Ruled Illegal

Journal and Guide

THE attempt by the State of Oklahoma in 1915 to dodge a United States Supreme Court decision which outlawed the infamous grandfather clause in its constitution, has finally "come home to roost." In rendering its opinion in Lane Vs Wilson on Monday, May 22, the Supreme Court again held unconstitutional an Oklahoma law in the 1916 statute requiring persons who had not voted in 1914 to register within a period of ten days or forever thereafter lose their right to register and vote.

6-3-39

Norfolk, Va.

As a matter of record and historical background the 1916 registration law was passed immediately after the grandfather clause was declared unconstitutional, and was obviously designed to catch Negro citizens off their guard and restrict their suffrage. And thus virtually endeth another spurious attempt by a Southern commonwealth to deny to its Negro citizens the right to exercise the franchise.

The case, which was carried to the high court by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, incidentally represents the twelfth victory out of thirteen cases carried to the Supreme Court by that militant organization.

The opinion was delivered by Associate Justice Frankfurter who said: "The crux of the present controversy is the validity of this registration scheme, with its dividing line between white citizens who had voted under the 'grandfather clause' prior to GUINN v. UNITED STATES, supra, and citizens who were outside it, and the not more than 12 days as the normal period or registration for the therefore prescribed class."

Pointing out that this was a clear violation of the "fifteenth amendment which secures freedom from discrimination on account of race in matters affecting the franchise," the opinion made it clear that this amendment "nullifies sophisticated as well as simple-minded modes of discrimination. It hits onerous procedural requirements which effectively handicap exercise of the franchise by the colored race although the abstract right to vote may remain unrestricted as to race."

The case grew out of a $10,000 law suit filed against the registrar of Wagoner County, Oklahoma in 1934 by I. W. Lane who charged that he was refused permission to register to vote in that year, had its birth in the old grandfather clause cases of 1914 whereby the constitution of Oklahoma and several other states provided strict educational qualifications for voters unless they could prove that their grandfathers voted prior to 1866. Since no Negroes were qualified to vote prior to 1866 the discrimination in the constitution was apparent and the U. S. Supreme Court in 1915 held this provision unconstitutional.

Officials of the NAACP have quite properly pointed out that the court's decision can be hailed not only as a great gain for Negroes because it establishes their right to vote under the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, but it also gives a broader interpretation to the so-called Civil War amendments.

Not only is the right to vote established by the old grandfather clause cases, and the right to vote in primaries established by the Texas primary cases, all handled by the NAACP, but now the right to register has been established. To which we say "Amen."

SUFFRAGE

REGISTRATION TO THE FORE

Considerable interest is being manifested in the political events of next year. The leaders of the many party machines are already planning and far visioned voters are anxious to be qualified, especially the ones who want to become so. This is comparatively easy in many parts, but in most of the south colored citizens are restricted to a great extent. In this city we have a large number of men and women who want to become registered voters, but they are being discouraged because of the attitude of the registrars. The Young Men Civic Club, a militant organization is doing much to break down this barrier. As an incentive, we are giving up most of our editorial space this week by inserting the following informing article, clipped from The Crisis for July, under the head of "Equal Justice Under Law," written by Thurgood Marshall, relative to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on several phases of the franchise laws:

"The Oklahoma franchise case, Lane vs. Wilson, decided on May 22, 1939, marks the twelfth favorable decision from the United States supreme court in cases handled by the N. A. A. C. P. Over a period of twenty-four years the association has been successful in twelve out of thirteen cases before the highest court of the land.

"These decisions have served as guide posts in a sustained fight for full citizenship rights for Negroes. They have broadened the scope of protection guaranteed by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution in the field of the right to register and vote, equal justice before the law, Negroes on juries, segregation, and equal educational opportunities. These precedents have been cited more than sixty-five times in the highest courts in the land and have been of benefit to all citizens, both Negro and white. It is significant that the last case is a follow-up of the very first N. A. A. C. P. case.

"The first cause celebre has become known as the "Grandfather Clause Case," Guinn and Beale vs. United States decided in June, 1915. In 1910 the constitution of Oklahoma was amended restricting the right to register and vote to persons who could read and write. However, the clause also provided that persons who either voted prior to 1866 or whose lineal descendants were eligible to vote prior to 1866 were exempt from the text. Since Negroes were not eligible to vote before 1866, the law actually disfranchised most Negroes.

"Maryland and other states had passed similor statutes in an effort to disfranchise colored people. The N. A. A. C. P. began a campaign to have these laws declared unconstitutional. Certain election officials in Oklahoma were indicted for viclaton of Federal statutes by refusing Negroes the right to vote because of the grandfather clause When the case reached the U. S. supreme court, the N. A. A. C. P. filed briefs amicus curiae in the case setting forth arguments on the unconstitutionality of the grandfather clause in the Oklahoma constitution.

"The provisions were declared unconstitutional by the supreme court in an opinion which clarified the Fifteenth amendment and declared that its provisions were self-executing and destroyed all types of discrimination in voting. The precedent established by this case was used to strike down similar provisions in other states and pointed the way for Negroes to have a fuller realization of their citizenship rights. Mr. Chief Justice White, in construing the Fifteenth amendment declared:

"'But it is equally beyond the possibility of question that the amendment in express terms restricts the power of the United States or the state to abridge or deny the right of a citizen of the United States to vote on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. The restriction is coincident with the power and prevents its exertion in disregard of the command of the amendment.'

"In an effort to circumvent the decision in the Guinn case the state of Oklahoma passed a statute requiring all persons eligible to register to do so within twelve days or to be barred from registering thereafter. However, the statute also provided that all those who voted in 1914 were automatically registered. Since Negroes were disfranchised by the grandfather clause in 1914 they were disfranchised by the new act.

"When I. W. Lane was refused registration in Wagoner county, Okla., in 1934, the N. A. A. C. P. started a case in the local federal courts to declare this new law unconstitutional. The case eventually reached the supreme court where lawyers for the association maintained that the new law, although not expressly discriminatory on its face, was actually aimed at disfranchising a large group of Negroes.

"On May 22, 1939, Mr. Associate Justice Frankfurter rendered the opinion of the supreme court declaring the new act unconstitutional. The opinion also broadened the scope of the interpretation of the Fifteenth amendment by stating:

"'The amendment nullifies sophisticated as well as simple minded modes of discrimination. It hits onerous procedureal requirements which effectively handicap exercise of the franchse by the colored race although the abstract right to vote may remain unrestricted as to race."

"After the grandfather clause case outlawed the attempts to disfranchise Negroes by preventing them from registering, several states immediately began to devise other schemes. Texas passed a statute which provided that 'in no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas.' The N. A. A. C. P. immediately challenged the constitutionality of this statute when Dr. L. A. Nixon was refused the right to vote in a primary election in El Paso. A suit for damages was instituted and this case was carried to the supreme court after it was dismissed in the lower court.

"The supreme court, in what has become known as the 'First Texas Primary Case,' Nixon vs. Herndon, in March, 1927, reversed the lower court and declared the statute unconstitutional. Mr. Associate Justice Holmes stated:

"'The statute of Texas in the teeth of the prohibition referred to assumes to forbid Negroes to take part in a primary election the importance of which we have indicated discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone. States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case.'

"The state of Texas, however, was not willing to give up so it attempted to evade the prohibitions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments against state action by passing an act empowering the state Dem

cratic committee to set up its own limitations on its primary. The committee immediately passed a resolution restricting the primary to white electors.

"Dr. Nixon was again refused the right to vote in the primary and an action for damages was started which was dismissed and carried to the supreme court. This case, decided in May, 1932, has become known as the 'Second Texas Primary Case.' The supreme court declared the new cat unconstitutional in an opinion by Mr. Associate Justice Cardozo which declared:

"'With the problem thus laid bare and its essentials exposed to view, the case is seen to be ruled by Nixon vs Herndon, supra. . . . The Fourteenth amendment, adopted as it was with special solicitude for the equal protection of members of the Negro race, lays a duty upon the court to level by its judgment these barriers of color'."

The Colored Vote

Philadelphia Tribune 1-29-39

POLITICAL commentators who write for nation-wide audiences have already begun to appraise the colored vote in its relation to the next Presidential election. While they do not, of course, agree in their conclusions, they are all of the opinion that the colored vote is a positive factor, whose importance can not be discounted in the selection of the next President.

National Republican leaders realize that if they are to elect a Republican president they will need the colored voters who, for one reason or another, have been supporting the Democrats. They are, therefore, engaged in a survey to determine what must be done to win back the allegiance of their former supporters. They intend to go after this vote and invite it back.

National Democratic leaders are no less cognizant of the value of the colored vote, but they have to proceed more cautiously in wooing the group because of Southern resentment at the idea of dependence on the colored vote for victory.

The regrettable fact about the matter is that, despite the admitted importance of the racial vote, colored people will not receive, before, during or after the election, recognition from either party commensurate with the importance of their voting strength.

A most significant reason for this inability to "cash in" on a vote admitted to be the balance of power in eight Northern States is the low economic status of the holders of the franchise, a disadvantage which extends far beyond the rank and file into the leadership of the group.

To the underprivileged status of an overwhelming percentage of the colored vote must be added the lack of any well thought-out-plan which the leaders in either party might be asked to agree to as the basis for receiving the support of colored voters. This is a fundamental defect which, as long as it exists, will reduce this important colored vote to a political football, to be kicked back and forth between the two major parties.

Those colored men and women who are, or presume to be, national political leaders might, with profit to themselves and to the entire racial group, formulate a program which might be used for collective bargaining with the leaders of the major political parties.

3,000 COLORED RESIDENTS OF PENNSYLVANIA AFFECTED BY ALIEN REGISTRATION LAW

Tribune 6-29-39 Philadelphia, Pa.

Pennsylvania's alien registration law, requiring the registration of all aliens 18 years or older who have not applied for citizenship, will affect about 3,000 colored residents.

This estimate is based on statistics taken from "Negroes in the United States, 1920-32", published by the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., and showing the number of foreign-born colored persons then residing in Pennsylvania.

The initial registration fee is $10, with a yearly renewal of $5. The act, which was bitterly opposed by labor unions and liberal individuals and organizations, requires that aliens carry registration cards at all times.

Failure to register makes the offender liable to a fine of $100 or less and imprisonment up to 60 days. Persons hiring unregistered aliens are liable to identical punishment.

Exemption from registration is permitted aliens who are parents of U. S. war veterans or who have lived in the United States continuously since December 31, 1908.

The registration cards, which are to be issued by the Department of Labor and Industry of the State, must be produced upon demand by police or department agents; and are necessary in order to obtain automobile owners' or drivers' licenses.

May B Unconstitutional

Department of Labor officials have announced that the law went into effect immediately upon its signature by the Governor. Aliens coming into the State after January 1, 1940, must register in 30 days.

Opponents of the law claim that similar legislation, enacted by the State of Michigan in 1932, was declared unconstitutional by the Federal courts.

No round-about news coverage of the NAACP convention, in Richmond, for the TRIBUNE. We've got our special representative on the spot, to cover everything and anything that might happen. G. JAMES FLEMING, whose Marian Anderson Lincoln Memorial story you probably remember, will bring the news to TRIBUNE readers.

NEGRO VOTE SHIFTS IN PHILADELPHIA

Times 11-9-39

Republicans Carried 3 Wards Which Went to Roosevelt by 5,000 to 6,000

JAMES SEES '40 VICTORY

Herald Tribune

Kelly, Democratic City Leader, Following Rout at Polls, Talks Again of Quitting

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 8—An apparent shift of Philadelphia's Negro vote back to the Republican Party, which it deserted with the rise of the New Deal, was shown today in an analysis of returns from yesterday's municipal election, in which the Democratic-Fusionists were defeated in most of the important contests.

This was one of the encouraging results of the election from the Republican standpoint, in view of the effect a general swing of the Negro voters back to that party's standard might have on the 1940 Presidential campaign.

Not only did the Republicans elect their Mayoralty candidate, former Judge Robert E. Lamberton, by a plurality of 29,241 votes over Controller Robert C. White, the Democratic-Fusion nominee, but they retained twenty of the twenty-two seats in the City Council, re-elected the occupants of all major county offices, had no trouble sweeping the State with their judiciary ticket and recorded gains in county contests in many parts of Pennsylvania.

The Philadelphia outcome, ruining the best chances the Democrats had had in decades to put a candidate in the Mayor's office, was such a blow to party leaders that John B. Kelly, chairman of the Democratic City Committee, once more was debating with himself whether to retire from politics.

Judge Lamberton carried Philadelphia by a larger plurality than that recorded locally by Governor James, Republican, in last year's election, but smaller than that by which the late S. Davis Wilson, running as a Republican, captured the Mayoralty in 1935. The final unofficial figures on the Mayoralty were: Lamberton, 390,384; White, 361,143.

Swing in Negro Wards

Of four wards in which the Negro vote is exceptionally large the Republicans carried the Twentieth, Thirtieth and Forty-fourth, although not by wide margins, and lost the Twenty-fourth, a 19,000-vote ward, by ninety-two votes.

In the Twentieth, in which 17,000 votes were cast, the Republican plurality was 315; in the Thirtieth, with a total of 10,000, the margin of victory was 166, and in the Forty-fourth the Republicans led by 358 in a total of about 15,000.

These wards began pulling away from their Republican moorings to some extent in 1932 and four years later President Roosevelt carried the Twentieth and Thirtieth by more than 5,000 votes each, and the Twenty-fourth and Forty-fourth each by more than 6,000. Last year, in the Governorship election, the four wards stayed in the Democratic column, although by reduced pluralities.

The final figures on all of the major contests in this city deviated little from those in the Mayoralty fight, indicating that the largest outpouring of voters ever to decide a municipal election here voted "straight" for the most part.

Mr. Lamberton, facing an unenviable task as far as fiscal affairs are concerned, announced that, although he would not be inducted into office until January, he would

POLITICAL - 1939
SUFFRAGE

PENNSYLVANIA

Republican Committee Stresses Importance Of Colored Vote In Phila. Mayoralty Election

Predicts Similar Swing To Republican Party By Negro Vote Next Year In North And South

Inquirer 1-23-39 Philadelphia

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Negro voters have soured on the New Deal and its Democratic allies, and are returning home to the Republican fold, according to the Republican National Committee.

Moreover, Republican leaders are refusing to permit the European war to interfere with a forthright discussion of domestic issues which are most vital, and which are fundamentally of greatest importance, the Committee further contends.

"No attempt is being made to minimize the impotance of the Negro vote as a factor in the recession of New Deal support, the Committee stated. "Attention is called particularly to the result in Philadelphia and other Pennsylvania strongholds where this vote has been a Democratic asset since 1932."

The Committee also pointed out that analysts at length have reviewed the returns from the recent municipal election in Philadelphia in which a Democrat-Fusion ticket was defeated in most of the important contests.

"Clearly in Pennsylvania, Negroes played an important part in the election of Republicans to all four of the places on the Apellate Court and in the election of State Senators in the only two districts voting, the Mayor, and 20 of 22 Councilmen of Philadelphia; 17 of 28 Mayors and 11 of 18 Common Pleas Judges of Pennsylvania," it was stated.

In Cleveland colored voters elected two Negro Councilmen, returned another to office, and elected a colored woman to the Board of Education.

In New Jersey, the Republicans elected 45 out of 60 members of the 1940 Assembly, and won five out of six contests for the State Senate.

"It's safe to say, and generally conceded," the Republican Committee continued, "that a similar swing will be registered by the Negro vote in N w York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan.

Negroes Survive Philly Primary

Call

PHILADELPHIA. —(ANP)— Regardless of which ticket wins, Philadelphia will have a Negro in city council and two Negro magistrates as a result of the primary elections here last Tuesday.

The Republicans nominated the councilmanic incumbent, Undertaker James A. Irvin, while the Democratic party nominated James H. Boykin, master plumber and Hampton institute graduate. Each was supported by "the organization," and won against independents.

Magistrate Edward W. Henry won the Republican nomination for reelection to his present office, while Dr. William Grinnage, dentist and former WPA functionary, was selected to carry the Democratic banner. This means, however, that a Negro magistrate will be elected in November.

Orangeburg, S. C., Times & Demo.
November 18, 1939

NEGRO VOTE SHIFTS

The election in Pennsylvania this month is taken as an indication that the Negro vote has gone back to the Republican party in the City of Brotherly Love.

This shift, if it becomes permanent, will prove embarrassing to some white Democrats in this section who have been ready to drop the Democratic party because the Negroes in the North vote Democratic.

In fact, these recalcitrant voters of the Southern Democratic party will not be able to determine to which party they belong until they can ascertain for certain how the Negroes of the North will vote.

It is nearly approaching the point with these fanatics that they vote opposite to Northern Negroes, regardless of how the Northern Negroes vote. This, in effect, permits the Northern Negroes to vote a small number of white people in this section.

Savannah, Ga., Press
November 15, 1939

Philadelphia's Negro Vote

The negro vote in Philadelphia it would seem from the returns of the November election there, has about gone back to the Republican party. It is hard to tear the negroes away permanently from that association. There must be some unusual offering on the part of the organization or individual that gets them to serve permanently some cause other than the G. O. P. This has proven to be the case in Philadelphia if the recorded vote in that city can be used as a means of measuring the balloting and the source from which the ballots come.

The New Deal does not seem to be holding the negro to Democracy in the chief city of Pennsylvania. Certain wards that pulled away from the G. O. P. in the last national election returned Republicans to office this year. And these wards are to a considerable extent controlled by negroes. November 7 of four wards in which the negro vote is exceptionally large the Republicans carried the Twentieth, Thirtieth and Forty-fourth, although not by wide margins, and lost the Twenty-fourth, a 19,000 vote ward, by ninety-two votes.

These wards began pulling away from their Republican moorings to some extent in 1932 and four years later President Roosevelt carried the Twentieth and Thirtieth by more than 5,000 votes each, and the Twenty-fourth and Forty-fourth each by more than 6,000. Last year, in the governorship election, the four wards stayed in the Democratic column, although by reduced pluralities.

But this year they slipped back—they returned to normalcy.

Columbia S C State
July 11, 1939

Workers Body Claims Klan Interfering

US Attorney at Greenville Told to Look Into Negro Voters' Complaint

Greenville, July 10—(AP)—David L. Clendenin, secretary-treasurer of the Workers Defense league, appeared in Greenville last Friday to canvass the situation caused by large registration of Negro voters after Fred V. Johnson, chief of staff in South Carolina of the Ku Klux Klan, had issued a statement in which he said "the klan will ride again."

More than 100 Negroes have registered for the general municipal election which will be held on September 12. The average registration for the election during the last ten years has been 200, practically all of whom were white.

Meanwhile, Johnson, who had not been informed on the action of the jutsice department in calling for an investigation of the situation here, today in public notices appearing in local newspapers called for a "klonvocation" of klan members in this section. They were called on to get their instructions from "headquarters."

While here, Clendenin said he would ask for a federal investigation if any attempt were made to intimidate Negro voters.

Not since Reconstruction days have Negroes registered in such large numbers here. The registration of Negroes was attributed to opposition to the present city council, which several weeks ago turned down a federal low-cost housing proposal for the city which many Negroes backed in a public hearing.

Washington, July 10—(AP)—The justice department said today the U. S. attorney at Greenville, S. C., had been instructed to submit a report on complaints of the Workers' Defense league that the Ku Klux Klan was "threatening to interfere with the rights of Negro citizens to vote.

The department said that if the report disclosed violation of federal statutes, prosecution would follow.

Greenwood, S C Index-Journal
July 11, 1939

KKK Warns Negroes Against Voting In Greenville

GREENVILLE, July 11—(AP)—The justice department has instructed the U. S. attorney here to submit a report on complaints of the Workers Defense League that the Ku Klux Klan was "threatening to interfere with the rights of negro citizens to vote."

David Clendenin, secretary-treasurer of the Workers Defense League, came here last Friday to canvass the situation caused by large re gistration of negro voters, after Fred V. Johnson, chief of staff in South Carolina of the Ku Klux Klan, issued a statement saying "the Klan will ride again."

More than 100 negroes have registered for the municipal election September 12. Clendenin said he would ask for a federal investigation if any attempt were made to intimidate the negro voters.

Greenville, S C Piedmont
July 10, 1939

51 Registered For City Vote

Five Are Colored; Brier Says Negro Registration Here Is Spontaneous

Registration of voters for the general municipal election September 12 moved forward today, with 51 persons, including five negroes, registering at City hall up to 1 p. m., sending the total registration to 768, highest in years.

Of the 768 persons registered, 104 are negroes.

There was no new development in the fact that white citizens continued to show increased interest by registering in heavy numbers.

County registration books in t he courthouse were closed today, due to the death of George B. King, husband of Mrs. Lucia B. King, registration supervisor. The books will not be opened this week, but will be open Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of next week.

The enrollment books for the two primaries August 29 and September 5 will be opened at the various precincts on July 25 and will remain open until through August 23.

Brier Issues Letter

J. A. Brier, president and organizer of the Greenville branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, today had issued a public letter to the effect that the current negro registration was spontaneous.

He said, however, that he considered it an honor to serve the association, and added that many illustrious white men — including Governor Lehman of New York, Attorney General Frank Murphy, Felix Frankfurter before he ascended to the Supreme court bench—served on the association's governing board.

Concerning the local situation, he said in part:

Now as to colored people applying for registration certificates, I can't understand why there should be such a furore, such a "tempest in a teapot" because a few dozen colored citizens are registering as voters. It is not a new thing for colored people to register. Only a few years ago while Mr. Kennemore and his associates formed the county registration board, colored people registered in large numbers. I have never had any trouble to register and have always been treated kindly and respectfully by the election managers when I went to the voting place to vote. I registered at the old city hall two years ago to vote in the city election. Only a few years ago I voted in an election in which two prominent citizens were candidates to represent Greenville county in Columbia in a statewide matter. I voted for one of the gentlemen, a brave, high class aristocrat, am proud to say he was elected. Today he fills an honored position in our country. I would be glad to have the opportunity to vote for him for governor of South Carolina or for president of the United States.

I am not engaged now in any special move to encourage my people to register. I have always advised them to register. Just now, however, they seem to need no encouragement. It is a spontaneous, voluntary effort of their own. They appear to have reached the conclusion that they have a right under the Constitution of the United States to exercise their voting privilege. And I hope that every man and woman who can qualify will register.

My people have no special aim in view in registering. They may not vote for any one in the municipal election. They simply want to be prepared to vote if they so desire. We would not displace our present mayor if we had the votes and power to do so. We colored people would keep him as mayor, if left to us, not only because he is the right man in the place, but also because of the fond memory we have of his noble father.

As to the superiority or inferiority of the races, we were not present when God made man, but we do know that the framers of the Constitution of the United States stated that "all men are created free and equal, endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

One more thing. During the Civil war when the white men were away from home engaged in warfare the slaves remained at home and protected the wives and children of the Confederate soldiers. Today the offsprings of those soldiers have the protection of the state in which they live and do not need the aid of any self appointed, un-American undemocratic group of any kind. And if they needed any extra protection the colored people would rise in a mass to offer them their full support.

Sumter, S. C., Daily Item
July 11, 1939

Negroes To Vote In Greenville?

Plan to Take Part in City Election There Soon, They Say

Greenville, July 11.—The News recently said:

The Workers Defense league of New York projected itself into Greenville's extraordinary negro registration situation yesterday by threatening federal action against anyone attempting to interfere with a negro voting in the general municipal election on September 12.

David L. Clendenin, of New York, national secretary-treasurer of the league, and Frank McAllister, of St. Petersburg, Fla. southern secretary of the organization, came to Greenville to canvass the situation after Fred V. Johnson, chief of staff of the Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina, had promised that "the Klan will ride again."

The Klan statement was issued after large numbers of negroes had presented themselves at city hall to put their names on the registration books for voting in general election. It was the first time that negroes had registered for a general election in the city since Reconstruction days.

Members of three organizations, it was established, are encouraging the registration of negroes. The organizations are the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Greenville Negro Youth council and the Workers Alliance, union of WPA workers.

It was also learned that negroes were being urged to vote because of alleged grievances against the present city council. A negro servant of a promnient Greenville family went through negro districts of the city yesterday morning and, in urging negroes to register, listed these grievances as the failure of city council to institute a low-cost housing project for negroes, to spend $33,000 for a negro park on Perry avenue and to build a swimming pool for negroes.

It became more and more apparent that a slate in opposition to democratic nominees to be selected in municipal primaries August 29 and September 5 would be presented for the negroes' consideration. Observers could determine no other reason for negroes registering in such large numbers.

Meanwhile, registration for the general election increased yesterday to 668, of whom 96 were negroes. The county issued 121 certificates, 19 of them to negroes. Mrs. Lucia D. King, county registration chairman, reported that a negro living at Woodville in lower Greenville county came in and said "they" told him he would be fined $10 if he did not obtain a certificate. He would not tell Mrs. King who "they" were.

Greenville, S C Piedmont
July 10, 1939

Not A Participant

Among other points to note about the sudden spurt in registration for voting by colored people in Greenville is this fact: Various organizations have been charged or credited with promoting the movement but nobody has come forward to voice suspicion of participation by the Republican party.

Obviously the Republican party, which in other years was the party of the colored man, has no part in this activity.

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
July 8, 1939

Negro Voting Issue Calmer

County Books Closed; 60 Whites, Three Negroes Register At City Hall

Greenville's registration situation had calmed somewhat today after a flurry of words, but a renewed spurt of interest was expected over the week-end with the avowed intention of some negro preachers to urge their congregations to register.

Meanwhile, citizens continued to register at City hall for the general municipal election September 12. Sixty white persons and three negroes registered up to 1 p. m. today, bringing the total number registered to 731. Of this figure, 99 are negroes.

County Books Closed

County registration headquarters in the courthouse was closed today, but will be open Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday to issue certificates.

There were reports current today that members of the Klu Klux Klan might ride over streets of the city tonight, but this could not be verified.

It was generally known, however, that many negro preachers said they planned to urge members of their congregations from the pulpit tomorrow to register for the general election.

The Workers Defense league of New York had entered the picture today by threatening federal action against any one attempting to interfere with negroes voting in the general election.

League Officials Arrive

David L. Clendinin, of New York national secretary-treasurer of the league, and Frank McAllister, of St. Petersburg, Fla., southern secretary came to Greenville to study the situation after Fred V. Johnson, chief of staff of the Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina, had promised that "the Klan will ride again."

"The right to vote is a right of all citizens in a democracy," Messrs. Clendinin and McAllister said in a statement. "In the south this right has been frequently violated. We are sorry to see this un-American un-democratic attitude manifested by this minority group determined to maintain special privileges even at the cost of the reputation of the community in the nation. x x x"

They said the league has called the matter to the attention of Henry Schweinhaut, director of the Civil Liberties unit of the United States department of justice.

Federal Authorities Say They're Powerless To Act In S. C. Case

8-17-39
Atlanta, Ga
World

William Anderson, Leader Of Registration Drive In Greenville, Given Sentence

NEW YORK—(SNS)—Aroused by the spectacle of a klan-dominated police organization which forced the speedy conviction and jailing of youthful William Anderson in Greenville, S. C., July 24 on a frame-up charge of disorderly conduct, more than 3,000 youth members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People prepared to launch a national campaign this week to raise funds to fight the case.

Anderson, president of the N. A. A. C. P. youth council in Greenville, and janitor in the city high school, has been the leading figure in the drive to get Negroes of the South Carolina city to register for the city primary which occurs September 12.

The U. S. Department of Justice has investigated the situation in Greenville upon request of the NAACP but maintains that it has no authority to act because the election for which the registration has taken place is purely a local, municipal one with no Federal offices involved.

MARSHALL ACTIVE

Thurgood Marshall, NAACP counsel, is still urging action upon the grounds that registration is also being held for the right to participate in the primary of the general election.

The U. S. attorney's office in Greenville, however, insists that no Negroes are being denied general registration. Such discussion as has appeared concerns itself with the local election, this office reports.

Young Anderson, who refused to be intimidated in his registration work by the Greenville klan, and who was "framed" and jailed on a trumped-up charge, has become the rallying point in the fight to secure the ballot in South Carolina and elsewhere in the South.

STILL REGISTERING

In a statement issued James Robinson, acting National Youth Secretary of the NAACP said:

"We have sent out letters to 115 youth councils all over the country, calling upon them immediately to raise funds for this fight. We are urging them to send letters to the Civil Liberties division of the Department of Justice.

"The Youth Council of Greensville is standing squarely behind Mr. Anderson, as is the adult section of the NAACP branch there.

"The important thing is that Negroes in Greenville are not intimidated by the arrest of Anderson They are still registering."

Only 34 Negroes Vote After Fracas In Greenville

Daily Worker
9-17-39
Atlanta, Ga.

GREENVILLE, S. C.—(ANP)—Although so many Negroes registered this year that the Ku Klux Klan attempted to intimidate them, only 34 voted in the city election held Tuesday.

Not a single opposition vote was cast in the election, the democratic nominees for municipal offices winning every one of the 551 total of votes cast. There is a total registration here of 2,224 including both white and colored.

Greenville, S. C. News
September 7, 1939

2,224 VOTERS OF CITY REGISTERED IN GENERAL VOTE

Names Of 250 Members On Books—Nominees Seek Final Approval

HOUSING INJECTED

A total of 2,224 Greenville citizens is qualified to vote in next Tuesday's general municipal election which will elect a mayor, six aldermen and a water commissioner for Greenville.

Mayor C. Fred McCullough has been nominated for mayor, Commissioner W. C. Cleveland for water commissioner, and R. Henry Ligon, J. Kenneth Cass, J. Mason Alexander, J. H. Huff, J. Frank Welborn and J. Dean Isbell for aldermen in two democratic primaries, but that is no assurance that they will be elected.

OPPOSITION SEEN

For the first time in many years, there is a distinct possibility that an opposition slate of candidates will be presented for the consideration of some, if not all, voters. There have been persistent rumors throughout the summer that such a slate is being assembled, but there has been no announcement as to its probable personnel.

However, those who voted in the two democratic primaries under no conditions will be eligible to vote for any but the democratic nominees. Before they voted, they took oath that they would support the nominees.

HOUSING AN ISSUE

Political observers in Greenville believe that opposition to some members of the present city council grew from council's refusal to enter into a contract with the government for an $800,000 low-cost housing project in the city. Some of the members who are objects of that opposition were renominated and will be seeking final approval in the general election.

For the first time since the end of carpetbag rule in South Carolina, presence of large number of names of negroes may be seen on registration books for the general election. Negro leaders have said that the reason is a spontaneous desire of negroes to vote. Two hundred and fifty are registered for Tuesday's election.

Registration for the general election almost equalled enrollment for the democratic primaries. Registered were 2.224 and enrolled were 2,454.

Registration books were closed yesterday for the first time in three months.

Spartanburg, S. C. Herald
July 8, 1939

Heavy Registration of Negro Voters Laid to Housing Plan's Defeat

Many Qualifying to Vote in Greenville Municipal Election Sept. 12

Greenville, July 7.—That the present city council failure to accept government money for a low-cost housing program is one of the reasons back of an unprecedented registration of negroes for the municipal general election to be held here September 12 appeared a certainty today.

Ninety-seven negroes have registered for the election this week. Total registration today was placed at 664. Books will be open 60 more days.

William Anderson, who identified himself as president of the Greenville Youth Council and as assistant secretary of the Greenville branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, yesterday called out to a newspaperman at the ~~county~~ courthouse: "Why don't you run for mayor and get us better housing?"

The same proposal was made by a white member of the Workers' Alliance, WPA workers' union.

Council Rejected Housing

City council turned down a $800,000 United States Housing Authority offer for a housing program several weeks ago after a large delegation of whites and negroes had appeared in council chambers in behalf of the program.

The heavy registration of negroes here yesterday drew from Fred V. Johnson, chief of staff in South Carolina of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan the statement that "the klan will ride again in South Carolina and in the nation to preserve white supremacy."

A mayor, six aldermen, a water commissioner and three school trustees will be nominated at primaries to be held August 29 and September 5. Ordinarily, their confirmation at the general election a week after the second primary would be a perfunctory matter, but City Attorney A. C. Mann pointed out that a voter could vote for anyone he chooses in the general election. For example, the city attorney pointed out, the voter could scratch out the names of all the Democratic nominees and write in the names of anyone he pleases. This vote would be perfectly valid, he said.

Anderson predicted that 1,000 negroes would be registered in the city by 1940 and that "the county may go as high as 5,000."

Greenville, S. C. News
July 7, 1939

Ku Klux

REGISTRATION OF NEGROES IN CITY VOTING STILL ON

Negro Youth Council Head Says 1,000 Negroes Will Register In Year

STATEMENTS ISSUED

Heavy registration of negroes for the general municipal primary to be held September 12 brought yesterday from Fred V. Johnson, chief of staff in South Carolina of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a statement that "the Klan will ride again in South Carolina and in the nation and will preserve white supremacy."

The statement followed two days during which 76 negroes, mostly women, placed their names on the registration book in City hall in order to vote in the general election. Fifty-seven were registered Wednesday and 19 yesterday.

Their registration brought the total of whites and negroes to 447, an unusually large registration for a municipal general election.

William Anderson, who identified himself as president of the Greenville Negro Youth council and as assistant secretary of the Greenville branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said yesterday afternoon while standing a few feet from the county registration office in the courthouse, that the Greenville branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was interested in the registration of negroes for the general election. He said that J. A. Brier, whom he said was a school teacher and who is president of the branch, had appointed a committee of 12 to organize a voters' club. The voters' club, he added, is getting negroes to register.

1,000 MAY REGISTER

Anderson said that it was his opinion that 1,000 negroes would be registered in the city by 1940 and that "the county may go as high as 5,000."

Also in the group with Anderson was a negro who had been active the day before in directing negroes to both county and city registration offices. He told Fred V. Johnson, the Klan official, that his name was J. C. Williams. The day before he had said he was president of the negro branch of the Workers Alliance, a union of WPA workers, but Workers Alliance officials yesterday denied this. The negro wore two badges on his shirt which indicated he had paid his Workers Alliance dues for 1938 and 1939.

That the present city council's failure to accept government money for a low-cost housing program was one of the reasons back of the unprecedented negro registration appeared almost a certainty yesterday. As a reporter went down the stairs to the courthouse basement, Anderson, the Negro Youth council president, called out: "Why don't you run for mayor and get us better housing?" The same proposal was made by a white Workers Alliance member. City council turned down a federal offer of $800,000 for a housing program several weeks ago after a large delegation of negroes and whites had appeared in council chambers in behalf of the program.

PREACHERS MAY AID

Meanwhile, it was learned that negro preachers had been asked to exhort their congregations to register during their sermons Sunday. The county registration books will remain open through Tuesday and the city registration books will be open 60 more days.

Mr. Johnson handed in the following classified advertisements to be run in today's issue of The Greenville News:

"FIERY SUMMONS—All Klansmen are called to action regarding white supremacy. Read article in News of sixth concerning registration of negroes for city election. Contact headquarters. Write P. O. Box 1511, Greenville."

"WHITE CITIZENS—Are you interested in maintainance of white supremacy in South Carolina? Read News of sixth containing article regarding registration of negroes for Greenville election. Do you know group backing this movement? For information regarding program of action to preserve white supremacy and segregation of races write P. O. Box 1511, Greenville."

22 REGISTERED

At county registration headquarters yesterday, 157 citizens, including 22 negroes, obtained registration certificates.

City officials, including a mayor, six aldermen, a water commissioner and three school trustees, will be nominated at primaries to be held August 29 and September 5. Ordinarily, their confirmation at the general election a week after the second primary would be a perfunctory matter, but City Attorney A. C. Mann pointed out that a voter could vote for anyone he chooses in the general election. For example, the city attorney pointed out, the voter could scratch the names of all of the democratic nominees and write in the names of anyone he pleases. This vote, he said, would be perfectly valid.

JOHNSON STATEMENT

Following is the statement issued by Mr. Johnson in his capacity as chief of the Klan in South Carolina:

"More interest has been manifest in the Klan in Greenville today than I have seen in a long time. When it was learned that there is an organized movement to get the negroes of Greenville registered to vote in the coming city election of Greenville, the matter has been repeatedly called to my attention by numbers of persons who have asked what the Klan plans to do in this connection. Repeatedly, people, many of whom are not Klansmen, have pledged me their support and cooperation in a drive against this movement.

"The position of the Klan on the question of white supremacy is the same as it has always been, which is that God created the races separate and distinct from each other, that the white or Caucasian race is superior to the colored race and that it is to the best interest of all concerned that we have an absolute segregation of the races. Those who advocate racial equality are not friends of the negro and they should be censured more than the negroes who have been ill-advised by them.

"It has been determined that this movement among the negroes is being sponsored by the Association for the Advancement of the Colored People and its affiliate, the Negro Youth movement, both of which have organized chapters in Greenville, which chapters meet and operate from the Phillis Wheatley center of Greenville, which center receives aid from the Community Chest of Greenville. It has been learned that the Workers' Alliance, WPA union, which is connected with the CIO, is also aiding in this movement to get the negroes of Greenville registered to vote. The Klan has pointed out before that the CIO has high officials who are connected with Communism.

WILL INVESTIGATE

"The investigation department of the Klan will make a thorough check and secure all facts possible concerning this movement among the negroes and at the proper time and in the proper manner the Klan will handle this problem. All Klansmen have been called to action and the white citizenship of the county and state has been invited ot investigate the program of action now going into operation in behalf of white supremacy and against all alienism. More details of this new program of the Klan will be given to the press at an early date.

"The Klan will ride again in South Carolina and in the nation and will preserve white supremacy and protect the ideals and institutions and principles of Americanism that are cherished by our people."

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
July 17, 1939

90 Registered As Roll Opens

25 Negroes Get Certificates; County Books Open Through Wednesday

The county registration board today opened its books for three days and by 1 o'clock this afternoon had issued 90 certificates, of which about 25 went to negroes.

Two negroes were denied certificates because they were unable to read or write, Mrs. Lucia D. King, registration chairman, said. She said that after conferring with County Attorney Wilton Earle she decided to ask all negro applicants to submit to a reading and writing test.

The county books will remain open through Wednesday and may not open again in time for the general city election September 12. Certificates must be dated 30 days prior to the election in order to be valid.

Registration at City Hall for the general election also showed an advance today, with enrollment passing the 1,000 figure. By 1 o'clock this afternoon 86 persons had registered at City hall for the day.

White citizens are registering at the rate of 10 to 1 over the negroes. Twenty negroes registered today, and a re-check of the books showed that the negro total was 109.

Officials pointed out that the precinct enrollment books for the first municipal primary August 29 will open July 15 at the various precinct voting places. Persons enrolling for the primary will be required to show their registration certificate, not older than January 1, 1938. No tax receipts will be necessary for the primary enrollment.

Greenville, S. C Piedmont
July 20, 1939

Urge Negroes To Cast Vote

Second Circular In Week Distributed; Cites Constitutional Rights

The second mimeographed circular to be passed among Greenville negroes this week made its appearance today, warning colored persons "not to be bluffed out of your right" and to register to vote in the general election September 12.

The circular was shown today by a business man, whose negro servant turned it over to him. She said they were being passed around among the negroes.

The circular started with five questions:

"Do you want better schools for your children?

"Do you want better wages for your work?

"Do you want decent homes to live in and bring up your family in?

"Do you want to stop wholesale arrest of colored people? (45 out of every 100 negroes in Greenville have been arrested).

"Do you want to reduce the high death rate of your babies?

"Do you want to be a true full-fledged American citizen and exercise your Constitutional rights?"

The circular gave instructions on how and where to register for the general election and urged negroes not to be afraid to vote.

It said: "President Roosevelt and the United States Department of Justice will see to it that the Ku Klux Klan or anyone else who tries to stop you is prosecuted in the federal court. Don't be bluffed out of your rights. This is America—not Germany. You have many white friends who are willing to help you if you will help yourself."

The first circular appeared early this week and appealed to "all poor people" to register and vote. This one was signed by "New Deal Democrats of Greenville." It pointed out that City Council had turned down $800,000 which was to be used to build a slum clearance project and said "get your neighbor to register and prepare yourself to put our friends in office."

Few negroes are expected to attempt to vote in the primaries August 29 and September 5, but many are registering for the general election.

Negroes seeking to vote in the primaries must be accompanied by three reputable white men who say the negro has voted in a prior city primary.

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
July 20, 1939

Negroes Given Leading Roles

Whites And Blacks Work Side By Side In Registration Headquarters

ATLANTA, July 20.—(AP)—Negroes working in the same registration headquarters with white persons were pointed out today by leaders as an example of racial harmony characterizing the Baptist World Alliance.

The arrangement—an unusual one for the South—found the Rev. W. A. Duncan, white chairman of registration, and his staff working over one counter and the Rev. W. W. Weatherspoon, negro chairman, and his staff busy at another counter.

They were registering messengers (delegates) of their respective races to the sixth congress of the Alliance opening Saturday for a week of discussion and review of Baptist activities, doctrines and policies.

Brotherly Spirit

In comment, Dr. J. H. Rushbrooke of London, general secretary of the Alliance, said a "very brotherly spirit" is prevailing between the races and that he hoped its influence would be widespread.

"We are trying to express the Christian spirit in everything we are doing," said Dr. C. N. Ellis, negro spokesman. "We are preaching Jesus and He knew no race or color."

Negroes have several important program assignments for the world religious meeting. Dr. L. K. Williams, Chicago negro pastor and president of the National Baptist Convention, Incorporated, will preside Sunday when Dr. George W. Truett of Dallas, Tex., president of the Alliance, delivers an address.

One of the events of the congress will be an international tea, sponsored by negro Baptist churches and religious organizations Monday on the campus of Spelman college in front of a chapel given the college by John D. Rockefeller.

Dr. Truett describes the Alliance congress as "preeminently designed to magnify fraternity and inspiration." In an interview yesterday he called for a world-wide reaffirmation of the principle of the separation of church and state.

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
July 6, 1939

13 More Negroes Register; Union Denies Any Hand In It

Situation First Of Its Kind Since Historic Days Of Reconstruction

Presenting a situation unique in Greenville since the historic days of Reconstruction, negroes today continued to stream into City hall and the courthouse to register for the general municipal election in September.

Thirteen negroes received their registration certificates at the county courthouse up to noon today, making a total of about 125 who have qualified to vote. Ten had registered at City hall, sending the total negro registration there to about 75.

City Ponders Cause

The sudden influx of negroes began yesterday, when 57 registered at City hall, sending the city immediately into a wave of speculation as to the guiding hand behind the movement.

White citizens, startled out of their voting lethargy, immediately started registering in heavy numbers. Last week the number registered did not reach 100, but today at noon a total of about 312 white persons were on the books. A large number of these registered yesterday and this morning.

Officials of the Workers Alliance, a union of WPA workers, today denied that they had anything to do with getting the negroes registered. They said a negro stationed outside the county registration office yesterday was not president of a colored branch of the union, as he reportedly claimed to be.

Driven by White

One white citizen said he saw a white man drive up to the courthouse with a carful of negroes this morning, he let them out to enter the courthouse basement and then drove on. The man said he tried to get the license numbers of the car "just for curiosity," but failed.

Another white man, known to be an official of the local Ku Klux Klan, stopped at the registration booth in City hall this morning and asked if he could get a list of negroes who had registered. Mrs. Katie R. Pride, in charge, did not reveal the names.

One source said it believed the negroes were being urged to register by a reputable colored organization of the city. Many of the negroes registered are leading negro citizens, including several preachers. Most of them are women and older men.

One observer said he overheard a negro remark that "we will have 10,000 negro votes in Greenville county for the 1940 general election." That is the presidential election year.

Factor In Election?

The colored vote can be a factor in the municipal general election on September 12 if the negroes register in sufficient numbers.

Ordinarily, the registration for a general city election here in the last 10 years has been around 200, with the actual vote less than 100. However, with the possibility of a negro vote entering the picture, the largest white vote since Reconstruction days is anticipated September 12.

A. C. Mann, city attorney, said persons voting in the general election could vote for anyone they pleased, scratching the names of the Democratic nominees and writing in the names of candidates. Such ballots would be perfectly valid, he pointed out.

For Second Party?

This statement brought speculation on the street today of the possibility of the negroes bringing out a second party and entering candidates of their own choice.

Citizens are procuring their county registration certificates in the basement of the courthouse, where Mrs. Lucia King is in charge of the books. All persons must show their 1938 county tax receipt in order to receive a registration certificate.

These certificates, together with 1938 city and county tax receipts, are necessary to enroll at City hall for the general municipal election on September 12.

Municipal officers of Greenville, a mayor and six aldermen, will be nominated at primaries to be held August 29 and September 5. Ordinarily, their election in the general election would be only a routine matter.

Race Citizens Register In Greenville

Not Frightened By Statement of KKK Chief

7-22-39

(Special to Journal and Guide)

GREENVILLE, S. C. — "The Klan will ride again in South Carolina and in the nation and will preserve white supremacy and protect the ideals and institutions and principles of Americanism that are cherished by our people."

Such was the ambiguous statement issued from the office of Fred V. Johnson, chief of the Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina, when he was informed that Negro citizens of Greenville were registering in record-breaking numbers to vote in coming general elections.

Simultaneous with the threat that the Klan would ride again to defeat the determination of the Negro people of Greenville and the surrounding county to use the power of the ballot to get political justice came the announcement from leaders of the registration movement that 1,000 Negroes would be registered in the city by 1940 and that the county figures may go as high as 5,000.

MIAMI CASE

With these declarations the stage has been set for a reception of the Miami voting victory where more than 1,000 Negroes flocked the polls in spite of persistent and organized KKK threats of lynching and other physical harm.

In Miami Negro voters ignored the Klan and voted in such large numbers that they are considered one of the most important factors in the politics of the Florida resort city. Since election day numerous civic benefits have been granted to the Negro population.

As a result of the Negro registrations in Greenville, the number of people who have signified their intention of voting in the elections in unusually large.

A large percentage of the Negroes who registered were women. Director of the movement William Anderson, president of the Greenville Negro Youth Council and assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

VOTERS CLUB

J. A. Brier, local school teacher and president of the branch, has appointed a committee of 12 to organize a voters' club, which is getting Negroes to vote.

The general election follows the city primaries and is usually a matter of form. However, Negro voters, who cannot vote in the primary, may insert the names of another candidate on the ballot in the general election.

J. C. Williams, affiliated with the Workers Alliance, has been directing the registration of members of his race.

SLUM PROJECT REASON

The failure of the city council to accept $800,000 from the government for low-cost slum clearance was given an one of the reasons for the political activity among Negroes.

Negro preachers were urged to ask their congregations to register and vote. Officials to be elected are as follows: Mayor, six aldermen, a water commissioner, and three school trustees to be nominated at primaries August 29 and September 5. The general election will be held one month later.

The registration books will be open for 60 days longer.

Mr. Johnson handed in the following classified advertisements to be run in a recent issue of The Greenville News:

"FIERY SUMMONS—All Klansmen are called to action regarding white supremacy. Read article in News of sixth concerning registration of Negroes for city election. Contact headquarters. Write P. O. Box 1511, Greenville."

"WHITE CITIZENS— Are you interested in maintainance of white supremacy in South Carolina? Read News of sixth containing article regarding registration of Negroes for Greenville election. Do you know group backing this movement? For information regarding program of action to preserve white supremacy and segregation of races write P. O. Box 1511, Greenville."

STATEMENT

Following is the statement issued by Mr. Johnson in his capacity as chief of the Klan in South Carolina:

"More interest has been manifest in the Klan in Greenville today than I have seen in a long time. When it was learned that there is an organized movement to get the Negroes of Greenville registered to vote in the coming city election of Greenville, the matter has been repeatedly called to my attention by numbers of persons who have asked what the Klan plans to do in this connection. Repeatedly, people, many of whom are not Klansmen, have pledged me their support and cooperation in a drive against this movement.

"The position of the Klan on the question of white supremacy is the same as it has always been, which is that God created the races separate and distinct from each other, that the white or Caucasian race is superior to the colored race and that it is to the best interest of all concerned that we have an absolute segregation of the races. Those who advocate racial equality are not friends of the Negro and they should be censured more than the Negroes who have been ill-advised by them.

"It has been determined that this movement among the Negroes is besing sponsored by the Association for the Advancement of the Colored People and its affiliate, the Negro Youth movement, both of which have organized chapters in Greenville, which chapters meet and operate from the Phillis Wheatley center of Greenville, which center receives aid from the Community Chest of Greenville. It has been learned that the Workers' Alliance, WPA union, which is

PAGE THREE—

connected with the CIO, is also aiding in this movement to get the Negroes of Greenville registered to vote. The Klan has pointed out before that the CIO has high officials who are connected with Communism.

"The investigation department of the Klan will make a thorough check and secure all facts possible concerning this movement among the Negroes and at the proper time and in the proper manner the Klan will handle this problem. All Klansmen have been called to action and the white citizenship of the county and state has been invited to investigate the program of action now going into operation in behalf of white supremacy and against all alienism. More details of this new program of the Klan will be given to the press at an early date.

"The Klan will ride again in South Carolina and in the nation and will preserve white supremacy and protect the ideals and institutions and principles of Americanism that are cherished by our people."

Greenville, S. C. Piedmont
July 7, 1939

Negro Registrations Waning; White Interest Shows Gain

Fewer Colored Citizens In Line Today; County Books Closed Tomorrow

An increase in white and a decrease in negro registartions for the general municipal election September 12 was reported in Greenville today.

Total registration at City hall had risen to 585, believed the highest in 10 years, at noon today with the addition of 128 white and 10 negro names.

The number of negroes getting registration certificates at the county courthouse also showed a decline early today, with only about eight out of 60 applicants being negroes. Registration in the county today stood at 18.417, a figure which includes about 150 negroes.

Registration headquarters in the basement of the courthouse will not be open tomorrow because of the Saturday afternoon closing of the courthouse, Mrs. Lucia King, registration supervisor, said, but the books will be open Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of next week.

Would Inspect Books

Meanwhile, Fred V. Johnson, of Greenville, Ku Klux Klan official, requested the names of the negroes registered at City hall and issued a statement declaring that "the Klan will ride again in South Carolina."

Mr. Johnson went to City hall early this morning with a stenographer and asked permission of B. F. Dillard, city clerk and treasurer, to see the registration books. Mr. Dillard said he could see the books, as they were open to the public, but suggested that Mr. Johnson return later in the day when he could see them without interfering with the registration of citizens.

Mr. Johnson said many persons, not members of the Klan, had pledged "their support and cooperation" in a drive "against the movement to register negroes."

William Anderson, who identified himself as president of the Greenville Negro Youth council and as assistant secretary of the Greenville branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that the latter organization was interested in the registration of negroes for the general election. He said he believed 1,000 negroes would be registered in the city by 1940 and that the county figure might go as high as 5,000.

Committee is Organized

He also said J. A. Brier, who he said was a school teacher and who is president of the NAACP branch, had appointed a committee of 12 to organize a voters' club.

Rumors were circulated in certain quarters today that the negroes were planning to get out their own ticket for the general election.

It also was reported that negroes were p lannin to hold a meeting tonight to discuss registration.

Voters will go to the polls on September 12 to elect a mayor, six aldermen, a water commissioner and three members of the board of city school trustees. They will be nominated in primaries to be held August 29 and September 5, but another party could enter opponents in the general election.

Columbia, S. C., Free Press
July 14, 1939

NEGROES PLAN TO VOTE

"The negro vote for the first time in history may be a factor in the Greenville municipal general election which will be held in September," says The Greenville News.

The News publishes a 3-column picture showing negroes registering for the city general election. Fifty-seven negroes registered July 5 and more placed their names on the registration books each day last week.

"That the registration of negroes for the election was an organized effort" was very apparent, says the Greenville paper.

The negroes will not be able to place a negro in the mayor's chair of Greenville this time. The white voters will see to that. But, what started all this in Greenville? The action of the national Democratic administration in Washington in playing up to the negro is at the bottom of it.

Communistic organizations like the Workers Defense League of New York and the Workers Alliance, a WPA union, are encouraging the negroes of Greenville to register and vote. A New Yorker, David L. Clendenin, national secretary-treasurer of the Workers Defense League, was in Greenville last week spreading threats against any person or group who opposed negroes taking over the city government of Greenville.

The Ku Klux Klan, as was to be expected, was quick to take a hand in the movement. A spokesman for the Klan at Greenville said in a statement published in The Greenville News that:

"The movement among the negroes to get them registered for voting presents to the white citizens of Greenville and of South Carolina one of the gravest and most serious problems with which it has been confronted since the days of Reconstruction. It seems that practically the same question that was settled in those days must now be fought out and settled again x x x x x x

"There is more to this movement than appears on the surface. It is not merely a movement among the negroes to make a display. Other investigations up to this point leads us to state that this is not a Republican move. The negroes of Greenville have been ill advised and are being used by agents as tools to further their objectives and, unless they are led to the true light, will find themselves in a far worse plight than they have ever been before."

The statement that the negroes are being "used by agents as tools" is no doubt correct. Whatever happens in this Greenville affair the negro is certain to suffer in the long run. It is deplorable that the Communists in the United States are misleading the Southern negro and trying to use him to further their own cause. It is time for every good citizen, white and black, to put a stop to activities of Communistic agitators in South Carolina. The place to start is at Greenville.

Fayetteville, N. C., Observer
July 19, 1939

IGNORANCE IS DANGER.

Down in Greenville, S. C., in a State where politics traditionally for generations has been a white man's game, the negro issue is being inserted (as it has in so many North Carolina cities) by the mass registration of negro voters by white politicians.

The gesture has brought forth a revival of a dormant chapter of the Ku Klux Klan and thinly veiled hints of violent action, which in turn have been brought to the attention of the Attorney General of the United States, whose duty it is to see that nobody is allowed to step on the Constitution except a sit-down striker.

What will come of the matter we have no way of knowing, but our guess is that the negro, having become better educated and more capable of casting an intelligent ballot is on verge of becoming an active participant in South Carolina elections.

Though this will be a shock to the sensibilities of a great many die-hards it is, after all, for the best as long as the use of the ballot can be limited to intelligent negroes.

We have too many dumb white people being voted in droves by ward-heelers in North and South Carolina without increasing the problem by adding dumb negroes.

Society has nothing at all to fear from the exercise of franchise by intelligent persons of any complexion: it has everything to fear from the control of elections by any variety of ignorance.

Negroes Register in S. C. In Spite of Klan Threat

GREENVILLE, S. C. July 30. — Intimidation and threats of the Ku Klux Klan to "ride again in the South," did not frighten 57 Negroes of Greenville, S. C., who registered last week for the municipal election.

Behind the criminal slogan of "preserving white supremacy," the Klan issued a statement calling its members to action to prevent further registration of Negroes for the city election.

In answer to this fascist demagogic appeal hundreds of Negroes, following the action of the 57, turned out and registered in open defiance of the Klan.

Negroes comprise 40 per cent of the population of the state, but only a few of them are permitted to vote. The recent registration marks another milestone in the fight of the Negro people for political franchise.

Encouraged by the militancy of Negroes in Miami and Birmingham, who are conducting a determined fight for the right to vote, Negroes of South Carolina and everywhere in the South are prepared to make a show down fight before the 1940 election. And no Ku Klux Klan threats will deter them in this great undertaking

TO MEET CHALLENGE

The Negro Youth Council of Greenville, the NAACP, the organized labor movement and the Workers Alliance, have pledged themselves to meet the challenge of the Klan by encouraging more Negroes and whites to register.

Voters clubs are being formed, and according to William Anderson, President of the Negro Youth Council, more than 5,000 will be registered by the time of the Presidential campaign next year.

Local newspapers announced that the "heavy" registration of 57 Negroes, had more than doubled the registration of the white voters the next day. It would seem that the fight of the Negroes is stirring the white population to a re-newed interest in politics.

Fred V. Johnson, Greenville Klan leader, in a public statement, declared that the "organized" movement among Negroes was a plot of the NAACP, the Workers Alliance and the CIO.

Thus, it is clear that the sin of the Klan is not to "preserve white supremacy," but to organize bands of terrorists to be unleashed against the Negro people and the labor and progressive movement.

Anderson, S. C. Independent Trib
July 16/1939

Klan Keeping Plan For Action Against Negroes As Secret

More Than 100 Negroes Have Registered To Vote In Greenville City Election—Klan Plans "Proper" Action — Government Eyes Situation

By EARL MAZO

Not since Reconstruction Days have more than four negroes voted in the City of Greenville, but more than 100 have registered this summer to be eligible to vote in the city's general election on September 12. And plenty of trouble appears to be brewing.

Declaring that "God created the races separate and distinct from each other," Fred V. Johnson, chief of staff to Grand Dragon of South Carolina Ku Klux Klan, has warned that the Klan will ride again if the negroes attempt to vote. "At the proper time and in the proper manner the Klan will handle this problem.

Organizations backing the negroes, including the Greenville chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, representatives of the Workers Alliance (A CIO relief workers' union), alarmed over the Klan activity, have called upon the federal government to protect their "rights."

And Attorney General Frank Murphy's office has asked District Attorney Oscar Doyle, whose home is in Anderson, to keep an eye on the situation.

In Greenville, Klansman Johnson told me, "It is very evident now that on this stand for white supremacy, the Klan has the support and backing and cooperation of a majority of the white citizens of this state."

Greenville's Mayor C. Fred McCullough, however, is not greatly alarmed over the situation. He told me that he saw no danger of violence. If there is violence, he added, "the police can handle it, I am sure."

Taking his stand in the matter, District Attorney Doyle said in a statement to this Independent writer that "The attorney general by letter informed me that his attention had been called to the published notices of meeting of the Klan at Greenville and the statement of Fred V. Johnson to the effect that the Klan would ride again and white supremacy would be maintained in South Carolina.

"The attorney-general requested me to inquire into the matter sufficiently to inform him of the situation or in other words to report as to whether it was such as to make an investigation by the FBI advisable.

"I have reported to him that the newspaper accounts in the last few days substantially sets out the facts as far as I know them. No person or organization has filed a complaint with my office.

"There appears to be a threat to violate the law although so far as I know no actual violation has yet taken place. If a violation does take place and sufficient evidence of same can be adduced I would naturally present the facts to a grand jury and ask for an indictment just as I would in the case of violation of any federal statute."

The district attorney recalled, in this connection, the case of a Pickens county man who claimed he was the head of the Ku Klux Klan in his section. This man was tried for attempted assault on a Greenville county citizen and landed in the Atlanta federal penitentiary. He also recalled a case in Oconee county in which two white men were charged with dynamiting a negro's home. They were convicted by a white jury two years ago.

Talking guardedly of Klan plans, Johnson told me in Greenville that the movement there was sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people. "To vote is not the ultimate goal they seek for the negro," he said, "but their aim is full and equal rights" with the white people of the South.

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Such plans, he said, "only Klansmen will know." He said that he had been in close touch with the Grand Dragon of the order in South Carolina (The Grand Dragon's identity is carefully guarded).

Since his "the Klan will ride again" statement was issued a week ago, Johnson said, many applications for admission into the secret order had been received. He refused to tell the number, and neither would he divulge the present Klan enrollment in Greenville.

The head of the Greenville branch of the National Association For Advancement of Colored People told me that "negroes have no slate in the coming election." He said that on day of registration a group of negroes registered "just because they felt it their duty to do so as citizens" and that the movement to encourage negroes voting started only after "threats" were made "by a certain organization and there was so much talk of negro people voting. He implied that in time negroes would be able to show their strength at the polls.

Mrs. Katie C. Pride, supervisor of city registration in Greenville, gave me some idea of what is going on. To date, she said, some 900 people have enrolled for voting in the city's general election. Less than 110 of these are negroes.

"The government is making the negro more conscious of his citizenship, was Mrs. Pride's explanation of why the negroes of Greenville were registering. Only four negroes have voted there since Reconstruction Days.

Mrs. Pride said that the majority of negroes registering were women, and that they seemed to be the fairly intelligent type.

"There are some ignorant negroes registering, however", she said.

She told of one old man who hobbled up to the books, registered, then asked, "what you'all doing, getting all Greenville people's names down for the government?"

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Meanwhile people on Greenville's streets debated about the power of the Klan. Some said they could rely on that organization "to keep those niggers down," as one man put it, while another man, a mill worker, expressed another view. "I don't want no protection from them hooded fools. It'll be a sorry day when I call on people with sheets on them to come look after me," said.

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Early in the excitement, representatives of the Workers Alliance, a WPA organization, and the Workers Defense League complained to the attorney general in Washington about "intimidation of negro voters.

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"The registration of negroes for voting in Greenville, a movement sponsored by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, which began last week, has aroused an interest in this section among white citizens greater than has been noted in years.

"Since this movement was made known by the press to the public, we have seen the greatest interest in the Klan manifested that has been experienced in a long time. There is a very definite reason for this interest in the Klan, for the Klan has been known to the public as an organization sponsoring the cause of White Supremacy, and when this principle was challenged, the public automatically and spontaneously looked to the Klan.

"The position of the Klan on the question of White Supremacy has been repeatedly stated. In the face of the situation in Greenville the position of the Klan is and will be the same, for the Klan has never swerved from its original stand on this question and will stand unflinchingly upon this question, not only at Greenville, but in South Carolina and in the nation.

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Meanwhile, registration for Greenville's city election continues. The big day will be September 12. The big question mark—and a closely kept Klan secret—is "Will the Klan ride again in South Carolina?"

POLITICAL - 1939
SUFFRAGE

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson, S. C. Independent Trib
July 16, 1939

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DIVISION OF PERIODICAL

Columbia. S. C. State
June 24, 1939

BOTH SEEK NEGRO VOTE.

Mark Sullivan, ancient and honorable Republican, speculates in his column about the South and 1940. If Southern states broke away in 1928 and voted the Republican ticket, why not do the same in 1940? The explanation of the 1928 break in the Southern political tradition was that Al Smith was a Catholic. Not many persons admitted that at the time; they said they disliked his voice, his manner, his wife or the fact that he was against prohibition. However, the prejudice against his religion was the main thing.

The urge to break free from the Democratic label in 1940 will be different, Sullivan admits, but he thinks it will be strong. "For the South," he says, "in addition to economic objections to the New Deal, has become fully aware that the New Deal favors Negro suffrage—not only favors it, but insists on it."

That's true. But what is the Republican attitude toward the Negro vote? Precisely the same as that of the New Deal. Why, then, should any Southern Democrat vote the Republican ticket because of his own party's attitude toward the Negro?

Bamberg, S. C., Herald
July 6, 1939

BIDDING FOR NEGRO VOTES.

Back in the days when your father and my father—assuming that you are somewhere our age—voted the Democratic ticket, it was mainly because the Democrats represented white supremacy in the south—in the main, of course. We viewed the two big parties at close range. The negroes voted, when they voted at all, the Republican ticket—hence the Republican party was the "black" party to southern whites.

Then came the New Deal, which made an outright bid for the negro vote in the north and east, where they wield a powerful balance of power. In exchange for their votes, the northern negroes made demands to which the New Dealers gave sympathetic ear. It is now a foregone conclusion that the New Deal not only favors negro suffrage in the south, but is actually insisting upon it.

So we now have the spectacle of both major parties united on the issue of negro participation in politics. We are in the position of the proverbial person "between the devil and the deep sea." But the Republican party is at least consistent.

Batesburg, S. C., Twin-City News
June 28, 1939

New Dealers Lining up Negro Vote in South Carolina

"Regardless of what the southern democratic leaders may do in congress or at next year's national democratic convention, it is quite apparent that the national democratic leaders are quietly but effectively preparing to keep the electoral vote of the solid south 'in the bag' and overwhelm any revolt of the white democratic electors by using negro voters to make up for the disaffected white voters," says a statement issued by the Greenville (S. C.) Post, federation of middle classes.

"The cue to this statement was given by a news item which appeared in the Greenville Piedmont, June 7, stating that on the previous Monday 44 negroes had secured registration certificates in this county. The number was so large as to cause comment from Mrs. King, the registrar, who stated the number surpassed any such in her experience in registration, although previous opening of the books have been marked by unusually heavy registration of negroes.

"These registration certificates qualify the holders to vote in general or national elections.

"A check of registration in other counties would probably reveal that an unusually large number of negroes are registering with a view of voting in the 1940 presidential election.

"This means that the northern democratic leaders intend to use the negro voters in the south, just as they have in New York, Pennsylvania and other northern states to keep the solid south solidly in the democratic party regardless of the sentiment of a majority of the white voters. They no doubt figure that the combined vote of federal office holders, WPA workers and the negroes will hold the electoral vote of the south in the democratic column in 1940 regardless of whom the party nominates.

"The negro is turning to the ballot box in national elections is trying to better his economic condition, just as other pressure groups throughout the country are doing. He is not interested in voting in our democratic state primaries nor at present in our county or state government. Neither does the matter of social equality have any interest for him at the present, but he is interested in seeing segregation and Jim Crow laws swept aside and his right to work side by side with whites in industry at equal wages obtained.

"In the north the negro has found the C. I. O. and the democratic party the best bargaining agencies for obtaining his objectives nor does he propose to lose his advantages by seeing the solid south slip from the democratic fold. This explains the registration of unusually large number of negroes in Greenville county and no doubt the same thing is transpiring throughout this state and the south.

"The negro is well within his rights in registering and preparing to vote in large numbers in the south in next year's presidential election and any effort to use force or disfranchise him would be ill-advised and no doubt would lead to federal control of our elections.

"The future of the democratic party seems inextricably bound up with the C. I. O. and the negro.

"After the presidential election of 1940 is over the democratic party of the south can no longer be called a white man's party."

ONLY 34 NEGROES VOTE AFTER GREENVILLE TROUBLE

GREENVILLE, S. C., Sept. 21—(ANP)—Although so many Negroes registered this year that the Ku Klux Klan attempted to intimidate them, only 34 voted in the city election held Tuesday.

Not a single opposition vote was cast in the election, the democratic nominees for municipal offices winning every one of the 351 total votes cast. There is a total registration here of 2,224 including both white and colored.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
August 30, 1939

Negroes and Whites 'Disfranchised'

One hears much of the "disfranchisement" of the Southern negroes. In South Carolina five-sixths of the white people are as effectively disfranchised, so far as the selection of a president and vice president is considered, as the negroes are—and so these whites will be as long as state conventions shall elect delegates to national conventions and state and county officers shall be chosen in primaries.

Greenwood, S. C., Index Journal
March 31, 1939

AN INTRIGUING PROSPECT

The Gallup poll reported last week that at the present time fifty-one per cent of American voters preferred a Republican victory in 1940.

Confessing to no excitement over the statement, The Index-Journal can admit that it is deeply intrigued by the prospect of a fight next year between New Deal Democrats of the North and East and Republicans over the colored vote in the pivotal States.

Senator Byrnes, of South Carolina, is a careful man in his statements. He has said, in effect, that the colored vote in these big Northern States controls the Democratic party.

The New Deal brought them out of the Republican camp and when it tries to hold them through 1940 the fun will begin.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
May 12, 1939

Excellent for Colored Voters

If history that the true New Dealers in Washington have entered upon the humanitarian scheme of casting Chairman James Farley into outer darkness lest "he prevent the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt for a third term or, in the event he refuse a nomination, a reliable Big Town humanitarian heedful of his wishes, have truth in it, it will be excellent for the colored Democrats.

Mr. Farley is their champion. He arranged for their prominence in the Philadelphia convention of 1936 and addressed a gathering of negroes before the convention met.

The true New Dealers (whether Mr. Farley is a "liberal" or not The News and Courier cannot say), Senator Wagner, Mr. Heywood Broun, Messrs. corcoran&cohen, all of the Great City idealists, realists and ideologists, are strong for the colored Democrat, his relief and his ballot. There will be a tug-of-war for the colored support in Chicago's Second ward, in Harlem, in Detroit, in Cincinnati and other crowded areas of civilization.

Our guess is that the Northern negroes will draw lush dividends from a contest in the Northern cities if Messrs. Farley and Roosevelt tear themselves asunder the one from the other. (It would be a scene of agony, and we could not look upon it with dry eyes.)

The News and Courier, a rebel, an apostate and a reactionary, which is bound to neither of these parties and would have South Carolina to elect unpledged members of the Electoral College if that seem advisable next year, is interested in a Farley-Roosevelt split as an abstraction.

Both the true New Dealers and the Farley crew believe in universal suffrage, white and black, and are Tieless Joe Tolbert-democrats. Tieless Joe was defending negro democracy (small "d") before Messrs. Roosevelt and Wagner were born. The News and Courier is opposed to the Tolbert democracy.

White Primaries, Poll Tax Rapped At Southeastern Co-op Conference

Research Secretary Commission On Interracial Co-operation Says South Is Challenged to Forget the Dead Past and Its Prejudices.

By CHARLES SPEARS

GREENVILLE, S. C., May 25—"The South along with the rest of the world faces a choice between co-operation and coercion," Dr. Arthur Raper, Atlanta, Ga., research and field secretary, Commission on Interracial Co-operation, warned white and black leaders of the South here Friday.

"Two southern stones . . . the poll tax, and the white primaries . . . must be rolled from the field before co-operation can be achieved. There is no chance of having co-operation when some have no right to say what shall be done," he added.

5-27-39

SLAVERY IS BEDROCK OF SOUTHERN LABOR

Speaking at the morning session of the Southeastern Regional Conference on Co-operation, held at the Buncombe Street Methodist Church (white), May 18-20, he declared, "There is no tradition of co-operation in the South." He cited two other stones which must be removed, "the economic structure of the South, which squeezes the poor people from the rich land, and feeds sick King Cotton."

WANTS SOUTH TO FORGET DEAD PAST

He said further: "We have a challenge to forget a dead past, racial, denominational and class prejudices and see a new South arise." Rapping Southern Congressmen, he deplored "the patriotic poverty which has resulted from voting for lower relief wages in the South at the instigation of the monied groups which did not want relief to interfere with the labor supply. Speaking further, Dr. Raper asked: "How the United States could presume to answer the problems of the world when we, the richest country in the world, can not maintain ourselves and keep our poor from starving."

DR. MacDONALD ADDRESSES GROUP

Dr. J. Nelson MacDonald, a leader in the Nova Scotian co-operative experiments, addressing the group of more than 250 delegates and visitors, declared, in speaking of the economic structure of the South, "the problem cannot be solved politically in the South as long as the section is divided by racial, political and denominational hatreds."

"Politics are controlled by the bankers, the merchants and those who do not want the farmers, the miners, the fishermen to organize against them and their privileges," he asserted.

At 2:30 p.m., Friday, a motion picture, "The Lord Helps Those," sponsored by the Harmon Foundation, told the story of co-operatives in Nova Scotia.

FIRST ATTEMPT IN THIS REGION

The conference was arranged by the Greenville County Council for Community Development. The University of North Carolina and the Sponsoring Committee. Co-operating organizations are the General Education Board and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

The conference represents the first attempt in this region to bring together, from both races, leaders and workers in agriculture, business, education, industry, labor, medicine, religion and other fields, to discuss the social, economic and educational implications of the Co-operative Movement.

Florence, S. C., Morning News
August 21, 1939

TRADING FOR NEGRO VOTES

At least two weekly newspapers published in South Carolina have been discussing lately the practice of northern democrats to make certain trades to gain negro votes.

It will be recalled that Senator James F. Byrnes made the statement that the democratic party is today controlled by negroes.

The Yorkville Enquirer remarks that there are lots of mature South Carolinians who will fully agree with Mr. Blease when he says he is a democrat but not the kind of democrat who will trade to secure the negro votes in order to put democrats in office.

Commenting on the statement of the Yorkville Enquirer, the Chester Reporter exclaims "its a grand and glorious feeling to belong to the dominant party but at the same time there must be thousands and thousands of South Carolina democrats who are thoroughly ashamed of Guffey, Earle Wagner and others of that stripe in the north who have bought up the colored votes in their states like they would so much corn or pork, and completely eliminated whatever there was that was distinctively southern about the democratic party."

The Chester newspaper is doubtless right in adding that it imagines that what this bunch had done already in this direction isn't a circumstance to what they will attempt next year.

The People Should Become Voters

During proceedings of two courts here this term two Negroes have acted as jurors. This is something unheard of around Charleston and especially when the Negroes are Charlestonians. Another Negro was called in but it was not necessary that serve.

These men saw service because they were registered voters without respect of color. While marveling and praising these men for the service they gave it would be far more beneficial if all other Negroes would make certain they were registered voters. In reality, no one is a legal citizen until he can prove he helps runs the government. He has no citizen rights until he is a voter.

Columbia, S. C. Record
July 10, 1939

Hooded Threat.

Seventy-six negroes, mostly women, in two days have registered to vote in the Greenville municipal primary and Greenville, it would appear from the Greenville News, seems to be getting worked up about it.

Fred V. Johnson, described as chief of staff of the Ku Klux klan, theatens some action by the klan.

"The investigation department of the klan," he announced, "will make a thorough check and secure all facts possible concerning this movement among the negroes and at the proper time and in the proper manner the klan will handle this problem . . .

"The klan will ride again in South Carolina and in the nation and will preserve white supremacy . . ."

The "proper" answer to 67 negroes registered to vote, if any answer be called for ~~at~~ all, is simply 68 white voters registered to vote. It isn't anything to be setting off the klan or any other hooded organization. After all Greenville has had some unfortunate experiences with hooded government before.

Charleston, S. C. News & Courier
July 10, 1939

Draws No Color Line

Leaders of the "Workers' Alliance" in Greenville deny that they are active in the registration of negroes. This "Alliance" is a union of WPA workers. That communists are influential in control of it is not denied. In the Northern cities negroes are numerous in its membership. How can the Workers' Alliance oppose political discrimination against negroes in part of the United States and wink at it in another? How can the Democratic party be for the negroes of New York and Chicago and boycott the negroes politically in the South at the same time? How can Southern white men trust a political party that coddles and pets the negro vote outside the South? Have they not denounced the Republican party all these years because it was a national negro party? Has anyone in South Carolina an objection to offer to the organization of a white Southern party? The national Democratic party is now democratic, and democracy draws no color line.

POLITICAL- 1939
SUFFRAGE

Johnson City, Tenn. Press
January 26, 1939

POLL TAX REMOVAL

Once more the question of removing the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in Tennessee is being agitated. There are arguments on both sides, but the *Press* is inclined to believe the tax is an anachronism and should be done away with.

Among the groups to come out strongly against the present law is the Tennessee League of Women Voters, which is well represented in Johnson City and which recently issued a statement, from which we are glad to reprint excerpts:

The Tennessee League of Women Voters believes that the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in the state of Tennessee should be removed. The league proposes that two bills to accomplish this be considered by the legislature; first, a bill which would authorize abolition through a constitutional amendment, and second, a bill which would give relief pending abolition by reducing the poll tax to the minimum requirement set by the constitution—from $1 to 50 cents.

Eight states in the Union still retain the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. Two southern states have recently abolished it—Louisiana in 1934 and Florida in 1936. Although the 14th, 15th and 19th amendments to the United States constitution give to a potential electorate of nearly 73,000,000 citizens a right to vote that "shall not be denied or abridged by the U. S. or by any state," the outmoded state poll tax laws—an outgrowth of post-Revolutionary War period requirements that citizens own property in order to vote—are reducing the popular vote of our southern citizens by hundreds of thousands. . . .

One of the first arguments against abolition of the poll tax is that of negro political domination. A study of the United States census of 1930 reveals the following:

1. There are no congressional districts with potential negro political dominance.
2. There is only one state senatorial district, the 31st, with potential negro political dominance.
3. There are only two counties, each of which has one representative in the legislature with potential negro political dominance.
4. There are no incorporated towns or cities of 1,000 population or more with potential negro political dominance.
5. There are only three counties, Fayette, Haywood, and Shelby, with a majority of the county districts of potential negro political dominance.

Another common argument against abolition of the poll tax is that our schools would suffer from lack of funds. The income from poll tax varies greatly from year to year and is an extremely unstable source of revenue. For example, in 1936, an election year, poll tax receipts in the state amounted to $655,470, while in 1935, a year with no elections, they amounted to only $319,525. On the other hand, a per capita tax, with no relation to voting privilege, could net in Tennessee, with a population of nearly 3,000,000, approximately $2,000,000 in revenue for educational purposes, or over three times the amount collected in an election year from poll taxes. A per capita tax could be enforced as a matter of routine merely by sending statements or by house to house collection, and its collection could never be identified with any candidate or political party.

The fact that forty-four states do not have the poll tax should be evidence that it is not a very stable or prolific source of revenue. As already pointed out, Louisiana abolished its poll tax in 1934, yet Louisiana probably appropriates more money for educational purposes than any other southern state.

The League of Women Voters believes that the success of a democracy depends upon intelligent voters and that every democracy has the responsibility of educating its people. It does not believe, however, that the possession of a poll tax receipt is any evidence of a grasp of the issues at stake in government. Defense of the poll tax as a voting requirement on the ground that it excludes the irresponsible and illiterate voter from voting has proved groundless since political machines and politicians can easily see to it that such voters do get receipts.

During the recent primaries, both factions of the Democratic party pledged themselves to support the abolition of the poll tax. The Tennessee League of Women Voters, therefore, is expecting that definite action will be taken toward the abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting by constitutional amendment, and until this is accomplished, the maximum reduction of the poll tax by legislation.

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
January 24, 1939

League Favors Abolition Of Poll Tax

The Tennessee League of Women Voters went on record today in favor of abolishing the poll tax in Tennessee as a prerequisite for voting and proposed two bills to be considered by the State Legislature as a means toward this end.

The league proposed that a bill be passed authorizing abolition through a constitutional amendment and a second bill "to give relief pending abolition by reducing the poll tax to the minimum requirement set by the Constitution, from $1 to fifty cents."

"The success of a democracy," the organization believes, "depends upon intelligent voters, and every democracy has the responsibility of educating its people. However, the possession of a poll tax receipt is not evidence of a grasp of the issues at stake in government. Defense of the poll tax as a voting requirement on the ground that it excludes the irresponsible and illiterate voter from voting has proved groundless since political machines and politicians can easily see to it that such voters do get receipts."

The league cited comparative figures showing that the percentage of persons voting in eight poll-taxed states in 136 was considerably lower than the number in six neighboring tax-free states. The organization refuted the argument that abolition of the poll tax would cause schools to suffer from lack of funds, stating that the income from this tax varies from year to year, while if a per capita tax were substituted as the source of school revenue it would be larger and relatively stable. Five points were named opposing arguments that abolition of poll tax would mean Negro political domination.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
January 25, 1939

Letters

THE DUTY OF VOTING

Editor The News:

The hope of free people everywhere is to have a voice in the government under which they live; and are taxed to maintain. Such an opportunity to have a voice in your city government comes to us here in Chattanooga once every four years. I think that every good citizen should by all means, do everything that he or she can possibly do, to qualify themselves for this great citizenship duty and responsibility. You should remember that the government is just what the citizenry desire and would have it be.

All good citizens should be prepared to help retain all of the good laws and good officials; it is also their duty to aid in every way possible to replace the bad with something that is good, and this applies to both officials and measures.

Therefore, it is our hope that those who read this article will count themselves as among the good citizenry of this community and prove their loyalty to good government, by registering and paying their poll tax for the coming city election which will be held about the middle of March, 1939.

We can, in the coming city election, realize one of three things, with all that surrounds us at this time, and the possibilities that lie ahead of the people of this section, we can proceed to make progress, or we can make time, or we may do worse by allowing ourselves to retrograde.

Therefore, may I urge all good citizens, especially the colored citizens, and this includes all the members of the Hamilton County Negro Democratic Club, to pay your poll tax now and if you have not already done so, be sure to register when the registration books open on February 21-22-23, 1939. If you will do this, your voice will be heard, and the community will be benefitted.

ROBERT B. BUCKNER,
President Hamilton County Negro Democratic Club.
Chattanooga, January 23.

Waverly, Tenn., Demo.-Sentinel
February 2, 1939

NOW IS THE TIME TO WIPE OUT TAX

The poll-tax agitation all over the state, and a bill to be presented to the state Legislature during the next week should arouse the citizens of Tennessee to action. According to information released by the Tennessee League of Women Voters, there are now only eight states that require a polltax as a prerequisite for voting. It is notable, too, that these eight states are all below the Mason and Dixon line, which would seem to indicate that we of the South are still in the rut with reference to being up-to date.

These eight states, with their voting precentages are:- Alabama, 20.4; Arkansas, 18.5; Georga, 19.6; Mississippi, 16.2; South Carolina, 14.1; Tennessee, 33.5; Texas, 26.2; Virginia, 25.7. Average for the eight states, 23.0.

Now let's take a few non-tax states for comparison. It will be readily seen that with no polltax requirement more votes are cast, thereby getting an expression from nearly all the people instead of just a few who are able to pay polltax. Here they are: West Virginia, 92.1; Missouri, 85.0; Indiana, 82.5; Illinois, 81.7; Kentucky, 65.2; Maryland, 62.5. Average for the six 79.0. Difference in percentage 56.0. Here it will be noted that the two of the above six states which have the lowest percentage are Maryland and Kentucky, both straddling the imaginary Mason & Dixon line Note too, the almost perfect percentage of West Virginia. Ah, Tennessee thou art dilatory.

One of the first arguments against abolition of the polltax is that of Negro political domination. A study of the U. S. Census of 1930 reveals the following; 1. There are no Congressional District with potential Negro political dominance; 2. There is only one State Senatorial District, the 31st with potential Negro dominance; 3 There are only two counties, each of which has a Representative in the Legislature, with potential Negro dominance; 4. There are no incorporated towns or cities of 1000 population or more with potential Negro dominance; 5. There are only three counties, Fayette, Haywood and Shelby, with a majority of the county districts of potential Negro political dominance.

A common argument is that with abolition of the polltax our schools would suffer from lack of funds. All bunk. For example during 1936, an election year, $655,470 was paid to the state for poll taxes, while in 1935 a non-election year, only $319,625 was paid in. The income from poll taxes is therefore, extremely unstable, because of this variation. A per capita tax would, on the other hand, bring in something like $2,000,000 for educational purposes with no relation to a voting privilege.

The fact that forty of our states do not have a polltax should be evidence that it is not a very stable or prolific source of revenue. Louisiana abolished the antiquated system of poll taxes in 1934, yet Louisana probably appropriates more money for educational purposes than any other Southern state.

REPEAL THE POLL TAX

Mrs. H. D. Blakely of Knoxville, an official of the Tennessee League of Women Voters, is taking the lead of her fine organization in pressing for the repeal of the poll tax law by the present session of the Tennessee Legislature. She expresses gratification for the pledge of Gov. Cooper that he will urge repeal as far as voting in primaries is concerned. Of course that will be "something" but it is not the repeal that the people of Tennessee are expecting.

The people expect repeal of the poll tax scheme of disfranchisement for city, county and state elections as well as for primaries. Tennessee, a progressive state does not deserve to be keeping company with the few backward states that continue to disfranchise most of their citizens as a means of perpetuating in power small groups of selfish politicians.

"Negro domination," Mrs. Blakely tells us, is the shibboleth of the crowd which is resisting the repeal of the poll tax law. Of course Mrs. Blakely and all other enlightened people of the state know that even the politicians who raise this cry do not believe a word of it themselves. The politicians show their own ignorance as the amount of intelligence possessed by the people of the state when they plead for the retention of a form of disfranchisement solely on the grounds that "Negro Domination" will come in Tennessee if politicians are stopped from manipulating elections with poll tax receipts.

2-3-39

There is no desire upon the part of those who want the poll tax law repealed to injure the schools. It would be an easy matter to substitute a form of taxation that will replace the small amount now being taken in poll taxes. As is well known, the present system of raising a part of school revenue from poll tax payments is as ineffective as it is unjust. Taxes for schools should be paid by all citizens. The poll tax payments are paid only by the few who consent to pay in order to vote. They are not paid by a host of citizens who are excused from paying because their ages and seldom is anything done to collect the taxes of thousands who refuse to pay them in order to vote.

It would be hard to think up something that could be as effective for corrupting elections as is the common use to which the poll tax receipt is put in Tennessee. Fake receipts are manufactured by the thousands and distributed by machine politicians to their followers. Receipts are bought in blocks, in violation of the law. The requirement for poll taxes to be paid a certain time before elections is ignored by officials in towns and cities where this form of lawlessness will help keep these officials in power.

It is pointed out that in Tennessee only 26.2 per cent of the voters go to the polls. On the other hand, in Kentucky, with the same number of potential voters as Tennessee but a state where the poll tax scheme is not legalized, 65.2 per cent of the citizens vote. Thus Tennessee can make sure of keeping equally as good a government as Kentucky, and lessen the chance perpetuating the rule of a privileged few by making the ballot available to all of its citizens.

Members of the present session of the legislature will propose to the people a constitution amendment to increase the salaries paid to members of the legislature. Plainly Tennessee legislators should be getting $10.00 a day instead of the present meagre $4.00 a day. But the people of Tennessee should postpone voting for any increase in the salaries of legislators until these lawmakers do their duty in the matter of emancipating the voters of Tennessee.

There is not a single reason, legal or moral for retention of the poll tax requirement for voting. There is nothing in the state's constitution that "ties the hands" of the legislators and thereby renders them unable to give the people relief from paying a poll tax in order to exercise their right to vote. It would appear from reading the constitution that the legislature has the right to repeal and re-enact the poll tax thing whenever it desires. The present legislature should repeal the law, or at least reduce the amount to be paid to fifty cents, and let that sum remain only until the people get a chance to vote the poll tax provision out of the constitution. The poll tax law has sinned away its days of grace in Tennessee. It will enhance the prestige of any governor or legislature that realizes this and provides for the law's death and burial.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
February 15, 1939

COLORED VOTERS HEAR CITY CANDIDATES SPEAK

Several hundred Negroes filled the auditorium of New Zion Baptist church and the two streets adjacent at a political rally held last night by the colored voters' orgahization of the Seventh ward, Second precinct.

Loudspeakers were installed so residents of the Wall street area could hear candidates in the coming city election declare their policies and appeal for the colored vote.

Dr. W. A. Thompson, physician stated the aims of the precinct group "for better opportunities to work—not relief roll provision," in opening the meeting.

The principal speakers were Judge Martin Fleming, candidate for re-election to the city court bench; Mayor E. D. Bass, Commissioners Eugene Bryan, E. R. Betterton and R. M. Cooke; Gordon Gambill and Walter D. Moore.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
February 20, 1939

Colored Political Rally

The Lincoln club, of the Twelfth ward, Fourth precinct (Bushtown), will hold a meeting tomorrow night at 7:30 o'clock for colored voters in behalf of a group of candidates in the March 14 city primary, Joe Ransome, colored, president, announced last night.

The candidates invited to attend are Commissioners R. M. Cooke, E. R. Betterton and T. H. McMillan, candidates for re-election; Judge Martin A. Fleming, candidate to succeed himself, and T. B. Walker, candidate for mayor. The Ransome group opposes another group led by Sid Byers, colored leader in the precinct, who is supporting Mayor Ed Bass for re-election. The meeting will be held at the Benevolent hall at the corner of East Third and Hawthorne streets.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
February 1, 1939

Poll Taxes Are Source Of Corruption, McMillan Says

The main source of corruption in city elections here was attributed by Commissioner T. H. McMillan Wednesday to the "buying up of poll taxes."

He declared that this condition is particularly true among ignorant whites and Negroes, and cited this as one of his chief reasons for proposing the abolition of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting in the Chattanooga city elections.

He said further that the intelligent Negroes are beginning to wake up to the importance of voting for their best interests rather than selling their votes through "prejudice bribery."

Speaking of a point made at commission meeting Tuesday by Mayor E. D. Bass in opposing a resolution offered by the school commissioner to instruct the Hamilton County legislative delegation to pass an antipoll tax bill, McMillan said: "The city of Chattanooga received very little poll tax money either directly or indirectly. And I would regard the improvement in abolishment of this requirement as of more importance to the city than the few thousand dollars that we might get from this source."

When the commission rejected the proposal, the vote was: Mayor E. D. Bass and Commissioner E. R. Betterton and Eugene Bryan, "no," and McMillan and Commissioner R. M. Cooke, "yes."

The resolution would have instructed the Hamilton County legislative delegation to introduce a bill providing for abolishment of the poll tax receipt as a prerequisite to voting in Chattanooga elections.

Bass and McMillan had a verbal tilt over the proposal. The mayor tried to make the school commissioner reveal the authorship of the resolution.

McMillan insisted that this question was of no concern to the board. It was sufficient, he said, to meet his views. He had offered the resolution for consideration at the former meeting of the commission with a statement that he wanted the members to think it over a week.

Bass said abolition of the poll tax would result in a further decrease in school revenues.

McMillan answered that he was not favoring the abolishment of the poll tax, except as a prerequisite to voting in municipal elections. He said, however, that the money could easily be made up from other sources.

Other matters up for consideration included:

Ratification of the appointment of J. W. Henry by the association's board as city pound keeper for the Humane Educational Society.

Postponement of action on application filed by E. D. Price for a beer permit at 202 Market Street. The application was filed last week and action held up on request of Police Commisisoner Eugene Bryan. He asked for further time for investigation. Price was involved in a complaint filed some time ago by nearby residents against the operation of the Cricket Club at 118 Walnut Street.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
February 23, 1939

REGISTRATION INDICATES VOTE OF 20,000 HERE

Total Listing of 43,000 Is Expected, but Poll Tax Payments Are Slow

An estimated total of 18,500 voters registered during the three-day supplemental registration, swelling the total to a near record of approximately 43,000, and indicating a total vote of close to 20,000 in the city election to be held March 14.

Meanwhile, the collection of poll taxes proceeded slowly. County Trustee Joe Richardson said several hundred poll tax receipts were issued yesterday and estimated the total number of poll taxes receipts issued at about 9,400.

A movement to amend the city charter to repeal the requirement of poll tax payment for voters has been underway here for some time and the wide discrepancy between the heavy registration and the light poll tax collection is believed to be the result. Many of those who registered are believed to have done so in the hope that the legislature at the last minute will make poll tax payment unnecessary by amending the charter.

Three More Days to Pay Taxes

Only three more days remain in which poll taxes may be paid in order to vote in the city election. After Feb 28, poll taxes become delinquent and receipts issued after that date will not be recognized at the polls.

Registration figures for two precincts were still unreported yesterday, but even with these two out, the registration during the three-day supplemental registration was 17,262 and the total registration was 40,471. The registration books from the Fifth ward also were out, but a registration official stated that 1,078 were registered there during the three-day period, bringing the total to 2,282.

The two precincts still unreported were the Fifteenth ward and the First precinct of the Eighteenth ward. The Fifteenth ward includes Brainerd and other parts of the city east of Missionary ridge. This is a large voting precinct and it is expected it will have at least 2,000 registered. The First precinct of the Eighteenth ward embraces most of St. Elmo, and from an unofficial source, it was learned 1,385 are registered there. This would bring the total registration to more than 43,000.

Heaviest In Negro Wards

The heaviest registration during the three days was in the wards and precincts dominated by Negro political leaders. In the Fourth ward, stronghold of Walter Robinson, Negro republican, 1,143 were registered during the supplemental registration. Robinson's influence extends into the Third ward and in that voting precinct 1,066 voters registered.

The Second precinct of the Seventh ward where the influence of Doc Harper, courthouse janitor, is strong among the Negro residents, registered 1,004. The Fourth precinct of the Twelfth ward, which embraces Churchville and is usually dominated by Sid Byers, colored politician, registered 1,079 voters.

The Fifth ward, which includes South Chattanooga and is generally conceded the bailiwick of City Judge Martin Fleming, registered 1,078 voters. With the exception of these controlled precincts, the registration was less than 1,000 in each of the other voting precincts.

45,000 Votes in Last Election

At the last municipal election the total registration after the three-day supplemental registration was about 45,000, but at that time a vote was to be taken on the issuance of public power bonds. The hotly contested fight over the public power question accounted for the record registration.

In the municipal election of 1935 about 20,000 votes were cast. Ordinarily political observers subtract about 40 per cent. from the total registration in figuring the vote of a municipal election. Many of the registrations are duplicates and many of those who register do not pay their poll taxes in time to vote. On the other hand, the number of poll tax receipts issued before an election is no indication of how large the vote will be, since voters over 50 years of age are not required to pay poll taxes.

Following is the total registration by wards and precincts:

Ward	Precinct	Supplemental	Total
1	1	622	1,692
1	2	558	1,554
2	.	869	2,073
3	.	1,066	1,556
4	.	1,143	2,215
5	.	1,078	2,282
6	.	475	855
7	1	686	1,426
7	2	1,004	1,795
8	.	569	1,047
9	1	402	1,139
9	2	307	919
10	.	485	1,215
11	1	781	2,045
11	2	593	1,616
12	1	506	1,188
12	2	357	765
12	3	507	1,119
12	4	1,079	2,002
12	5	118	407
13	1	204	872
13	2	891	2,380
13	3	355	781
14	.	161	719
15	.		
16	.	52	218
17	1	388	1,321
17	2	457	1,144
17	3	272	926
18	1		
18	2	416	857
19	1	599	1,560
19	2	262	783
Totals		17,262	40,471

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
February 24, 1939

Grossman Plans Rally

The biggest rally for candidates for election in the March 14 primary that has ever been staged on the West Side has been scheduled for March 9 at the Silver Moon Night club ballroom, according to William ("Big Bill") Grossman, of the West Side political club.

According to Grossman, who has been a leader in political activities among Negroes on the West Side for more than a quarter of a century, the "largest registration yet polled among Negroes on the West Side," wants to hear from the candidates, and they have been invited to speak on this occasion.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
February 23, 1939

Negro Voters Hear City Candidates

Several candidates in the city commission race addressed a meeting of Negro voters in the Third Ward at Community Hall Tuesday night. Among those who spoke were T. B. (Tommy) Walker and S. O. Bankson, candidates for mayor; Commissioner T. H. McMillan, and a representative of Commissioner R. M. Cooke, who is seeking reelection.

McMillan compared the treatment of Negroes in his department to that of four years ago before he ousted Walter Robinson, Negro political leader, who was truant officer for the department of education. He told them of the advantages that had been brought about in the schools during his term in the abolishment of the double day sessions.

McMillan also addressed a meeting of the Orange Grove Parent-Teacher Association at the school Tuesday night.

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
March 5, 1939

NEGRO VOTERS ACTIVE

Headquarters for the Davidson County Negro Voters' League have been opened at 413 Fourth Avenue North.

The league is composed of representative Negroes from every precinct in the county. At present, the league is urging all members to pay their poll tax before next Saturday in order that they may be eligible to vote in the May election.

Nashville, Tenn., Tennessean
March 8, 1939

NEGRO LEAGUE ACTIVE

W. B. Hardison, president of the City-County Civic League, Negro political organization, announced Tuesday that his group has appointed a committee for each ward in the city containing Negro citizens to canvass them and urge payment of poll taxes by the March 13 deadline.

Kingsport, Tenn. Times
August 24, 1939

NEGRO VOTE GROWS

NASHVILLE, Aug. 24. (AP)—Registration of negro voters has increased from 4.3 per cent to 15 per cent of the eligible population in Nashville since 1937, a survey by the Nashville Banner showed today.

Nashville Tenn. Banner
September 9, 1939

Negro Political League Planned

Inspired by the large Negro vote cast in the primary election, Roscoe Grant and Bert Cumby, Negro leaders, announced today that they with other leaders were planning "one of the greatest Negro political organizations in the South," which they have named tentatively "The Davidson County Negro Voters League."

The new group, according to Grant, will incorporate an organization of the same name which he in the past has headed and will include the East Nashville Negro Civic League, formerly headed by Cumby ,and several minor organizations and ward clubs.

The new organization, not yet set up, will be county-wide in extent, Grant said. Its present officers are Grant, Cumby, the Rev. S. J James, L. D. Williams, W. D. Day the Rev. H. P. Gordon, and an executive committee of fifty or more

"Though all persons of the Negro race are welcome in this organization," said Grant, "no city employe will dominate it."

On Beale Street Today They Vote For "Mr. Mayor"

MEMPHIS —(AP)— Beale Street, home of the romping-stomping blues, trod a serious step today to the polls to "elect a mayor."

Seven candidates have made their bid to be named honorary leader of Memphis' 106,000 colored folks—a position local leaders say carries with it a national recognition second only to Harlem's own "mayor," Tap Dancer Bo Jangles Bill Robinson.

The mayor will appoint a "council" of 15 members who will assist him in representing the city's Negroes.

The campaign is sponsored by The Memphis World, a Negro bi-weekly published here. Ballots have been printed in the paper and will be deposited in a number of ballot boxes located in the predominantly Negro populated sections of the city. A vote of close to 30,000 is expected by leaders in the campaign.

Candidates are:

Matthew Thornton, 60, special delivery mail carrier and present mayor; Eddie Hayes, 32, undertaker and now vice mayor; T. L. Lumpkin, 32, barber; Marvin C. Young, 35, hospital elevator operator; A. B. Springfield, 42, rail terminal mail supervisor; Johnnie Mills, self-styled "barbecue king" and present "police commissioner" for Beale, and W. H. Warren, 58, founder and leader of a Bible league, sometimes referred to as the "Father Divine of the South."

But serious business or not, Beale isn't going to forget its romping and stomping. That'll come at the "election ball" tonight at the local Elks Rest.

REGISTER AND VOTE

THIS YEAR'S ELECTIONS in New York are, in the parlance of the politician, called "off year elections" because of the fact that none of the major or state officials will come before the electorate.

However, they are several important judicial posts to be filled and New York City's governing body, the City Council, will again be elected under the Proportional Representation system. The latter should be reason enough for Negroes to go to the polls during registration week, October 9 to 14, and register with some party so that they will be eligible to vote on election day, November 7th.

Unfortunately, we as a group, while recognizing the fact that the ballot is a powerful weapon, have failed miserably to do anything about it. We are too prone to talk about it and not actually go through with the act of registration. According to our latest estimate, just one out of about every fifth Negro in Harlem registers and votes. Discounting the number of children and those ineligible because of foreign birth, the number of Negro votes should total about 200,000, which would be a formidable figure in any election.

The Negro has a golden opportunity to be the deciding factor in all New York City elections but that apparently seems of little or no moment to him in the light of past performances. That was one of the principal reasons why Harlem went without representation in the last P. R. election because not one of the Negro candidates for the office of City Councilman could garner the 75,000 votes necessary to elect. That is one of the reasons why Negroes in New York are without a Negro State Senator or Congressman. That is also one of the main reasons why Negroes have gotten nowhere in the councils of the two major parties.

This year another effort will be made to elect a Negro to the City Council. With the exception of the American Labor party which has designated Frank R. Crosswaith as one of its Manhattan candidates, there will be no Negro candidate on the Republican ticket and probably none on the Democratic ticket. Negroes who run will have to rely on independent support if they are to make a creditable showing.

Each individual vote in Harlem is important, as added up it would more than exceed the number of votes necessary to elect a City Councilman. And while we're speculating on it it is entirely possible for two Negroes to be elected to the City Council IF all those qualified to vote do so. We should like to see every Negro appoint himself as a committee of one to see that all available voters register one of the six days set aside for registration.

Be a good citizen, register next week to be eligible to vote in November. It makes no difference under what party emblem you register or enroll, you can vote as you see fit in November. Your vote is an important insurance of your rights as citizens. Don't jeopardize your future or your children's future by staying away from the polls. You can bring bigger and better opportunities to the race BUT you must register and vote.

VITAL ISSUES OF DEMOCRACY ON PROGRAM

WILL STUDY CIVIL LIBERTIES AND

POLL TAX

By Staff Correspondent

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — The Memphis Plaindealer office was informed the past week of a state-wide meet to be held at Nashville November 4 and 5 to "study the needs of democracy in Tennessee." Announcements to this effect were issued with the signature of Hon. Leon Jouralmon Jr., of the state railroad and public utilities commission. The program for the meeting is being prepared under the chairmanship of Jennings Perry of the Nashville Tennessean, Nashville daily newspaper.

Memphians on Program as Sponsors

Among the original 50 (fifty) odd sponsors listed who are "charter members" of this democratic organization are Dr. Louis Levy, Mrs. R B. Gordon, state PTA president, Rev. Marshall Wingfield of First Congregational Church, Lev Loring, president Memphis Trades and Labor Council. Delegates and sponsors of the Southern Commission for human Welfare organized at Birmingham last November, are automatically invited and additional invitations will be issued from names suggested throughout the state of Tennessee. Suggested names for Negro representation were being received by the Plaindealer here this week; among them being mentioned were Rev. H. B. Gibson of Centenary Methodist Church, President Walker of the Universal Life Insurance Company and National president of the Negro Business League and Hon. Matthew Thornton, "Mayor of Beale Street."

Important Questions Before Body

Some of the proposed questions for discussion are: "The elimination of the poll tax, educational conditions in the state, county and municipal governments, civil liberties for all the people, and rights of the citizens."

DISFRANCHISEMENT CASE TO U.S. COURT

Poll Tax Law Tested In Suit

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—(CNA)—Federal Judge Elmer Davis this week denied a petition for an injunction against payment of a poll tax as a requirement for voting in Federal elections, but lawyers hailed the decision as favorable because it paves the way to a first real test of the issue before the Supreme Court.

The petition was filed by Henry Pirtle and specified the Federal election for United States Representatives in the 3rd District to be held September 23rd.

May Affect 1940 Fight

Joseph C. Gelders, secretary of the Civil Liberties Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which is sponsoring both cases, explained that the decision opens the possibilities of a Supreme Court ruling which will have an important effect on the 1940 elections.

This is the first case of its kind ever to come before a court, differing from other attempts to upset the poll tax in that it is raised solely in connection with Federal elections. Arguments in behalf of the petitioner held that the poll tax requirement impairs the sovereignty of the Federal Constitution and violates individual rights of suffrage guaranteed by the 14th amendment.

Southern Leaders Sue To Have Poll Tax Abolished

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Representatives of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare brought suit in Federal Court here Friday in an attempt to establish that a poll tax by voters in Federal elections is a violation of the United States Constitution. Judge Elmer Davis set a hearing for Monday.

J. S. Gelders, Birmingham, Alabama, secretary of the civil rights committee of the organization, said the suit seeks to eliminate the poll tax as a requirement to vote in the 1940 general election in particular and all other elections.

Maury Maverick, Mayor of San Antonio, Texas, formerly a Representative in Congress, is chairman of the Committee.

2 Federal Judges Uphold Poll Tax

NASHVILLE, TENN., Sept. 11.—(AP)—Two Federal District Judges, sitting together here today, ruled that Tennessee's poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in national elections is constitutional.

Their action was taken in denying a petition for an injunction sought by Henry Pirtle against Grundy County election officials. Pirtle's petition was backed by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which sought a test of the poll tax requirement in this case and a similar one instituted at Chattanooga.

Judge Elmer D. Davies read the opinion, concurred in by Judge Leslie R. Darr, and said "we are of the opinion that the decision of the court in the Breedlove case is binding upon this court as the questions in that case we think are the same as in the present case."

The opinion pointed out that in the case of Breedlove vs. Suttles on December 5, 1937, the United States Supreme Court had held that a poll tax imposed in the State of Georgia did not deny or abrogate constitutional rights guaranteed to citizens of the United States.

Judge Davies announced that a declaratory judgement would be handed down by the court later. It was indicated that Judge Darr would give the same opinion in the case he is scheduled to hear at Chattanooga tomorrow.

Crampton Harris, of Birmingham, chief counsel for the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, indicated that the case would be appealed to the United States Supreme Court. He had argued that the power to impose a tax as a prerequisite to voting in Federal elections held within it the power to deny the right to vote and so was unconstitutional.

CHARGES COERCION OF NEGRO VOTERS IN COUNCIL RACE

Lawsuit Is Filed To Unseat E. A. Martin Who Claims 15th Ward Victory

Coercion was used on colored men and women who undertook to cast their votes in the September 14 special election for city councilman in the Fifteenth Ward, it is charged in a lawsuit filed this week in Second Circuit Court by Attorney Jack Norman, in which it is sought to annul the election of E. A. Martin who was adjudged winner of the contest by the slim margin of one vote.

The bitterly fought election, which was held to fill the place of Councilman Branch McConnell who died recently, showed a total vote for E. A. Martin of 207 votes to 206 for his opponent, A. G. Batey. Candidate Martin allegedly, was supported by the City Administration forces while the anti-administration group backed the candidacy of A. G. Batey.

Colored political workers and voters were active for both candidates in this one of the wards largely populated by colored citizens. The ward is in South Nashville.

It is charged in the petition filed to contest of the election of Martin that deputies sheriff took an active part in the contest and were active in trying to keep colored voters from supporting A. G. Batey. Other charges are that 13 persons, not eligible to vote in the ward, are recorded as voting for Martin and that police on duty at the polls, showed partiality in not enforcing the law requiring that all persons except officers of the election be required to leave the polling place.

The Circuit Court is asked in the petition to give an early hearing on the contest, to purge the return of fraudulent voters and to award the election to A. G. Batey.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
September 10, 1939

VOTERS TO GET FINAL APPEALS OF CANDIDATES

3 Aspirants Put Finishing Touches on Their Drives —Election Wednesday

BY FRED HIXSON

The finishing touches on the campaigns by three candidates for the seat in the national house of representatives from the Third Tennessee district will be put on tomorrow and Tuesday preparatory to the election Wednesday.

The two party nominees, Estes Kefauver, democrat, and Casto Dodson, republican, both made campaign appeals in afternoon appearances at Cleveland yesterday. Dodson spoke at 1 o'clock and Kefauver at 2.

The major republican rally will be held here tomorrow night when Representative J. Will Taylor, of the Second Tennessee congressional district and national republican committeeman from Tennessee, will appeal to Third district voters in Dodson's behalf. Taylor's appearance is expected to bring to Chattanooga all the leaders in the Third district. Taylor wrote Col. J. Frank Peck recently that he would be here unless the president called a special session of congress on or before tomorrow. Indications from Washington are that the president will not call a session before next Friday.

Kefauver to Talk Tomorrow

The Kefauver forces in the Twelfth ward (East Chattanooga) have called a rally for tomorrow night, at which the democratic nominee will speak. The meeting will be held at the East Chattanooga community center and will start at 7:30 p.m.

Dr. John Randolph Neal, who is running as an independent, has conducted his usual campaign. He has driven over the district and has spoken wherever he saw a crowd. He rarely ever schedules a campaign address and most of his speeches are delivered on the street corners where crowds have congregated.

The Kefauver organization is confident of success. Dodson said from Cleveland yesterday that his canvass of the district had brought him encouraging reports. He claims the undivided support of the republicans in the district and contends that he will receive the aid of the anti-new deal democrats. On the other hand, Kefauver's forces contend there are no breaches anywhere in the democratic ranks.

Dodson Strong in Negro Areas

Dodson is expecting to roll up a heavy vote in the colored wards of Hamilton county. It is not improbable, however, that Kefauver will cut into some of the republican strength in the Negro wards. In the Twelfth ward, Fourth precinct, Kefauver may be able to show strength. Sid Byers, colored leader in that precinct, always follows Mayor Ed Bass in all elections and the mayor is supporting Kefauver. Byers also would be expected to throw his support to the democratic nominee.

Voting in the rural counties and the rural precincts of Hamilton county is expected to be much lighter than in Chattanooga because to be eligible to vote Wednesday, those liable for payment of poll tax must have paid the 1938 tax on or before last July 15. The fact that a large number of voters in Chattanooga qualified for the city election last spring gives the city strong potential voting strength. In the rural precincts of the county, however, the vote is expected to be light because there have been no elections there to give voters an incentive to qualify.

Judge Davis Denies Poll Tax Band In Federal Elections

Daily unsigned 9-29-39

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—(S N S)—A petition for an injunction against payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in a Federal election was denied here September by Judge Elmer D. Davies, whose recent appointment to a federal judgeship, confirmed by the U. S. Senate, was opposed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The petition, filed by Henry Pirtle, was designed to have effect in the federal election of a Congressional Representative from the Third District, to be held September 23.

This case and a similar one now being heard before Judge Leslie R. Darr, who is sitting with Judge Davies, are sponsored by the civil liberties committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, whose president is Dr. Frank R. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina.

Far from seeing defeat in the decision, Joseph C. Gelders, secretary of the committee said the way is now paved for a U. S. Supreme Court ruling on the whole question of poll taxes in the South.

"These cases," he said, "will serve as models for all states in the Union and is the conference's attempt to blot out completely the state poll tax requirements for Federal elections."

Murfreesboro, Tenn., News-Journal
September 27, 1939

U. T. Invokes Ancient State Law When Negroes Seek To Register

Knoxville, Sept. 27. —(AP)— Ancient state law prohibiting white persons and Negroes from attending the same school classes invoked by the University of Tennessee today when six Negroes sought to register as students.

Whether the incident will be used as the basis of a case to test the constitutionality of the restriction could not be learned immediately from representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People who sponsored the attempted registration.

"A state law forbids the admittance of both white and Negro students to the same class," said Dean Fred C. Smith, adding the problem had been discussed by the university's board of trustees recently.

President James D. Hoskins said he suggested to attorneys for the Negro association, in a conference last week, that the matter be placed before the state legislature for a solution without litigation.

In the meantime, he proposed that Negro students use a special $2,500 fund which the legislature made available to pay the difference between the cost of an education program at the university and the cost to a student in a school admitting Negro students.

The trustees referred the problem to a faculty committee for a thorough study, but the committee as yet as not completed its report.

The Negro students, all represented as oclege graduates, sought to register for post-graduate work in law, physical education and biological sciences, courses which are not available to them at the state supported Agricultural and Industrial College for Negroes, at Nashville.

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
April 14, 1939

The Poll Tax Question

By ERNEST LINDLEY

Eight States Outside Democratic Pale Of Government

WASHINGTON, April 13—A load of factual TNT powerful enough, if ignited, to blow up Southern politics, from Virginia Beach, Charleston and Savannah, on the Atlantic, to the western border of Texas, has been laid by Barry Bingham, son of the late American ambassador to the Court of Saint James, and his successor as publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal and Louisville Times.

Young Bingham inherited an alert mind as well as a prepossessing personality and a fortune, and somehow and somewhere he acquired a social and political conscience. Last week, in a speech at Chapel Hill, N. C., he marshaled the facts to prove that eight states—one-sixth of all those in the union—remain outside the democratic (or representative, whichever you prefer to call it) form of government provided by the Constitution.

TENNESSEE IS ONE

These states are Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas. These are states which still have the poll tax. The poll tax is not a new topic of controversy, but within the observation of this correspondent the case against it in the South has never before been so effectively made as it was by Mr. Bingham.

In those eight states only 2,679,473 persons voted in 1936, out of 11,606,046 who were over the age of 21, less than one in four. In the other 40 states, ballots were cast by 72 per cent of the persons over the age of 21. The dispartiy may not have been due entirely to the poll tax, since in the overwhelmingly Democratis states of the South the final election usually brings out fewer votes than hotly contested Democratic primary contests. But the poll tax undoubtedly was primarily responsible. The clearest test is between Kentucky and Tennessee, both border states which have gone Republican in more than one national election. They have about the same population. But in 1936 almost twice as many people voted in Kentucky, which has no poll tax, as in Tennessee, which has one.

A LOT OF MONEY

The poll tax usually runs from $1 to $3 a year. Even $1 is a lot of money to a southern tenant farmer or farm laborer, with an annual income, on the average, of about $75. Often the poll tax must be paid months in advance in order to qualify for voting, so that, as Bingham said, "only the most wary citizen is likely to remember to pay up in time to save himself from disfranchisement." To multiply the difficulty, several states make the poll tax retroactive. As a result a citizen who wishes to vote, but has not qualified himself by paying his poll tax for several years, may find that he cannot vote unless he can fork up a sum which is, in reality, prohibitive.

The plausible explanation that the poll tax is a device to preserve white supremacy is repudiated by Bingham. He points out that the poll tax came into its own in the last decade of the nineteenth century, long after the worst days of the Reconstruction period, but coincidentally with the rise of Populism, a native American radical movement which carried five states in 1892, and threatened the control of the regular Democratic Party in Georgia and Alabama.

Bingham asserts that the poll tax disfranchises more white voters than Negro voters. In fact, only one state now shows as much as 50 per cent Negro population.

AURA OF IMPORTANCE

In several states the poll tax has been assigned to the support of the public school system, thus lending the tax an aura of social importance which, in fact, it lacks. For, as Bingham stresses the income from the poll tax is insignificant in comparison with that from other taxes, even in the poorest Southern states.

"It would seem more important to grant all citizens the right to vote than to insist on the preservation of a minor tax source for which a substitute could be found," he says.

In Bingham's opinion, the "real opposition to the repeal of poll tax suffrage . . . is lodged in the conviction of a small group of Southerners on the upper rungs of the economic ladder that they are more entitled to rule than the public at large. These people often have the sayings of Thomas Jefferson and the tenets of democracy hot in their mouths, yet they privately fear the dangerous experiment of a government that is really of, by, and for the people. They mistrust the motives of the man in the street, the man looking for a job, the man working another man's land. They cannot persuade themselves that these men are created equal to themselves. Down in their hearts they treasure a belief in Alexander Hamilton's extraordinary dictum that 'the public is a great beast'."

ONLY TOO EASY

It is no accident that the poll tax states are, on the whole, those in which the opposition to President Roosevelt and his objectives is most apparent among the elected representatives of the Democratic Party. For, as Bingham says, it is only too easy for representatives chosen by a small percentage of the public to represent that small percentage to the exclusion of the great majority who are denied the basic privilege of casting their ballots.

The poll taxes can be lifted only by the controlling minorities who enjoy the franchise in the poll tax states. They can damp out again and again, as they have done in the past, the fuse leading to potential political explosives in the South. Of course, when the charge is touched off it may prove to be as mild as woman suffrage was. But men like Barry Bingham, who know the South, don't think so.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
March 3, 1939

Full Slate Still Lacking For Primary

Gordon Gambill Believed Only Other Prospect For Organization Help.

By GEORGE M'GILL

With only ten days to go, city and county political leaders apparently have not reached an agreement on a full slate to support in the primary on March 14.

Mayor Ed Bass, Judge Martin Fleming and Commissioners Eugene Bryan and E. R. Betterton will receive the united backing of the organization. There is a possibility that, at most, only one other man will get the support of the forces which wield potent influence in city and county politics.

Political observers believe that Gordon Gambill has the best chance of getting a place on the ticket. It is certain he will receive the backing of some members of the powerful political group, even if not put on the ticket officially.

Others who are receiving support for places in the organization line-up are Commissioner R. M. Cooke, French Grubb and Walter D. Moore. It is generally understood that no other commission candidate has a chance to swing organization support.

M'MILLAN STRONG

Commissioner T. H. McMillan, who has spurned the support of political leaders, is running a strong race as an independent. This is conceded by his opponents. He is conceded to be a "sure shot" to at least place in the run-off, and it is believed generally that a run-off is certain unless the political situation changes between now and March 14.

Other commission candidates are Capt. Fred Payne, Squire W. F. Langley and Lon Worsham.

F. L. Dixon and N. A. Cobb are running against Fleming for City Judge. Mayor Bass is opposed by T. B. Walker and Sam Bankson.

Ward rallies continued as the race neared the home stretch. Candidates spoke Thursday night at Ridgedale Junior Order hall and to Negroes of the Seventh Ward, Second Precinct.

Another meeting for candidates will be held in Masonic Hall next Thursday night, according to H. W. Newell, president of the Willing Workers' Club of the Seventh Ward, Second Precinct.

A citywide rally for Commissioner Betterton will be held Friday night at the courthouse. A number of prominent Chattanoogans will speak in behalf of the commissioner of streets and sewers.

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
April 27, 1939

TRIO CLEARED IN BALLOT CASE

Omohundro, Gibson, Ballard Are Found Not Guilty

Squire John M. Omohundro, Seth P. Gibson, Jr., and James Ballard, Negro, were declared not guilty yesterday of charges of conspiracy to violate state registration laws, ending the 1935 registration fraud cases and the second lengthy trial of the three involved in this case.

The present trial required 14 days. The jury reported at 9 o'clock yesterday morning after receiving the case late Tuesday afternoon for overnight consideration.

CASE STARTED IN 1935

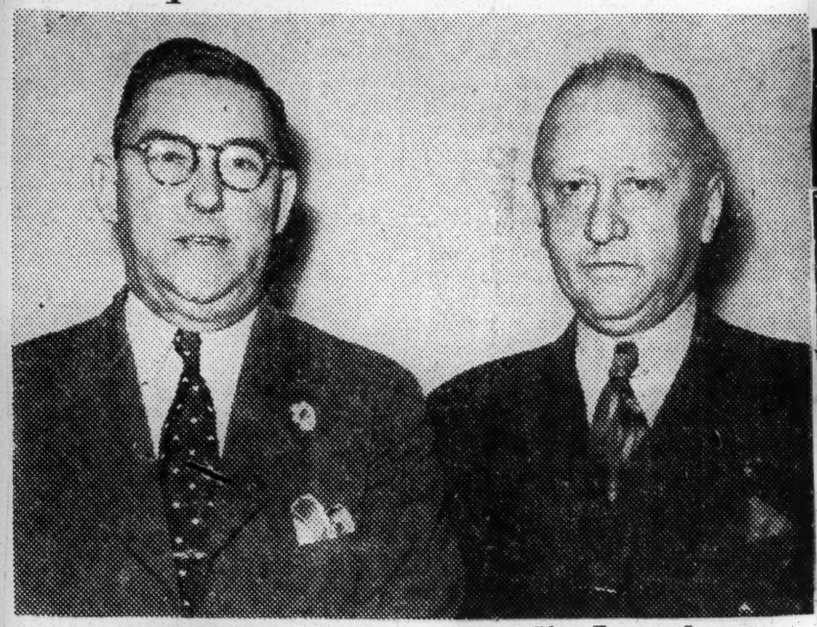
The three men were brought to trial on charges of conspiracy to enter 740 alleged illegal names on the registration books in the Third Civil District in 1935. They were first tried in 1936 at which time they were each fined $750 and sentenced to 11 months and 29 days. The State Supreme Court remanded the case for new trial. Since that time the case has been continued from time to time—not coming to trial until two weeks ago Monday.

Assistant Attorneys-General Harry Nichol and Ben West prosecuted for the State basing their case on a handwriting expert's testimony. Mack Fuqua and Charles Embry, defense counsel, based their argument of innocence on character witnesses and in refuting the handwriting testimony.

Omohundro is a magistrate from the Third District while Gibson is a horseman. Ballard is a one-time principal of the Old Hickory High School for Negroes.

Nashville Tenn Banner
April 26, 1939

Trio Acquitted in Fraud Trial



S. P. Gibson, Jr., (left) and Squire John M. Omohundro, in the picture above, and James Ballard (below), Negro and former school teacher, were photographed this morning just after a jury in Part I of Criminal Court found them not guilty of conspiracy to violate state election laws in connection with alleged fraudulent entries in registration books of the Third Civil District in August, 1935.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
May 3, 1939

Negroes Flout Klan Edict To Cast Big Vote

Set New Records In Miami Election

MIAMI, Fla., May 2 (AP)—Negroes ignored warnings issued during a spectacular demonstration by paraders in Ku Klux Klan regalia to cast a record vote today in a city primary election.

City Clerk Frank J. Kelly said Negroes voted at a 5-to-1 greater ratio than ever before at one large precinct where separate poll books and balloting machines were installed to avert possible disorders. Kelly said more than 500 Negro votes were cast at that precinct alone and estimated the previous record for a city election at "scarcely more than 150."

SOUTHERNER URGES ELIMINATION OF POLL TAX

White Lawyer Voices Plea

NASHVILLE—(A N P)—At the meeting of the Tennessee Interracial commission held at State A and I college for Negroes, an address, prepared by Andrew Tanner, prominent white Nashville attorney, urged elimination of the poll tax in Southern states, which he said was framed to prevent Negroes from voting.

Attorney Tanner was ill Tuesday and his speech, "The Negro in Politics,' was read by Dr. John B. Freeman, commission chairman, who later was re-elected. Tanner said his bill, presented in the 1937 legislature to remove the poll tax, owed its defeat largely to agitation on the question of "Negro domination in politics."

He said: "I do not believe the Negro race has any desire to dominate politics. As I look at the achievements of your race in the economic, educational and religious fields during the past 75 years—without any great participation in politics—I am convinced that if your race can make those strides without the help of politics, it doesn't really need politics.

"All you want in politics, and I believe you are entitled to it, is free access to the ballot box and the right to express yourself freely on all public questions." Dr. Freeman, in his speech following re-election, said he believed that colored leaders would not be taken in by radical agitators promising special privileges for the race.

Other officers re-elected to the interracial commission: Dr. Jesse Barber, Presbyterian minister of Chattanooga; James Burton (white) of Oakdale, executive secretary; B. L. Saddler (white) of Harriman, treasurer; and Evelyn Hall, Nashville, secretary. The commission meets next year at Chattanooga.

Meeting jointly with the interracial body was "The Christian Conference of Tennessee Women," who met under sponsorship of the Women's auxiliary, Tennessee Synod of the Presbyterian church

Judge Davies Denies Poll Tax Injunction

Sponsors To Seek High Court Ruling On Question

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The denial of a petition for an injunction against the payment of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in a federal election was construed as a help in getting a U. S. Supreme Court decision on the whole problem of poll taxes in the South by a member of the committee which sponsored the injunction suit.

The ruling denying the petition was handed down by Judge Elmer D. Davies, whose recent appointment to a federal judgeship, confirmed by the United States Senate, was vigorously opposed by the National Association for Colored People because of the jurist's alleged affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan.

The petition, filed by Henry Pirtle, was designed to have effect in the federal election of a Congressional Representative from the Third District, to be held September 23.

DEFEAT NOT SEEN

This case and a similar one now being heard before Judge Leslie R. Darr, who is sitting with Judge Davies, are sponsored by the civil liberties committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, whose president is Dr. Frank R. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina.

Far from seeing defeat in the decision, Joseph C. Gelders, secretary of the committee said the way is now paved for a U. S. Supreme Court ruling on the whole question of poll taxes in the South.

"These cases," he said, "will serve as models for all states in the Union and is the conference's attempt to blot out completely the state poll tax requirements for federal elections."

MAYOR MAVERICK'S TRIAL

The testimony brought out in the trial of Maury Maverick, mayor of San Antonio, and former congressman of the United States. who is on trial charged with the advancing of money for the payment of other person's poll taxes, is a typical example of what the Communist dominated group will do.

The testimony brought out at the trial shows that Mr. Maverick had broken with the International Garment Worker's Union and the Pecan Sheller's Association During the unions fight for better working and wage conditions Congressman Maverick came to their rescue and carried their fight from San Antonio to New York and Washington. The unions supported Mr. Maverick in his congressional race where he was defeated and in his mayoralty race where he was sucessful.

It seems that the leaders of the unions were more interested in trouble making and political affairs than they were in work, so the good mayor came to the parting of the ways particularly when he was called upon to send police protection to employers during a strike and when he refused to appoint members of certain unions to city positions. The same group that he had worked to help as being the down "trodden and forgotten", is now proving to be the traitor.

Those who have read the history of the growth of Communism know that it thrives on knavery, deceit and ruthless methods. This is demonstrated in the partnership of Hitler with Stalin in deceiving the German People; the crushing of Poland and the war on Finland.

Thousands, perhaps millions of well meaning American citizens have been trapped into joining and supporting movement that they thought were for the best interest of society which now turned up to be revolutionary plans to overthrow our form of government.

It was hard for most people in Texas who knew the history of the Maverick family to believe that he would become partner to a group of people who had for their aim to destroy the liberities his ancestors fought, bled and died for. So we think of many other outstanding citizens who are in a similar position as Maverick and will possibly suffer the same humiliation as he. If the whites, with all their years of culture and education can be duped and become entangled with subversive movements, what may we expect of the American Negro, who served for nearly three hundred years as a slave and who has just a few years comparatively speaking to gain the intelligence concerning world affairs? We believe however that the race as a whole is to be commended for not allowing itself to be persuaded anymore than it has in lining up with Communistic activities. It has been and still is the scheme of the Communists to use the Negro as the entering wedge to spread their propoganda throughout the Southland.

MAYOR MAVERICK'S ACQUITTAL

We were pleased to learn that a jury in a San Antonio court acquitted Mayor Maury Maverick of charges of paying poll taxes to secure an election.

Whether Mr. Maverick did or did not pay such poll taxes is of little concern to us in making this comment, but many of the factors which figured in the rise of Maverick to the office of Mayor of San Antonio furnish much food for thought.

2-15-39

It will be remembered that the present Mayor of San Antonio was a former congressman from Texas, and was the one congressman from a southern state known as a "liberal." And because of his liberal attitude he has been a much-eyed man by the public, especially by those who are interested in national affairs.

We understand that he has ambitions to be elected Senator from the Lone Star State and we hope his ambition will be realized. We take this position with the thought that as he gains more power and influence in national affairs he will use such power and influence to liberalize the South. And having been a victim of the poll tax evil in his own state, he will, no doubt, immediately set about to change a pernicious practice which has served to keep the South the nation's number one economic problem.

More power to you, Mr. Maverick, in your efforts to bring about the much-needed reforms in the South.

POLITICAL- 1939
SUFFRAGE

PRESENT GOVERNOR HAS A 'DR. JEKYLL, MR. HYDE' PERSONALITY

But Close Observers of Man Nominated for Federal Judgeship Do Not Blame Him for Primary Fight—Claim He Was Double-Crossed.

AUSTIN, Tex., Jan. 12—(ANP)—Gov. James V. Allred of Texas, whose appointment by President Roosevelt last summer to a federal judgeship in this state will be up for action at this term of congress is something of a puzzle to many of the state's Negro citizens.

Although he has gone out of the way in recent years to address colored meetings and fight for a more equitable diversion of state funds to Negro needs which has established him as a leader of the increasing group of Southern liberals, there are many who recall that it was mainly through his efforts that colored citizens have been excluded from voting in the Democratic primary which in this section is tantamount to election.

FOUGHT PRIMARY CASE TO U. S. SUPREME COURT

The voting issue arose when Allred was attorney general. To prevent Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary, he fought the case to the U. S. Supreme court and won on the ground that his party was a private club and therefore could restrict its membership to whomever it wished. That ruling still governs Dixie and is the greatest barrier to Negroes voting in the South except the "interpretation of the constitution" clauses and the blunt refusal of registrars to register them.

However, many observers do not blame Allred for his bitter fight. They contend it was a case of self preservation. As the story goes, Allred was in favor of Negroes voting and during his campaign for election, turned over a large sum of money to a Houston political leader who was to head his campaign among colored Texans. But the Negro leader, after collecting, immediately began working for Allred's opponent. When Allred learned of this double-cross, he turned sour on the race and fought for a white primary so that none of his money could help elect an opponent.

MADE MOST AMAZING SPEECH IN TEX. HISTORY

While admitting that a man who would deny any qualified citizen the right to vote purely on the grounds of race should not be a federal judge, his defenders say that like many other Southern politicians, whatever Allred did was done only because it was politically expedient and not because it represented his true feelings.

They point to last summer's annual session of the National Negro Business League. At that time Gov. Allred got up out of a sick bed and took an airplane to be on hand and address one of the meetings. Met near Prairie View college, he rode the rest of the distance by auto. When the car turned off the highway for the three-quarter mile drive to the campus, the governor was so aroused over the bumpy condition of the road that he immediately had it paved by the state.

At the meeting which he addressed, Gov. Allred lauded the Negro and praised Walter White as a "brave man." Delegates said it was the most amazing public speech they had heard by a Southerner in his position. In his address prepared for delivery to the new state legislature this month, Allred devoted a large portion to the Negro and recommended establishment of a state home for delinquent girls, a state institution for the feeble-minded and eppileptic and state aid for students desiring courses not offered at Prairie View but obtainable at the state university.

TEXAS SOLON PRESENTS D. C. SUFFRAGE BILL

Plan Startles The Entire City

4-16-39

WASHINGTON, Apr. 13—(ANP)—Of the greatest importance to both white and colored residents of the District of Columbia, wherein Washington is situated, is the bill introduced in the House this week by Representative Summers of Texas, which asks the privilege of suffrage for residents of the District.

Several such bills have been introduced in congress before but they died aborning—however, Congressman Summers startled the entire city and congress with his proposal.

One of the chief drawbacks to the granting of the right to vote in the district has been the large proportion of Negro residents who would qualify for the privilege once it is granted.

One-Third Colored

Fully one-third of the residents of this city are colored. Although the entire Negro population would not take advantage of the voting privilege, sufficient numbers would do so thereby creating a "bloc" to be reckoned with in any measure requiring the voice of the people.

Many think this bill will also die in the committee, but Representative Summers has carefully studied the previous bills and has adopted from them the middle of the road features likely to create sentiment in the favor of his resolution. It calls for an amendment to the constitution which would permit Washington to have representation in both houses, the right to vote in the elections and asks congress for power to establish local government for the city.

Blasts Enemies of Bill

The "Times Herald", local paper, speaking editorially says: "On May 20, 1938, the committee adjourned, having permitted several dozen local taxpayers of the nation's capital to 'blow off steam,' as the cynics put it. Those who oppose democracy and self government here said, 'Well, it's all over now. Those boys will just bury it and we won't hear any more of this. Summers is from Texas, you know. He'll never do anything about votes for Washington on account of the Negroes.

"Well, the cynics and self-assured enemies of suffrage got a shock yesterday."

Macon. Ga.. News
October 18, 1939

EDITORIAL

Felon in Texas

For some time The News has cherished a sort of distant affection for Maury Maverick on the grounds that he was a sorehead who put his rebelliousness to an actively valuable purpose.

So The News is grieved to learn through new dispatches that he is charged with being a felon in that he participated in a conspiracy to pay the poll taxes of four citizens who would otherwise not probably have voted.

So Maury, instead of being a knight in shining armor, is a sneakaround who has been resorting to the extreme of corrupting democracy by paying somebody's poll tax—presumably in order to have somebody vote like he wanted that somebody to vote.

The News has been arguing for a long time that the poll tax made this particular form of vote-buying easy and attractive to any so practical or so underhanded as to employ the method. This newspaper has brought to the attention of readers the additional point that Bibb county is not without public leaders who have boasted in the presence of representatives of the public that they controlled more votes than those represented in their own families.

It is common talk, although difficult of substantiation, that the man who has boasted that he controls some 2,000 votes in Bibb county commands as many as he actually does command, if any, by having managed in some way to have paid their poll taxes, and to have granted them some additional gratuity, however small.

Fortunately, Georgia is without such a malicious law as that which now emeshes Mr. Maverick in what he calls a "political smear." So in Georgia, the Bibb county leader who says he controls 2,000 votes is no felon. Mr. Maverick in Texas, if he actually did pay the poll taxes of the four with which he is charged, is guilty of a Texas felony.

Georgia citizens, being good and fair and true, have not seen fit to make this sort of procedure a felony. So there is nothing here to prevent a friendly soul, from the great generosity of a feeling heart, to pay the poll taxes of 2,000 close personal friends so that they, like he, may be able to exercise the glorious privilege and responsibility of casting sovereign votes for the candidates whom their own consciences declare are best fitted for public office.

Therefore let Georgians rejoice that there is no such oppressive law as that which saddles poor Texas, and that democracy still prevails in the Empire State of the South to such an extent that one man may help his friends to overcome the disenfranchisement which oppresses many, and which makes it impossible or at least impractical for many to cast their votes without the help of interested friends.

Of course, we in Georgia should enjoy and take advantage of this happy circumstance while we can. Because with things restless and changing like they are, you never can tell when some radical fellow will start an agitation to pervert the works of friendly relations and of justice so that one of our general assemblies may one day pass a law like that infamous statute in Texas, establishing as a felony the payment by one man of the poll taxes of others in whose democratic rights he is

interested.

In fact, it may be that somebody, sometime, will even be able to swing some deal—with the help of vicious pressure groups committed to sedition, no doubt—toward an aim to repealing the poll tax. The fact that the Georgia white population has used this illustrious and traditional tax to disenfranchise the Negro and to keep him substantially out of Georgia politics, may not be enough to guarantee the immortality of this tax.

For the old order changeth. And with new-fangled principles invading the sacrosancts of civilization, you never can tell when somebody will start preaching against the poll tax.

It might not be entirely unreasonable to believe even that some day some Reds will start moaning that this fair Southland has not permitted the practice—even on a trial basis—of a general democratic government.

Quite naturally you and I know that everybody in the South is not ready to participate in government. If everybody was, they would find some way to pay the trifling sum which the poll tax amounts to, and if everybody was, the registration lists would be a lot bigger than they are.

That's very plain to us. We assume that when the people are ready to start taking part in government, the government is here for them to start participating in.

But those radicals keep remarking with deliberately-planned annoying qualities, that we ourselves have pointed out that the Soviet Russians have tried to justify their present Russian dictatorship with the allegation that the mass of Russians are not yet ready to rule themselves. These radicals say that whenever the Russian communists are ready to rule themselves, they will take their government out of the Stalin dictatorship and will place it in the ideal communism of which its original leaders dreamed.

It hasn't been done yet in Russia or here.

We still do have the technical equipment which would make it possible without any sort of physical revolution, and without any bloodshed. It is only that the voting majorities in this state and in this nation do not represent a large enough majority of the whole citizenship to make what we are doing a real example of democratic operation.

It is nobody's fault but our own.

But maybe if some of those radicals abolished the poll tax in Georgia, or conspired to pass a law making it a felony to pay someone else's poll tax, that would help.

Maury will not have been "smeared" in vain if his persecution advertises the good Texas law on which he is held

MAURY MAVERICK ATTACKS LEGALITY OF POLL TAX LAW

Constitution

San Antonio Mayor Charged With Illegally Paying the Levy in His Last Campaign.

11-28-39

SAN ANTONIO, Texas, Nov. 27. (AP)—Mayor Maury Maverick attacked constitutionality of the Texas poll tax law tonight as he asked dismissal of an indictment charging illegal payment of a poll tax in the election that returned him to the political saddle.

Maverick, Miss Rebecca Taylor, George Glass and the mayor's secretary, Richard Jeffrey, are accused of paying the tax for R. L. O'Brien, a garment worker and member of a union controlled by Miss Taylor and Glass.

The poll tax receipt assertedly was used by the voter to help Maverick crush the old San Antonio political machine that led the fight against the former New Deal congressman when he lost his seat in the lower house.

Carl Wright Johnson, Maverick's lawyer, said in a 77-page motion to quash the indictment, that San Antonio voters condoned acts charged to Maverick when they chose him in March as mayor over the long dominant C. K. Quin.

Judge Bryce Ferguson, of Pharr, Texas, said he may grant a prosecution motion to dismiss portions of charges against Miss Taylor, Glass and Jeffrey and leave the fiery Maverick to stand alone in court on some issues.

MAVERICK RELEASED ON 18 VOTE CHARGES

Times

Judge in San Antonio Backs the Mayor on Poll-Tax Plea

11-28-39

SAN ANTONIO, Texas, Nov. 27 (AP)—Eighteen of twenty-six counts in one of five indictments against Mayor Maury Maverick and three others charging illegal payment of a poll tax were quashed tonight. He will be tried on the other eight.

The Mayor, his secretary, Richard Jeffrey; Miss Rebecca Taylor and George Glass, garment workers' union leaders, are charged with payment of the State-required elector tax for R. L. O'Brien.

The eighteen counts were quashed by District Judge Bryce Ferguson on a motion by Mr. Maverick's attorney, Carl Johnson. The judge refused to quash the entire indictments and overruled a plea by Mr. Maverick's counsel that San Antonio voters condoned acts attributed to the former member of Congress in the election that restored him to public office.

Informed by the defense that the State Supreme Court had held the word "procure" could not be properly defined in law, the judge dismissed all counts in the true bill, which alleged that Mr. Maverick and the other attendants had "procured or conspired to procure the purchase of a poll tax receipt for a citizen."

A jury to hear the evidence against Mayor Maverick, who was defeated for a third term in Congress before he was elected Mayor in March, may be selected tomorrow.

His attorney had attacked Constitutionality of the Texas poll tax law. The motion was opposed by District Attorney John R. Shook, political foe of Maverick, who upset the San Antonio political machine headed by C. K. Quin.

The trial of Maverick may determine the future of his political power in Southwest Texas.

MAVERICK'S TRIAL SET TO START TODAY

San Antonio Mayor Is Accused of Paying Voters' Poll Tax

Times 11-27-39

SAN ANTONIO, Nov. 26 (UP)—Mayor Maury Maverick, who was elected on a reform ticket with the pledge to rid San Antonio of political machine control born of labor strife, will go on trial tomorrow on five felony counts accusing him of election irregularities.

The charges allege that Maverick, former Representative, violated the law which prohibits any office seeker from paying poll taxes for voters. It is a prison offense.

Maverick, Mrs. Rebecca Taylor, local official of the International Ladies Garment Workers, and George Glass of St. Louis, union business agent, were indicted Oct. 16 for paying poll taxes for garment workers here.

District Attorney John Shook said he would produce witnesses to testify that Maverick knew that poll taxes were being paid in a block for the union workers. He said Mrs. Taylor had appeared at a grand jury hearing on Nov. 7 and made a statement regarding the receipt of money at union headquarters. Both she and Glass may be subpoenaed as witnesses against Maverick. It is expected that the two will seek a severance and that indictments against them will be dropped after Maverick's trial alone.

The outspoken Mayor, who first aroused opposition in San Antonio as the Congressional champion of organized labor and the anti-lynch bill, said that he didn't give a "damn" who appeared against him. He has joked about the indictments as a "political smear" and is confident that he will be exonerated.

MAVERICK QUESTIONS TEXAS POLL TAX LAW

Seeks Dismissal Of Indictment At San Antonio

Commercial Appeal

SAN ANTONIO, Texas, Nov. 27. —(AP)—Mayor Maury Maverick attacked constitutionality of the Texas Poll Tax Law tonight as he asked dismissal of an indictment charging illegal payment of a poll tax in the election that returned him to the political saddle.

Maverick, Miss Rebecca Taylor, George Glass and the mayor's secretary, Richard Jeffrey, are accused of paying the tax for R. L. O'Brien, a garment worker and member of a union controlled by Miss Taylor and Glass.

The poll tax receipt assertedly was used by the voter to help Maverick crush the old San Antonio political machine that led the fight against the former New Deal congressman when he lost his seat in the lower House.

Carl Wright Johnson, Maverick's lawyer, said in a 77-page motion to quash the indictment, that San Antonio voters condoned acts charged to Maverick when they chose him in March as Mayor over the long dominant C. K. Quinn.

Bearing down on the law in Texas that requires all voters to pay a tax before they may register their choice for elective offices, Defense Attorney Johnson argued that the law denied suffrage to certain classes in the state who did not or were unable to pay the tax.

Maverick Freed; President Sends Congratulations

12-9-39

Age-Herald Birmingham, Ala

BY HARRELL E. LEE

SAN ANTONIO, Tex., Dec. 8—(AP)—Mayor Maury Maverick, who blamed "politics" for criminal poll tax proceedings against him, won acquittal Friday from a jury which deliberated less than 12 hours.

Thus was removed a major obstacle in the political comeback trail of the plain-spoken former congressman who hit that trail last May with a triumph in the mayor's race after his defeat by a few votes in his 1938 bid for renomination to the National House.

Maverick was tried on the first of five felony indictments alleging that he conspired with others to pay poll taxes of members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union for the last city election. The penalty under conviction would have been two to five years imprisonment.

A poll tax receipt is a voting requirement in Texas.

Dist. Atty. John R. Shook, political foe of Maverick, indicated he would not bring any of the other felony indictments to trial.

Maverick, usually talkative, broke into a smile as the verdict was read but his only comment was:

"My statement is contained in the verdict of the jury — not guilty."

Carl Wright Johnson, attorney for Maverick, said that President Roosevelt telephoned his congratulations to the mayor on his acquittal.

Maverick is one of the few Texas political leaders who have not climbed aboard the "Garner for President" wagon.

RICHMOND VOTERS PAY POLL TAX ON INSTALLMENT PLAN

Cuel 12/5-39 Kansas City Mo

RICHMOND, Va.—(ANP) — Realizing that many Negroes cannot pay their poll tax of $1.50 in a lump sum in order to vote, the City Democratic league and local N. A. A. C. P. has worked out a monthly installment plan to safeguard this citizenship right.

Briefly, it is this: members of civic and social groups pay into their organization treasuries about 10 cents monthly. When the deadline for paying poll taxes arrives, organization officials return the money to members in a lump sum to enable them to qualify for voting. Because of this, Negro registration here for 1939 seems destined to set an all-time high.

Roscoe C. Jackson, president of the Democratic league, said this system was undertaken to stir up interest in governmental affairs and that members of the various organizations are not being given suggestions on how to vote.

Richmond Negroes Pay Poll Tax on Installment Plan

Cuel

RICHMOND, Va., Dec. 14—(ANP)—Realizing that many Negroes cannot pay their poll tax of $1.50 in a lump sum in order to vote, the City Democratic league and local N. A. A. C. P. has worked out a monthly installment plan to safeguard this citizenship right.

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VOTE—OR ELSE

Led by the dynamic Dr. Tinsley, Richmond (Va.) Negroes who are intelligent, have been staging a drive to increase the number of registered Negro voters in that city.

This is another indication of the growing realization on the part of Southern Negroes that they must break with the philosophy of Booker T. Washington and no longer relegate political action to a subordinate position in the thought and activity of the group. Courier

It is being realized more and more every day that the group cannot hope to effectively cope with increasingly serious problems confronting them in this period of revolutionary economic change unless they wield greater influence in the political life of this nation. 12-16-39

Not only in Richmond, but in many other parts of the South all the way to West Texas, similar efforts are being made to get more Negroes qualified and registered as voters. Pittsburgh Pa.

There is an appreciation not often clearly articulated that with the obvious inability of private business and philanthropy to cope with the problems of unemployment, pauperism and public health, the government is becoming increasingly important in American affairs as it has in the affairs of all countries since the depression.

This means increased taxation and increased competition for the fruits of that taxation accompanied by clamor by the political "Outs" for reduction in taxation.

In this increasing struggle for distribution of taxation any group that does not possess the political power to influence the politicians who dispense the tax monies will be severely handicapped.

It is a question, then, of the Negroes voting or being left increasingly out in the cold at the payoff.

Negroes cannot hope to continue to get their fair share of relief money and relief jobs unless they have some voice in the administration and expenditure of relief monies.

They have not received their rightful share of federal and state relief funds because they have lacked political power, and had to beg for what was and is their due.

What they HAVE received has come largely because of the political power Negroes already possess in certain strategic states.

With proportionately more Negroes than whites unemployed, our greater dependence upon relief is evident, and they need more than ever the political power to command consideration.

As we are deprived of income through curtailment of private employment, we must strive to increase the income of those already employed, such as school teachers who represent at least half our professional class.

In nineteen states having bi-racial school systems, Negro teachers are deprived of approximately ten million dollars in salaries as a result of being paid fifty per cent less than white teachers.

This condition is due in large measure to lack of political power to influence school authorities and can be remedied by the vote.

With the growth in job competition there is everywhere an added insistence upon efficiency and better schooling thus becomes imperative. But in no Southern state do Negroes receive as efficient schooling and preparation as white children.

Again, lack of voting power is chiefly responsible, and those who need training most are compelled to beg for that which their taxes entitle them.

Better education means better jobs, and the best facilities are available only to those who have the power to command them.

What is true of public education is likewise true of public libraries, public recreation, public health facilities and care of orphans, aged and delinquents.

We are everywhere taxed to support these facilities but are either denied them or given only an inadequate share of them because we are voteless in the regions where we most need the vote.

In 1940 every man, woman and child, black and white, must pay $14 to support American national defense, and yet Negroes will receive few of the 300,000 jobs in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard because we lack the votes to compel greater consideration.

To a large extent this is true also of the state and federal civil services where color discrimination is rife.

Voting by Negroes in the South is no longer an academic question.

To vote has become an imperative necessity if we are to stem the trend toward chronic pauperism.

If the ballot were not the key to the situation, there would not be such a sustained effort to deprive Negroes of it, even though more thoughtful white people realize that the principal cause of Southern backwardness is the vicious, stagnating one-party system.

Strenuous efforts in Richmond, Virginia, have succeeded in registering only 1,800 Negro voters while fifteen times more whites are qualified to vote. The picture is even less hopeful elsewhere in the South.

Here is a challenge to every Negro minister, teacher newspaper editor and business man to urge those who look to them for guidance to become politically articulate and influential for their own future good.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 63

RICHMOND VOTERS PAY POLL TAX ON INSTALLMENT PLAN

Cleveland 12-15-39 Courier

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WHY SOME DON'T EXERCISE BALLOT

Lynchburg,Va.-Many obsolete reasons were given by Lynchburg colored people for not voting in the survey made last year by the local branch of the N.A.AC.P. the results of which were made public here this week.

While one-half of the 2,000 citizens interviewed said their failure to use the ballot was a matter of mere neglect on their part,others explained that "voting did not mean anything to the colored man in the South," or "I don't see any use of voting the Democratic ticket."

Several persons said that colored people are not permitted to vote in the Democratic "primary" or that "Colored people can't become members of the Democratic party."

Some persons said that since a vote for the Democratic party was of no value to the race, it was a waste of time for Colored people to vote in the South.

Afro-American
2-4-39
Baltimore,Md.

Bristol, Va., Herald-Courier
August 29, 1939

Young Democrats And Poll Tax.

The Young Democratic Clubs of Virginia, in annual convention at Roanoke, had before them the majority and two minority reports of the Capitation Tax Committee created by the last convention. The majority report, advocating retention of the present law unchanged, was adopted by a vote of 957 to 206. The present law requires not only that the poll tax shall be paid as a prerequisite to voting, but that it shall be paid six months in advance of election, and that it shall be paid for three years. And the law prohibits collection of the tax by legal process.

One of the minority reports was presented by Dean M. Ray Doubles of the University of Richmond Law School, who proposed that payment of the poll tax for only one year be required. The other, presented by Daniel Weymouth of Heathsville, Commonwealth's Attorney of Northumberland County, proposed abolition of the levy as a voting qualification. Neither of these proposals was put to a vote in the Young Democratic Convention. A very large majority of the delegates were against any change in the present law, which has been on the statutes for thirty-seven years.

The poll tax prerequisite is in the State Constitution, which was proclaimed in 1902. The main purpose in thus placing obstacles in the way to the ballot box, or in surrounding it with difficulties, was in effect to disfranchise the Negroes of Virginia. But, while the prerequisite keeps by far the most of the Negroes away from the polls, it keeps more white men away. Virginia has a voting population of more than 1,000,000, of which between 200,000 and 300,000 usually vote.

This state of affairs is quite satisfactory to those who believe in a small electorate, which is more easily controlled by political leaders than a large electorate. The fewer the voters the less difficulty in building up and maintaining a political machine. Those who oppose abolition or even modification of the prerequisite understand, of course, that the mass of those who fail to pay the suffrage fee and to vote are what are called the common people, and they seem to believe it is better that these people should not participate in elections in which public officers are chosen and public issues are decided.

In some respects there is no apparent difference between most of the Young Democrats of Virginia and some of the Old Democrats who stand out against suffrage and other reforms and uphold election laws under which frauds are practiced. But advocates of these reforms will continue to advocate them. Eventually there may come a General Assembly which will submit to a referendum a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax prerequisite. So far the Assembly has not been willing to give the people an opportunity to pass on that question.

Are You Shirking Civic Responsibility?

Journal and Guide

HOW many of you voted in this week's elections? 11-11-39

Virginia should have seen an army of colored voters casting their ballot and otherwise sharing fully in a democratic government.

Virginia should have at least 200,000 registered voters. If we had them, we could talk of naming judges, clerks, ward committeemen, city councilmen, and even Congressmen.

Politicians will consider us when we have the vote. The first thing to do, however, is to register. Only a very small portion of our people are now registered.

Is it any wonder that we suffer for it? Many of us are eligible to vote, but are shirkers or slackers in that respect.

On the basis of population in 1936, we should have had approximately one-third of the municipal jobs.

You haven't that per cent of street cleaning jobs!

You can't be a city fireman!

You can't be a policeman!

You can't drive a city garbage cart!

You can't operate a city typewriter!

You can't be a bailiff in the city courts!

You can't even clean up a city police station!

In most public buildings builded and maintained by tax funds, you cannot be a scrub woman, run an elevator, or fire a boiler.

In a democracy, we are supposed to get our share of public jobs, but we get practically nothing. The reason we don't have colored policemen, colored garbage men, and other public employees is because only a small percentage of those eligible to vote do so.

Will you be a beggar all your life or will you register and vote and go after public jobs?

Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
December 5, 1939

nistration if Elected

Negroes Here Pay Poll Taxes In Monthly Installments

A plan which means virtually the paying of poll taxes in monthly installments of a few cents has been responsible largely for the fact that an unusual number of Negroes have registered for voting during the past several days, it was learned yesterday.

Realizing that many of their members find it hard to find $1.50 all at one time to pay the State for the privilege of voting, several Negro civic and social groups of the city have adopted a plan whereby their members pay into the organization treasuries about 10 cents each month. When the deadline for paying poll taxes approaches, organization officials give the money back to the members in lump sums to enable them to qualify for voting.

With the money received from the organizations, Negroes have been crowding into the city tax collector's office and also into the office of William S. Woodson, city registrar. Mr. Woodson said most of the approximately new 200 voters who registered yesterday were Negroes.

Encourage to Qualify

Roscoe C. Jackson, president of the City Democratic League (Negro), has explained that the league and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have conducted an active campaign to encourage Negroes of Richmond to qualify and to vote. Some of the organizations of the city have amended their by-laws to make qualification for voting a requisite for membership.

Jackson said the campaign was being waged only to get Negroes to take an interest in governmental affairs. Members of the various organizations are not being given suggestions as to how to vote, he said.

A number of Negro leaders of the city have said that the present drive to get members of their race to vote has political significance in connection with the approaching mayoralty campaign.

The Negroes are qualifying not in order to vote for any particular candidate, but rather to vote against one candidate, these leaders declared. Some who have attended meetings of civic groups during the past several days said this idea was prevalent in all of these sessions.

In order not to mix their organizations in politics, Negroes who are members of some parent-teacher groups and of certain fra-ternal organizations have formed among themselves civic clubs which actually are composed of the same people as in the parent groups, but which officially have no connection with the parent bodies.

Start Poll Tax, Vote Drive In Virginia Capital

RICHMOND, Va.—With a view to make every one of its 2,300 members a registered voter, the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has launched a city-wide drive whose slogan is "Pay Your Poll Tax, Register and Vote." Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the branch, commenting on the campaign said: "We are out to see that every member of our organization pays his poll tax. We'll then have the army of workers that we need to push the drive throughout the city to get all our citizens to pay their poll taxes in order that they can register and vote.

DR. TINSLEY

The civic and legal redress committee of Richmond branch is mapping plans for its "100 % Voters Drive." The committee is composed of Roscoe C. Jackson, chairman, the Rev. A. W. Brown, the Rev. W. B. Ball, C. B. Case and Atty. J. Thomas Hewin, Jr. Mr. Jackson, who is also president of the Richmond Democratic League and a prominent and untiring civic worker is calling attention to the fact that Richmond has less than 2,000 registered Negro voters and about 20,000 Negro adults in the city.

It is predicted from many quarters that the importance of the approaching city, state and national elections surpasses that of any recent time. In order to vote in the elections of 1940, both primary and general, poll taxes for three years must be paid by December 5 of this year.

The monthly membership and public meeting of the Richmond Branch will be held on Thursday, September 28 at 8 p. m. at Fifth Baptist Church, Cary and Harvie Streets, of which Rev. R. S. Anderson is pastor.

1940 Elections And Poll Tax Laws

WITH the 1940 national elections assuming ever increasing importance as a result of third term talk, war, and bitter controversy over neutrality, the matter of poll taxes is again a major issue in seven southern states where a large part of the potential electorate is disfranchised because of the existence of these poll tax statutes.

It is common knowledge that though the laws were originally enacted to prevent the Negro from using the ballot, they have actually disfranchised millions of white citizens in the low income brackets and have made possible state political machines which control government and which exploit the institutions of democracy for personal benefit. Such powerful political cliques seldom thrive for any length of time in states where the ballot is open to those who satisfy the requisites of literacy and citizenship according to the concepts of democracy which brought our nation into being.

Last week, a federal judge, sitting in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Tennessee, dealt a crushing, though not fatal, blow to the hopes of these disfranchised citizens, white and black, when he denied an injunction against the payment of the capitation tax, brought to the court in test action by the civil liberties committee of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare.

Incidentally the man sitting on the bench in this case was Judge Elmer D. Davies, universally opposed by Negroes and by other liberal elements when his recent appointment was announced. Objections arose out of alleged previous affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan. Probably the most far-reaching effect of this decision is the vindication of the NAACP and other colored groups who opposed him.

Lawyers who brought the case to court are inclined to believe that Judge Davies' decision paved the way for a United States Supreme Court decision on the whole system of requiring payment of poll taxes as a prerequisite for voting. If that is true, then we may be able to get this thing solved once and for all, despite the ruling of the Tennessee jurist.

The validity of the poll tax law is definitely questionable. Many of the states that enacted capitation tax laws during Reconstruction have dropped them. Intelligent citizens of all races have come to realize that the systematic denial of citizenship privileges because of inability to pay unjust capitation taxes is in violation of constitutional guarantees. The organization bringing the fight to the fore is not a radical or a racial group. The Southern Conference is interracial in character but it was organized and is principally led by liberal, respected white citizens of the Southland.

Let us remember, however, that actual abolition of poll tax requirements will take time. If you live in a state where such a law is still enforced, pay your poll tax and use the ballot. It is your best defense against oppression and injustice. It may cost you a dollar or so, if yours is a backward commonwealth, but you'll find it a worthwhile expenditure.

Getting More Voters In Richmond

A NOTABLE service has been rendered for many years by the Richmond Democratic League in educating our group to recognize the imperative advantages in becoming voters. It advises persons of approaching deadlines for paying poll taxes and for registering. It cites issues of particular significance to our group and thereby does a public service. It reiterates the theme that "our conditions are such as they are because we fail to vote in numbers large enough to gain recognition." It offers any information interested citizens desire, through its members and units throughout the city. If any persons wish to be accompanied to the office of the city treasurer and registrar to pay taxes and register, representatives of the league will perform that service also.

At present the league is stressing its objectives in several ways. It is issuing statements to the press. It will send letters to voters, non-voters, and to community organizations. Contact committees will be sent to clubs of the city to enlighten their members on paying poll taxes and registering.

Roscoe C. Jackson is the president of this progressive body, and Dr. Wm. M. T. Forrester is secretary. Associated with them are upstanding and civic-minded residents of the Old Dominion's capital.

Simultaneously with the drive of the league, the Richmond branch of the N. A. A. C. P. is striving to make every one of its 2,300 members a registered voter. Heading the branch is Dr. J. M. Tinsley, who received special recognition at the last national conference of the N. A. A. C. P. for his services in advancing the interests of colored Virginians as head of the state conference of N. A. A. C. P. branches. Mr. Jackson chairmans the branch's "100 Percent Voters Drive." With two such aggressive and intelligent men pooling their efforts toward the end of fuller citizenship, success can be confidently expected. What these Richmond organizations are doing could be emulated throughout the nation with enduring results.

The Negro Vote in Virginia

Just over the District line which separates voteless Washington from the State of Virginia, Democrats and Republicans are engaged in a fierce struggle for supremacy.

Victory will be decided at the polls on November 7 with the Negro vote expected to be a potent factor.

Charles T. Jesse, white, the Democratic candidate to succeed himself as county treasurer has made it clear that he intends to direct no appeal to colored voters.

On the other hand, the Republicans are out to smash the political machine which Jesse is said to control. Quite frankly the white Republicans are making a bid for the colored vote.

Moreover the candidates, all white, in open session submitted to cross examination by colored citizens of Arlington. Each candidate's answers reflected his attitude on various matters of concern to the colored population. Evidence showed that certain specific interests of the Negro were considered in drawing up the party platform. The candidates, individually and collectively are considered the most liberal in many a year.

A Republican victory in Arlington County will require the party to make good its pledge to appoint a colored man to the police force. A single appointment of this nature in some communities might seem a trivial consideration. But the underlying principle is vital. Establishment of the precedent and the wise choice of the pioneer appointee will make other appointments possible in the future.

The Republican candidate for the House of Delegates has declared his intention to strive for the repeal of the poll tax law if he wins a seat in the legislature. This is an issue of paramount importance to Negroes as the law was conceived and has operated to prevent their participation in state and national elections. Candidate Byron Gordon, Jr., is not only honest enough to admit the injustice of the present system, but is courageous enough to pledge his effort to effect its overthrow.

In consideration of Democratic indifference to the Negro citizen and voter, self-respecting members of the race in Arlington County have no choice but to support the Republican ticket.

To be effective, that support must be more than vocal. Words may inspire interest in a platform, but elections are won by the ballots actually cast.

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Register and Vote

THIS editorial was written on the eve of the legislative and county elections on Tuesday, to which the public manifested an appalling indifference, according to reports.

It makes little difference what any of us think about the outcome of the balloting. But it makes considerable difference whether or not non-voting colored citizens realize the precarious situation politically, in Virginia and other southern states.

Apparently, many do not realize it or, doubtless, have a poor way of showing it. We are in a sad fix politically and if we are to find a remedy for our troubles we must determine them and proceed to rectify them.

Of course, there has been and will continue to be considerable discussion and we hope to keep it rolling until action is formulated.

Our situation is perilous at any time. But in a period when political currents are deeper and swifter than ever before, with ever threatening economic life, truly ours is a perilous position.

Let us set about to register and vote to protect our interests.

317 Voters Discovered In Lynchburg

Many Qualified But Few Vote Survey Shows

Journal and

LYNCHBURG, Va.—Many obsolete reasons were given by Lynchburg colored citizens for not voting, in a survey made last year by the local branch of the NAACP the results of which were made public this week. 2-4-39

While fully one half of the 2,000 citizens interviewed said their failure to use the ballot was a matter of mere neglect on their part, others explained that "voting doesn't mean anything to the Negro in the South," or "I don't see any use of voting the Democratic ticket."

Several persons said that "Negroes are not permitted to vote in the Democratic primary" or that "Negroes can't become members of the Democratic party." Other said since a vote for the Democratic party was of no value to the race, it was a waste of time for Negroes to vote in the South.

Of the 317 persons, who said they were voters, only 23 said they had had difficulty at the polls. In each of these cases, the problems encountered were not necessarily of racial origin. In fact the survey so far as this particular item was concerned, seemed to indicate that Negroes generally have never had any difficulty casting their ballot in Lynchburg.

In the spring of 1935 when Democratic party officials in Campbell county attempted to bar Negroes from the Democratic primary, officials of the party in Lynchburg advised against such a step and urged the county officials to admit Negroes to the primary on the same basis as other citizens. They were successful and Negroes were permitted to participate in the primary that spring.

Another revelation of the NAACP survey was the size of the potential Negro vote. Every year hundreds of Negroes pay their poll taxes but fail to vote. Among this group are many teachers, merchants, heads of families and various professional persons who must pay their taxes to ply their trade.

There were 725 Negro citizens in the city when the survey was conducted who might have, with little effort, qualified to vote. They had all paid their poll taxes in the majority of cases for the entire three-year period prior to the year in which they might have voted, according to the survey. Five hundred and twenty-three had paid in full, yet only 317 said they were actually voters.

Survey officials said that every year apparently hundreds of Negroes pay their poll taxes but fail to register and vote.

The NAACP survey has given impetus to the movement among Lynchburg citizens for a wider use of the ballot. About three months ago the Civic League was organized to follow up the work of the NAACP with a view to quickening interest among members of the race in citizenship duties in Lynchburg.

Headed by L. W. Duiguid, the Civic League is organizing to begin at once a citywide citizenship campaign. The league held a public meeting at Jackson Street Methodist Church Sunday afternoon, January 22 at which ward and precinct leaders were selected to conduct this drive in every section in the city.

Va. Professor Continues Fight For Ballot Power

Richmond Times-Dispatch 2-4-39

ETTRICK, Va., Feb. 3—Dr. Luther P. Jackson, head of the history department at Virginia State college and founder of the Petersburg Voters' League, is continuing his program to increase the number of registered voters from the present number, 345.

Assisting Dr. Jackson with the 1939 drive are Attys. Robert Cooley and Raymond Valentine. The executive committee has issued a call to fraternal organizations of the college and city and to every Race resident of Petersburg to rally to the cause either by rendering financial aid or by helping to arouse Race citizens to pay their poll tax and vote. Included in the program this year is a provision for the employment of a part-time worker.

Cornelius Jackson, graduate of Virginia State, will conduct a house-to-house canvass to spread the program to Race citizens of Petersburg.

With the development of conscious faith in the ballot as a powerful weapon for fighting the many inequalities that members of the Race encounter, Dr. Jackson sold his idea to civic-minded Petersburgers. In 1932, the present league had its beginning.

At that time there were only 72 registered voters in Petersburg. By hammering his cause into the minds of Race citizens, the historian succeeded in raising the number to 472 in 1936.

Due to the founder's pre-occupation with academic duties, the figure has dropped yearly until it reached the present low—345. With the renewed interest that is manifested locally, the 1939 drive should top the anticipated goal—500.

Norfolk, Va. Pilot
February 26, 1939

Registrar Gives Treasurer Names Of Negro Voters

J. H. Boatwright, registrar for the second precinct of Jackson Ward for many years, already has complied with the request of the City Democratic Executive Committee and has supplied Mrs. Mary Moore Hudgins, city treasurer, a list of Negro voters registered in his precinct, with their street addresses.

H. J. Kraemer, chairman of the committee, yesterday expressed appreciation for the promptness with which Mr. Boatwright had responded to the committee's request and expressed the opinion that the new method of listing Negro voters, segregating them by sex and showing street address, would be generally advantageous. The plan will tend toobviate the possibility of fraud through confusion of Negro names, many of which are identical. The former practice has been to segregate the Negro voters from the white voters, and to list them in a body without separation by wards or precincts.

Bristol Va., Herald-Courier
April 16, 1939

NEGRO VOTE RALLY PLANNED TUESDAY

Addition of Many New Voters Contemplated by Colored Group

An effort to qualify an additional 200 negro voters will be launched at Douglas school in Bristol, Va., on Tuesday night by Hobart Shand, who has called a general mass meeting of all colored persons interested in exercising their right of franchise.

Shand, acting chairman of the committee in charge of forming the "League of Negro Voters," said last night that every colored person in Virginia Bristol should have enough interest in the city government to pay poll taxes and vote. He urged that hesitancy on the part of the voter or property owner should be overcome.

Several prominent speakers are scheduled to address the Tuesday night meeting.

Bristol, Va., News-Bulletin
April 17, 1939

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Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch
May 13, 1939

The Uneconomic Poll Tax

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—The comments of Wilbur Hall upon the poll-tax question are of more than ordinary significance. The fact that the occupied through appointment a State office in Virginia under that faction of the Democratic Party whose chief claim for recognition is that it is "conservative" and opposed to anything "new" in governmental operation, may be indicative of the attitude of Mr. Hall's political associates regarding this question.

Mr. Hall's fear of the "Negro balance of power" feature in case the poll tax restrictions to voting are removed, is not borne out by the facts in States with a large Negro population. Any Virginian living near the North Carolina border knows, or can quickly learn, that the proportion of Ne-

groes voting in the adjoining Carolina counties is smaller than that at present in Virginia, and there is not a single Negro office-holder in North Carolina. And in passing from this feature of the question, it is appropriate to remark that the absurdity of Mr. Hall's argument in this respect is ludicrous. How long are Virginians, Southerners, going to permit politicians to justify denying deserved benefits to white men, women and children, upon the grounds that to grant such will benefit some unfortunate but deserving Negro? Suppose we apply Mr. Hall's argument all along down the line. Shall we close the public schools because Negroes receive benefits therefrom? Shall we refuse maintenance and building of roads because the Negro travels upon them? Shall we discontinue our post office system because Negroes are benefited by the service, etc? Does Mr. Hall argue that even the Negro should be denied these things?

Now regarding his argument about "the Republicans coming into power" were the people permitted to vote. That sounds strange coming from an affiliate of that faction of the Democratic Party in Virginia led by those whose chief claim to distinction during the past seven years may be summed up first by an outstanding record of hostile criticism of the national Administration.

One more objection may be mentioned—that of being unwilling to give people not owning property authority to vote taxes upon those that are more fortunate.

Well, we dare, we challenge Mr. Hall and those thinking as he does, to compare benefits received by the masses and the costs of government in Virginia with the same in any border State where the people are voting. To illustrate the point, the writer knows of two counties with about the same populations, one in Virginia, another in a border State, alongside of each other. The cost of county government in one is $32,000 annually; in the other, $14,000. And this excess cost of government in the Virginia county is about 125 per cent greater, while the population is only 50 per cent greater. The cost of the Virginia county government is 75 per cent greater than the county where the people are voting. In one, real estate is taxed for neither roads nor schools; in the other real estate is taxed for schools; in one with 750,000 less population, the politicians see that the people are taxed to support 34 judicial districts, compared to 21 in the larger State, in one, the State furnishes free textbooks, in the other, the school book trusts profit because the people are compelled to buy them, and in every instance quoted, where the above benefits are given there are no poll-tax restrictions to the people's voting. This poll-tax question is simply a fight between the people and the politicians. It is easier to fool 50 than a hundred people; to control 50 than a hundred.

R. C. COLEMAN.

South Hill.

Civil Liberties In Norfolk

Journal and Guide 3-25-39

WHEN Professor Ernest W Gray, of the Norfolk Division, College of William and Mary, revealed in a public address that the American Civil Liberties Union had given Norfolk a very low rating "for preservation of civil rights," the local daily press came to the defense of our fair city. Our favorite evening paper does not believe that "any considerable number of informed citizens of Norfolk will be greatly disturbed over 'threats' to civil liberties in this community."

Among other things, Professor Gray laid the following indictment at Norfolk's door: "The main sin of Norfolk is apathy. Not that it violates civil liberties, but that it never worries about preserving them. In a city the size of Norfolk one would expect to find active support of organizations for peace, racial relations, parks and playgrounds, slum clearance, municipal reform, and removal of poll taxes."

The Ledger-Dispatch answered the indictment, item by item. To summarize: Our present municipal government is a model, patterned after many other cities; the Interracial commission is functioning and has wrought well; Norfolk citizens desire peace as much as citizens of any other city; slum clearance has advantages and disadvantages which are subject to debate, and that "a great body of public opinion is that the imposition" of the poll tax "grew out of a vital need which still exists in this state and in the South."

Of slum clearance, which the neighborly Ledger-Dispatch says is "one of the catch phrases out of the New Order," and the necessity for continuing the poll tax as a "restriction upon the electorate," we hazard the following opinions:

Slum clearance: Housing in Norfolk revolves around the same economic and social factors indigenous to other southern cities. Atlanta, Charleston, Jacksonville, Louisville, Miami, Nashville, Birmingham, Columbia, Memphis and Montgomery are among leading southern cities that have availed themselves of the opportunity to improve slum conditions with Federal aid. What is good for other southern cities in the matter of housing should be good for Norfolk.

The poll tax: North Carolina adopted the poll tax as a restriction upon the electorate for the same reasons, and at about the same time that Virginia did. North Carolina abolished the poll tax as a voting requirement 20 years ago, and nothing has happened since to prove that North Carolina made a mistake in doing so. There is no menace to good government and peace in Virginia that the poll tax could obviate, that does not also reside in North Carolina. But North Carolina has doubled its electorate since the poll tax was abolished as a voting requirement and the government of the state is still safely, and by overwhelming odds, in the hands of the people whom the Ledger-Dispatch would regard as being the proper people to be in control of it.

May we add: A large section of Norfolk's influential people are disinclined to accept that part of our Bill of Rights which guarantees the right of free speech. Let a man here express his mind in favor of lifting economic disabilities from the backs of underprivileged people; improving the living conditions of certain groups, or permitting every one to hold and to give expression to any political conviction save the orthodox ruling order and he will be squelched—quite effectively and permanently—if he occupies a position in public or private service of which he may be deprived.

POLITICAL- 1939
WOMEN IN

GENERAL

Does the Women's Vote Mean Anything?

In forecasting an election, Dr. George Gallup, head of the American Institute of Public Opinion, says: "You're always right to the extent that you ignore women. Elections always come out as the men vote." The Democratic Digest, publication of the Democratic National Committee, has asked what its readers thought about this statement.

United States Senator Elbert D. Thomas says: "Anyone who assumes that the women's vote does not count in America is flying in the face of experience and history. While it is true that many women's organizations are non-partisan, they all influence public opinion greatly, and public opinion moves the great independent vote which, in the final analysis, decides elections."

Mary T. Norton, Representative from New Jersey, says it is absurd to say that women's vote is controlled. She says that "it does not seem possible that men can still feel, in the face of all that has been accomplished by women, that they do not vote independently of men. The utter idiocy of such a sentiment is surely refuted by the ever-increasing number of women's political clubs and organizations of all kinds in this country, and by the growing interest of women of all walks of life in political and economic problems."

Miss Florence E. Gregerson of Fargo, North Dakota has this to say regarding Dr. Gallup's statement: "Today women vote as they please. More and more they are listening to the radio, reading political news, and studying the personal appearances of candidates, and then conscientiously making an intelligent decision regardless of friend, husband or anyone else."

From Mrs. Frank E. Johnesse, Boise, Idaho, comes this comment: "More women are thinking along political and economic lines than ever before. There is more political discussion in the home today than ever before. Whether Dr. Gallup realizes it or not, many, many men vote along the lines their wives are talking."